
An Accurate Map of
Germany,
Divided into its Circles;
Drawn from the best
Authorities,
and regulated by
Astronomical Observations.
By Eman: Bowen
Geographer to His late Majesty.
English Miles
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90
Part of Norway
The Naze
North Sea
Part of Sweden
The Baltic Sea
Denmark
Jutland
Holstein
Circle of Lower Saxony
Circle of Westphalia
United Provinces
Mecklenburg
D. of Pomerania
Part of Prussia
El. of Brandenburg
Poland
Circle of Upper Saxony
Lusatia
D. of Silesia
K. of Bohemia
Moravia
Upper Rhine
Franconia
C. of Swabia
C. of Bavaria
A.D. of Austria
Styria
Carinthia
Carniola
Circle of Austria
Hungary
Sclavonia
Croatia
Part of Turkey in Europe
Dalmatia
Switzerland
Grisons
Tirol
Trent
Savoy
Lorrain
P. of France
Piemont
P. of Italy
Milan
Rep. of Venice
Rep. of Genoa
Parma
Modena
Tuscany
G. of Genoa
Gulf of Venice
Istria
Vienna
Prague
Berlin
Copenhagen
Dresden
Hamburg
Venice
Geneva
Turin
Longitude East from London

A GENERAL

# HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

## CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARNING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE, and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

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By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;
JOHN GRAY, Esq;
And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

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*—— cui lecta potenter erit res*
*Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.* HOR.

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VOLUME IX.

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MDCCLXV.

A

# GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

### RODOLPH, *of* Hapſpurg, *the firſt Emperor of the Houſe of* Auſtria.

GERMANY at this time may be ſaid to have exhauſted her ſtrength, rather than to have been quieted. *Richard*, duke of *Cornwall*, was dead. The pretenſions of *Alphonſo*, king of *Caſtile*, were extinguiſhed. *Ottacar*, IIId king of *Bohemia*, is ſaid to have refuſed the empire, which had been now fifteen years vacant. This vacancy was not altogether without its utility; for ſeveral of the cities and ſtates of *Germany* formed particular laws for themſelves, and confederated together to obſerve them: many of them are in force at this time. The miſeries of the empire aroſe from the ambition of the princes, who were maſters of the great fiefs, and found their account in having no head to controul them. Such was *Ottacar* the IIId. who pretended to two votes in the election; one as king of *Bohemia*, and the other as duke of *Auſtria*, which he had violently ſeized. The princes of the empire, particularly the elector *Palatine*, diſputed the validity of the earl of *Cornwall*'s election to the empire, and conſequently the *Bohemian* vote for *Auſtria*; and both he and the other princes thought, that the allowing a double vote to a family already ſo powerful, was next to rendering the empire hereditary in the houſe of *Bohemia*. Diſorders and anarchy of the empire.

*Gregory* the Xth was then pope, and threatened, if the princes delayed to fill the *Imperial* throne, that he would ſupply it by his own authority. The eccleſiaſtical princes happened to be wiſe and moderate men, and the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in a diet held at *Franckfort*, had intereſt and addreſs enough to procure the election to fall upon *Rodolph*, count of *Hapſpurg*, who accordingly accepted of the dignity. He was a prince of no powerful family, but of uncommon prudence and courage; and *Rodolphus* of Hapſpurg choſen emperor.

and by a ſeries of rapine, which was ſanctified by ſucceſs, he had very conſiderably augmented his paternal eſtate, originally but inconſiderable. He had been great marſhal at the *Bohemian* court, and he was befriended by the duke of *Bavaria*, who was conſtituted the arbiter of the election, and preferred him to two obſcure competitors who had been propoſed by the other princes, only becauſe they were too weak to be formidable. The electors could not have made a better choice than they did of *Rodolph*, who by his perſonal valour, and an extraordinary appearance of devotion, had obtained great reputation in the empire. He was beſieging *Baſil* in a private quarrel, when the bailiff of *Nuremberg* brought him an account of his election; upon which he repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned. Many circumſtances tend to prove that he was a man of uncommon parts and reſolution. He was fifty-five years of age at the time of his election, which had been in vain proteſted againſt by the kings of *Caſtile* and *Bohemia*. When *Henry* of *Neufchatel* heard of his election, he conceived a mortal chagrin, and broke out into the following exclamation: *Sit firm in thy ſeat, O Lord God, otherwiſe* Rodolph *will dethrone thee.* At the time of his coronation, ſome ſcruples ariſing concerning the inveſtiture, becauſe no *Imperial* ſceptre was at hand, he ſnatched a crucifix from the altar; *This*, ſaid he, *ſhall be my ſceptre*, and made uſe of it accordingly, none daring to contradict him.

His great ſucceſs in reſtoring peace to the empire.

His firſt cares were to reſtore the ſafety of the public roads and communications, a province for which he was well qualified by his former courſe of life. He hanged up all the petty robbers who fell into his hands, and particularly 99 in one day at *Erfurt*; with the more powerful he entered into agreements, upon their promiſing amendment for the future; and it is ſaid, that his being the father of ſix handſome daughters, was no mean recommendation of him to the empire, each prince hoping for the honour of his alliance. His ſon, *Albert*, had married the uterine ſiſter of *Conradin*, and after that young prince's fatal end, he claimed *Alſace* and part of *Suabia* in her right, and by the aſſiſtance of his father he made his claim good. The houſe of *Suabia*, which had been ſo formidable both to the pope and the princes of the empire, may be now conſidered as extinct, and *Rodolph* adopted a new ſyſtem of policy. He made the pope his friend by promiſing obedience to his holy ſee, and having no family claim upon *Sicily*, he acknowledged the right of the *Anjouvine* family to that crown. Having thus reſtored the quiet of the empire, he proceeded againſt the princes who had proteſted againſt his election, particularly *Alphonſo* and *Ottacar* of *Bohemia*. By the aſſiſtance of the pope he ſilenced the firſt, and in a diet at *Augſburg*, *Ottocar* was voted to have uſurped *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*. This ſentence being intimated to *Ottocar*, he turned it into ridicule, ſaying, *That he owed* Rodolph *nothing, as he had paid him his wages while he was in his ſervice.* *Rodolph*, however,

ever, was not to be trifled with; he rejected an unmanly propoſal made by a nobleman to aſſaſſinate *Ottocar*, but marched againſt him and his friends, the chief of whom was the duke of *Bavaria*, at the head of an army, and ſubdued them ſucceſſively in perſon. Without puſhing them to deſpair, he always left a door open for a reconciliation. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Otho*, prince of *Bavaria*, and received from that duke 40,000 ounces of gold, as the price of the marriage. He reduced the marquis of *Baden*, with the counts of *Wirtenberg*, *Neuberg* and *Friberg*, and obliged them to give up all that they had unlawfully ſeized upon.

The archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, with other great princes of the empire, afraid that the houſe of *Hapſpurg* ſhould become as powerful as that of *Suabia* had been, interpoſed partly their authority, and partly their good offices, to prevail with *Rodolph* to accommodate matters with *Ottocar*. It was agreed that the latter ſhould hold *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, as fiefs of the empire; that he ſhould give up *Auſtria* to the houſe of *Hapſpurg*; that his ſon *Wenceſlaus*, though no more than ſeven years of age, ſhould marry one of the emperor's daughters, and that *Ottocar* ſhould give his daughter in wife to *Rodolph* the emperor's fifth ſon, together with *Carinthia* and ſome other provinces: but the chief article of this accommodation conſiſted in *Ottocar* performing homage to the emperor in the iſle of *Camberg*, in the *Danube*. This was a moſt mortifying circumſtance, and *Rodolph* was reſolved to be revenged for the inſult which had been offered him by his former maſter. A tent was conſtructed with cloſe hangings, where the homage was to be performed, while both ſides of the *Danube* were lined with *German* princes, courts, and armies. In the middle of the ceremony, the curtains of the tent flew back, and diſcovered to the ſurrounding multitudes, *Ottocar*, all blazing in gold and jewels, on his knees, at the feet of the emperor, who was dreſſed like a plain country gentleman. *Ottocar*'s wife, a haughty *Ruſſian* princeſs, upbraided him with his meanneſs, and he refuſed to ſtand to the terms. *Rodolph* raiſed an army to chaſtize him, and though his horſe was killed in a battle that followed, yet he fought with amazing reſolution on foot, and being remounted, he charged his enemies ſo furiouſly, that *Ottocar* was killed, and *Rodolph* obtained a compleat victory. The houſe of *Auſtria* dates its greatneſs from that day, for *Rodolph* gave that dutchy, with *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, to his ſon *Albert*, who was thereby incorporated with the college of the princes; and he beſtowed *Suabia* on his ſon *Rodolph*. As to *Bohemia*, he gave it to young *Wenceſlaus*, but appointed the marquis of *Brandenburg* to be his guardian. The houſe of *Bavaria* thought themſelves injured by this deſtination, and claimed *Auſtria*; but though that duke was joined by his brother the count *Palatine*, yet *Rodolph* reduced them both, and not only obliged them to renounce their pre-

Receives the homage of the king of *Bohemia*, and afterwards kills him in battle.

tenſions to *Auſtria*, but to give up ſeveral conſiderable eſtates claimed by the emperor upon the river *Ens*.

The conduct of *Rodolph* was equally prudent as vigorous: he thought it was impracticable to recover all the *Imperial* claims in *Italy*, and he choſe to make the popes *Gregory* the Xth, and *Nicholas* the IIId, his friends. They accordingly rejected the claims of all his rivals in the empire, and on the
1297. 15th of *February*, 1279, he ceded all claims to *Matilda*'s eſtate, either as proprietor or paramount. The more *Rodolph* granted, the more the pope roſe in his demands. He required *Rodolph* to take upon him the croſs, chiefly that he might remove him from *Italy*: *Rodolph* complied, but had no intention to fulfil his engagements, nor to appear in *Italy*, but at the head of an army. Being neceſſitated for money, he ſold all the *Imperial* claims in *Italy* to the inhabitants of the different ſtates where they lay; *Lucca*, *Florence*, *Genoa* and *Bologna*, paid for their privileges, but at the ſame time deſired to continue under the *Imperial* protection. *Rodolph*, in fact, gave nothing in return for the ſums he received, but lent to the *Italians* his name, which they occaſionally made uſe of againſt the papal encroachments. The pope ſaw his drift, and threatened him with excommunication, which he actually pronounced; but *Innocent* the Vth invited *Rodolph* to a reconciliation. This might have been eaſily effected, had not new differences ſtarted up between *Rodolph* and the king of *Sicily*; the latter abſurdly perſiſted in aſſerting his right to the vicariate of *Tuſcany*, which he could only hold during the vacancy of the empire, and *Rodolph* claimed from him as fiefs of the empire, *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, which the houſe of *Anjou* pretended to hold, though *Berengar*, the laſt poſſeſſor, had died without male iſſue. The pope was in no good terms with *Charles*, who was forced to reſign the vicariate of *Tuſcany*, but retained the provinces of *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, and the emperor gave his daughter *Clementia* in marriage to *Charles Martel*, one of his *Sicilian* majeſty's grandſons; *Provence* and *Forcalquier* formed the dower of the princeſs.

*Rodolph*'s accommodation with the pope.

The houſe of *Anjou* became now formidable to the popes, who found that *Charles* was projecting the conqueſt of *Conſtantinople* itſelf; he governed *Sicily* by his ſubjects of *Provence*, which, as we have ſeen, was actually a fief of the empire. They acted in every reſpect conformably to the bloody and oppreſſive meaſures of *Charles*; and the pope encouraged a deſign for maſſacring all the *Provençals* and *French* in *Sicily* at one blow. One *John de Procida*, a noble native of *Salerno*, who exerciſed the profeſſions of law and phyſic, but an enthuſiaſt for the houſe of *Suabia*, undertook to be the agent. He proceeded with incredible addreſs and ſecrecy; he went to *Conſtantinople*, where he put the emperor *Michael Paleologos* on his guard againſt *Charles* of *Anjou*; he engaged *Peter*, king of *Arragon*, to make a deſcent upon *Sicily*, in right of his wife *Conſtance*, who was daughter to *Mainfroi*, and repairing to *Sicily* he laid his

The *Sicilian* veſpers.

his ſcheme ſo well, that on the third day of *Eaſter*, 1282, all the *Provençals* and *French*, on that iſland, to the number of 8000, were maſſacred in one hour. *Peter* ſupported this maſſacre by a deſcent upon *Sicily*, which owned him for its king. 1282.

During this tragedy, the emperor was regulating the affairs of *Auſtria*, and the other acquiſitions which had been lately made by his family. This he did in ſo prudent and ſo generous a manner, that he met with no oppoſition from the princes of the empire; and it is ſaid, that about this time, he ordered all the law proceedings of his empire to be carried on in the *German* tongue. In 1283, the pope again preſſed the cruſades, but very unſeaſonably; and *Rodolph*, to his great ſatisfaction, found the princes of the empire, who were aſſembled in a diet at *Wurtzburg*, averſe to all projects of that kind. No ſtate in *Europe* was fond of it, each being imbroiled within itſelf, even the popes found difficulty in reſtraining their ſubjects within the bounds of their duty, and the differences among the eccleſiaſtics of *Germany* afforded to *Rodolph* a plauſible pretext for declining the undertaking. About this time, *Hungary* was infeſted by the *Cumani*, and *Honorius* the IVth ſuffered *Rodolph*, upon his relinquiſhing all his claims on the exarchate of *Ravenna*, to name the biſhop of *Baſil*, his chancellor, to the vicariate of *Tuſcany*. This biſhop ſupplied the preſence of the emperor in *Italy*, but could not prevail upon the *Imperial* fiefs there to ſwear to him in the ſame manner as if his maſter had been preſent. *Rodolph*, on the other hand, had laid it down as a maxim never to venture his perſon in *Italy*, and made uſe of no violence in reclaiming the *Tuſcans* and his other ſubjects there to their duty, provided they paid him the moderate contingences they had ſtipulated for their freedom. The chancellor in the mean while was made archbiſhop of *Mentz* by the pope, and upon his return to *Germany*, he endeavoured to obtain for his holineſs the fourth, for four years, of the income of all the benefices in the empire; but in this he was effectually oppoſed. Italy.

Some civil commotions happening in *Swizerland*, to which the emperor had a particular relation, he ſent his ſon *Rodolph* thither, and afterwards his eldeſt ſon *Albert*, who reduced the inſurgents, and ſubdued the abbot of St. *Gall*, who had favoured them. One *Anſelmo*, however, lord of *Rupolſtein*, behaved with ſuch reſolution, and made ſo great a progreſs on the borders of *Alſace*, that the emperor was obliged to give him his own terms. The truth is, *Rodolph* was, by this time, grown old, and wanted to compleat his family ſettlements, which he had projected with ſo much ſagacity. He continued to avail himſelf of his daughters, one of whom, *Judith*, he gave in marriage to *Wenceſlaus*, the young king of *Bohemia*, who, on that occaſion, was confirmed in the poſt of cupbearer to the emperor, but upon the condition of his renouncing all his claims upon *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and their dependencies. His daughter married to the king of *Bohemia*.

1290. In 1290, *Rodolph*, in a diet at *Erfurt*, terminated the great cauſe concerning the ſucceſſion to the landgraviate of *Thuringia*, one part of which was given to the marquis of *Miſnia*, and the other to the poſterity of the duke of *Brabant*. An affair of ſtill greater conſequence was agitated at this diet. The *Cumani* had killed *Ladiſlaus* the IIId, king of *Hungary*, and three competitors for his ſucceſſion ſtarted up, of whom *Rodolph* was one; *Hungary*, as he pretended, being a fief of the empire; the other two were *Andrew* the *Venetian*, who was grandſon to *Andrew* a former king of *Hungary*, and *Charles Martel*, nephew by his mother to the late *Ladiſlaus*. The pope pretended that the crown of *Hungary* belonged to him. The emperor gave it to his ſon *Albert*. The pope conferred it on *Charles Martel*, but *Andrew* took poſſeſſion of it. *Charles Martel*, as we have already ſeen, was married to *Rodolph*'s daughter, and therefore he relinquiſhed *Albert*'s pretenſions in favour of *Charles*. The *Hungarians*, however, ſtuck by *Andrew*, in oppoſition both to the pope and the emperor. This competitorſhip never was perfectly decided; for both pretenders died, it is ſaid, in the ſame year, each in poſſeſſion of a part of that kingdom.

Affairs of *Thuringia*, and *Hungary*.

*Rodolph*'s ſucceſs. About this time, *Otho*, count of *Burgundy*, having declared himſelf a vaſſal to the king of *France*, was put to the ban of the empire, and after being defeated by *Rodolph*, ſued for peace. Soon after, being joined by the count de *Monbelliard*, he renewed the war, and though the king of *France* threatened to come to the aſſiſtance of the two counts, *Rodolph* took *Montbelliard*, and beſieged *Beſançon*, but afterwards granted them peace upon *Otho*'s doing him homage. *Rodolph* then cleared *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and *Thuringia*, of the freebooters who infeſted thoſe provinces, and ordered numbers of them to be executed without regard to their quality, but at the ſame time he improved his finances by their fines and forfeitures. *Rodolph*'s great abilities for government, joined to the paſſion he had for aggrandizing his family, a quality which ſeems to have been entailed upon all his poſterity, rendered him ſo formidable to the princes of the empire, that they refuſed to acknowledge his ſon *Albert* as his coadjutor, or as king of the *Romans*. *Rodolph*, in diſguſt, retired to *Spire*, where he died in the 73d year of his age, on the 15th of *July*, 1291. He was married to *Anne*, the daughter of *Albert*, count of *Hoaberg*, who brought to his family great part of the landgraviate of *Alſace*. Of ſeven ſons which he had, only two ſurvived him, *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, and *Rodolph*, duke of *Suabia* and landgrave of *Alſace*. His daughters were *Judith*, married to the king of *Bohemia*; *Clementia*, wife to *Charles*, afterwards king of *Hungary*; *Matilda*, married to the count palatine; *Agnes*, to the duke of *Saxony*; *Hedrige*, to the marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Catharine*, to the duke of *Bavaria*; and *Euphemia*, who was a nun.

He is dreaded by the princes of the empire.

His death, 1291.

Few

Few princes have been known to unite the plainneſs of manners with the arts of government, ſo compleatly as *Rodolph* did. Though elevated to the higheſt ſtation of any man on the continent of *Europe*, he is ſaid to have practiſed a primitive, if not a ruſtic, ſimplicity. By the dint of ſtrong natural parts, he reſtored order, government, and tranquillity to the empire, which he found in a ſtate of anarchy. He was an eminent inſtance of the triumph of natural ſagacity over all the refinements of politics. He never diſguiſed his intentions, and he always carried his ends by direct meaſures. An inſtance of this he exhibited in the laſt war he was engaged in; while he was beſieging *Beſançon*, the king of *France* threatened, that if he did not retire he would march againſt him at the head of an army: *Let him come*, ſaid *Rodolph*, *and we will teach him the reſpect that is due to the longeſt ſword.* The aggrandizement of his family is ſaid to have led him into ſome oppreſſive meaſures, as he loſt no opportunity of amaſſing money. and character.

*An Interregnum of nine Months.*

*Rodolph* left his great family ſcheme incompleat, as he had failed in perſuading the princes of the empire to raiſe his eldeſt ſon *Albert* to the *Imperial* dignity. The *Auſtrians* and *Stirians* diſliked his government, which they complained of as being arbitrary, and threatened to league themſelves with the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and other princes of the empire, to moderate *Albert*'s tyranny; but matters were compromiſed between him and them, by the mediation of *Lewis*, count palatine of the *Rhine*. Some diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the dutchy of *Limburg* next ſucceeded, between the count of *Guelderland* and the duke of *Brabant*, in which the latter obtained a compleat victory over the friends of the former, and remained in quiet poſſeſſion of *Limburg*, which was afterwards confirmed to him by *Henry* of *Luxenburg*, who was afterwards emperor, and married the duke of *Brabant*'s eldeſt daughter. Interregnum.

## CHAP. XXIX.

### ADOLPH *of* Naſſau.

THE confuſion and anarchy introduced by the interreign is inexpreſſible. *Albert* of *Auſtria*, ſon to the late emperor, had the greateſt natural intereſt, but the archbiſhop of *Mentz* brought the princes of the empire into his opinion, that the liberties of the empire would be beſt ſecured by a prince of no power, and therefore he propoſed his kinſman, *Adolph* of *Naſſau*, to fill the *Imperial* throne. He had the reputation of being the beſt general of his age, and he joined magnanimity to valour. The electors choſe him not ſo much perhaps *Adolph* choſen emperor.

for his qualities, as for his poverty, and he conſtituted *Boemund*, archbiſhop, his firſt miniſter. By the advice of that prelate, he behaved with great moderation, even towards the friends of *Albert*, though he knew he was a pretender to the *Imperial* dignity. One of his firſt meaſures of government was to try his ſtrength againſt *Otho* of *Burgundy*, who had ſworn allegiance to the king of *France*, and was befriended by *Albert* of *Auſtria*. The latter refuſing to pay his contingency towards the war, *Adolph* entered into his territories, but without any other effect than that of diſguſting the princes of the empire by his military turn. This was followed by a revolt of many *Alſatian* noblemen, particularly of *Anſelmo*, lord of *Rapolſtein*, whom *Adolph* ſubdued and impriſoned for life. *Albert* of *Auſtria* diſguiſed his reſentment at being diſappointed of the empire, well knowing that *Adolph*, being deſtitute of civil accompliſhments, would ſoon ruin himſelf. *Adolph* propoſed a marriage between his ſon *Gerlac* and *Albert*'s daughter, but the latter rejected the propoſal with an *Auſtrian* haughtineſs. *Adolph* received ſome ſupport from *Edward* king of *England*, in hatred of the king of *France*, with whom he was at war, and who had diſmembered the empire of *Franche Compte*. The money *Adolph* received from *Edward*, enabled him to purchaſe *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, though to the prejudice of the true heirs. He then made a formal demand upon the king of *France* of the kingdom of *Arles* and other fiefs which he ſaid belonged to the empire. *Philip* diſmiſſed his ambaſſadors with the utmoſt contempt, upon which an impotent war enſued, not much to the credit of either party. *Philip* having diſcovered that *Adolph* was a penſioner of *England*, engaged in his intereſt the powerful duke of *Auſtria*, and the true heirs of *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*. *Adolph*'s affairs became thereby extremely embarraſſed in the empire, and the more ſo as his poverty did not admit of his ſharing with the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the other princes who had raiſed him to the empire, the ſubſidies he received from *England*. The event was, that the brothers *Frederic*, *Dietman*, and *Henry*, the true heirs of *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, after a three years war, in which they were generally ſucceſsful, ſtripped *Adolph* of all *Thuringia*.

His iniquitous purchaſe of *Thuringia*, which he loſes.

His miſcarriages,

His own private vices completed his ruin, and rendered him ſo odious, that the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Wenceſlaus*, king of *Bohemia*, *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, the two margraves of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Saxony*, drew up againſt him a kind of impeachment, which was to ſerve as a ground-work for his depoſition. They accuſed him of having given up the rights of the empire in *Italy*; of a mean, laviſh, tyrannical, arbitrary behaviour; of his receiving money from *Edward*, king of *England*, without fulfilling the conditions on which he obtained it; of his having encouraged his ſoldiers to violence and robbery; and of encouraging his officers in oppreſſing the ſubjects. All thoſe charges ſeem to have been built on the

ſame baſis, which was his poverty, which did not allow him either to keep a proper diſcipline in the empire, or to fulfil his engagements with *England*. They added to their impeachment a crime of a moſt inhuman nature, that of not only having debauched many women, married, unmarried, and even nuns, but that he had put many to death, after forcing them to ſatisfy his brutal appetites. *Adolph*, on the other hand, was befriended by the archbiſhop of *Triers*, by the count *Palatine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*; ſo that he, for ſome time, made head againſt the confederacy, which choſe *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, for their emperor. He raiſed troops to maintain his pretenſions againſt *Adolph*, whoſe right was ſupported by the pope, notwithſtanding all the arts made uſe of at the court of *Rome* to get the ſentence of his depoſition confirmed. This was ſo important a point to *Albert*, that his ambaſſador, the count de *Hohemberg*, forged letters of depoſition under the pope's hand and ſeal, and delivered them as true ones to the princes of the *Auſtrian* party; but this ſhameful impoſture was ſoon diſcovered, by the pope's firm attachment to *Adolph*.

When *Albert* was elected, the archbiſhop of *Mentz* harangued the people in the great church there. In his ſpeech, which was intended as the act of depoſition, he inſiſted upon *Adolph*'s indigence as a good reaſon for depoſing him, and allowed, that for ſome time after his acceſſion to the empire, he had behaved as a wiſe and a worthy prince, without ſpecifying the horrid crime of having murdered the women he had debauched: *We are informed*, ſaid he, *that the envoys we ſent to* Rome, *have obtained the pope's ſentence of depoſition; others tell us the contrary; but, without regarding any authority but what is veſted in ourſelves, we finding* Adolph *to be incapable of governing the empire, depoſe him, and elect in his room* Albert, *duke of* Auſtria, *to be king of the* Romans. *Adolph* continuing to be powerfully ſupported by the princes of his party, aſſembled his troops, and a bloody battle was fought near *Spire*, between him and his rival. *Adolph*, during the heat of it, ſingled out *Albert*, and riding up to him, *Now*, ſays he, *muſt you reſign to me the empire and your life: Both*, replied *Albert*, *are in the hands of God*, and thruſt his ſpear with ſuch fury through *Adolph*'s viſor, that the latter fell from his horſe, and was immediately diſpatched. This battle was fought the 2d of *July*, 1298, no more than eleven days after *Albert*'s election. Upon the death of *Adolph*, *Albert* ordered the carnage to be ſtopped, while the count *Palatine* and duke of *Bavaria* eſcaped by flight. *Adolph* reigned ſix years: his wife was *Imagina*, daughter of *Jorlach*, count of *Limbourg*, and by her he left two ſons, counts of *Naſſau*, and ſeveral daughters.

Depoſition, and death. 1298.

When we conſider the diſpoſition of the times, and the character of the *German* princes of thoſe days, we are apt to look upon *Adolph* rather to be unfortunate than wicked or criminal in his conduct. He doubtleſs was brave in his perſon, and his failure towards the king of *England* was more than probably owing

His character.

owing to the oppoſition he met with, which prevented his marching in perſon to that prince's aſſiſtance againſt *France*. It was pretty extraordinary, that the partizans of the *French* king in the empire ſhould urge it as a crime againſt their emperor that he had not aſſiſted their enemies.

## CHAP. XXX.

### ALBERT *the firſt, of* Auſtria, *called the Triumphant.*

*Albert* confirmed emperor.

THE ſpirit of cruſading, which had been ſo unfortunate to the *Germans*, inſpired them with the moſt cruel and vindictive ſentiments. Their zeal was influenced by the poverty in which they found themſelves upon their return from their expeditions, and without any provocation, or rather upon falſe pretexts, the Jews were moſt inhumanly robbed and plundered, not only all over *Germany*, but in the neighbouring provinces. *Albert* had protected ſuch of them as were in his dominions, and they paid him liberally for that protection. His acceſſion to the *Imperial* throne was a favourable period for them; he choſe to be recrowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the crowd was ſo great, that his brother-in-law, the duke of *Saxony*, was there ſqueezed to death. The ſame ſpirit of diſobedience and avarice that had ruined his predeceſſor, perſecuted him. The pope diſallowed his authority, and ſummoned him to appear at his tribunal. The eccleſiaſtical electors laid hold of this wretched pretence to withdraw their allegiance likewiſe, becauſe the emperor had required them to ſurrender the temporalities of which they had defrauded the revenues of the empire. Thus ſituated, *Albert* had no recourſe but to ſtrengthen himſelf by an alliance with *Philip* the fair of *France*, the pope's mortal enemy. After ſome negotiations, a marriage was concluded between *Albert*'s eldeſt ſon *Rodolph*, and the princeſs *Blanche*, *Philip*'s ſiſter, by which *Albert* agreed to beſtow upon *Rodolph* and his heirs, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, *Alſace*, and the other territories, as *Imperial* fiefs, and aſſigned *Alſace* and *Fribourg* as his daughter-in-law's jointure. This match ſerved only more to provoke the pope and the eccleſiaſtical electors; the former appeared publickly with a ſword by his ſide, and declared, that he knew of no *Cæſar* or king of the *Romans* but himſelf; and the latter formed the atrocious deſign of accuſing *Albert* as the murderer of his predeceſſor before the count *Palatine*, who, as they pretended, was judge within the *Imperial* palace, and that the emperor himſelf was anſwerable to his juriſdiction.

He divides his eſtates with his ſon.

He is defeated by *D'Avenes*,

The party againſt *Albert* was the more encouraged in thoſe unheard of proceedings, by the ill ſucceſs of *Albert* in a war which he maintained againſt *John D'Avenes*, who claimed the

ſucceſſion of *John*, count of *Holland*; while *Albert* pretended that it was a reverſible fief of the empire. The affair was at laſt compromiſed upon *D'Avenes* conſenting to pay homage to the emperor for *Holland*, *Weſt Frieſland*, and *Zealand*, and to receive the inveſtiture of them from him. This peace was made under the walls of *Cologne*, to which *D'Avenes* had driven *Albert*. He then ſummoned the eccleſiaſtical electors to appear before a diet of the empire at *Mentz*, but they anſwered him only by caballing for his deſtruction, and retiring to the dominions of the count *Palatine*, before whom they cited *Albert* to appear. *Albert*, on this occaſion, diſcovered himſelf to be worthy of empire. The princes of *Germany* were ſhocked at the inſolence and abſurdity of this conduct, as the chief fact advanced againſt *Albert* was what his accuſers had approved of, and enabled him to execute, we mean the death of his predeceſſor. Though the king of *Bohemia*, the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Saxony* remained neuter in the quarrel, yet *Albert* raiſed an army, with which he obliged the eccleſiaſtical princes to give up their claims, and the count *Palatine* to purchaſe his peace with a large ſum of money. The anti-*Imperialiſts* in *Germany* had now no reſource but to pope *Boniface* the VIIIth, who exerted himſelf in a manner that was amazingly daring. He redoubled his ſummonſes and fulminations againſt *Albert*, and perceiving that he was ſupported by the king of *France*, he perſuaded that prince's brother, *Charles* of *Valois*, to accept from him the office of *Imperial* vicar in *Italy*.

and excommunicated by the pope.

He next declared *Charles* emperor of the *Greeks*, and married him to the daughter of *Baldwin* the 2d, the depoſed emperor of *Conſtantinople*. The throne of *Poland* was then filled by *Wenceſlaus*, and that of *Hungary* being vacant by the death of king *Andrew*, the *Hungarians* offered it to *Wenceſlaus* likewiſe. That prince, who was at the ſame time king of *Bohemia*, recommended to their choice his ſon, who was actually crowned, and took the name of *Ladiſlaus*, though he was no more than thirteen years of age. *Albert* had always expreſſed the moſt profound regard for the holy ſee, notwithſtanding the pope's inſolence, and had made ſome unbecoming advances to obtain his friendſhip. Both of them pretended to have the diſpoſal of the crown of *Hungary*, and therefore both of them were equally diſguſted with the proceedings of the *Hungarians*. The pope had adjudged their crown to *Mary*, the ſiſter of *Ladiſlaus*, the third king of *Hungary*, but ſhe reſigning her right to her grandſon *Charobert*, the pope undertook to ſupport him, as did *Albert* likewiſe, through the dread and hatred he had for *Wenceſlaus*. The latter was one of the moſt politic, as well as powerful princes, that *Germany* had ſeen for a long time; but the *Germans* under *Albert* had formed ridiculous notions of the vaſt wealth to be acquired by their becoming maſters of the *Bohemian* ſilver mines; and they flocked to his ſtandard in ſuch numbers, that *Wenceſlaus* could not meet

1301. Affairs of *Hungary*.

them

where *Albert* miscarries.

them in the field. It is said, however, that he found means to poison the waters round the *Imperial* camp, by which *Albert*'s army was almost ruined; and he was obliged to fly to *Austria* with its wretched remains.

He is reconciled to the pope.

The quarrel between *Philip*, king of *France*, and *Boniface*, breaking out now with more violence than ever, the latter offered to confirm *Albert*'s election, but upon very disgraceful terms. He obliged *Albert*, in the most formal manner, to declare that the empire had been transferred by the holy see, from the *Greeks* to the *Germans*; and that all the rights, not only of the electors, but of emperors and kings, are derived from the pope. Such were some of the mortifying concessions upon which *Boniface* confirmed *Albert*'s election. Soon after, the partizans of *France* found means to surprize the pope's person at *Anagni*; but though he was delivered by the valour of the cardinal de *Fiesque*, he died a few days after, and was succeeded by *Benedict* the Xth, who died eleven months after his elevation. During the short time of his pontificate, he is said to have been very favourable to the emperor and empire of *Germany*.

Affairs of *Hungary*,

Young *Ladislaus* continued to reign in *Hungary*; but partly through the turbulence of that people, and partly through his own mismanagement, he had no power; and his father, to prevent his suffering a violent death, brought him back to *Bohemia*, by force. *Wenceslaus* soon after died, as it is said, through grief, and his son succeeding him, he resumed his former name of *Wenceslaus*, but was assassinated in his bed-chamber, twelve months after his accession to the *Bohemian* crown. Three thrones, to which the emperor had pretensions, were now vacant; those of *Bohemia*, *Poland*, and *Hungary*, and the subjects of each pretended to the power of electing their kings. The duke of *Carinthia*, who had married the sister of the late king, had a strong party of *Bohemians* in his favour; but *Albert* raised his son *Rodolph*, by force of arms, to that throne. *Henry* of *Carinthia* resigned his pretensions to *Rodolph*, who, having lost his first wife *Blanche*, married the widow of young *Wenceslaus*. *Rodolph* soon after died, and *Albert* endeavoured to procure the *Bohemian* crown for his other son *Frederic*, but he was disappointed. *Henry* of *Carinthia* was recalled, and obtained the throne; upon which *Albert*, after ravaging *Bohemia*, returned with his army to *Austria*.

and *Thuringia*.

We have already seen how the true heirs of *Thuringia* recovered their patrimony from the emperor *Adolph*, who had purchased it from their unnatural father. Upon *Adolph*'s death, his brother, *Philip* of *Nassau*, demanded the territories in question from the two brothers *Frederic* and *Dietman*, who held them in *Philip*'s claim, was favoured by the emperor, in hopes of his sharing the spoil. The princes were summoned to appear at the *Imperial* tribunal, and all the independant part of *Germany* applauded their spirit, in refusing to submit

ſubmit their property to *Albert*'s deciſion. Both ſides raiſed forces; the princes were put to the ban of the empire; but *Frederic* raiſed an army with which he fought, and entirely defeated *Albert* at *Luchan*, and obliged him to betake himſelf to a ſhameful flight. Notwithſtanding his loſs and diſgrace, *Albert* continued to ſupport *Charobert* in his claim to the crown of *Hungary*, which was diſputed by the duke of *Bavaria*; but *Charobert* being befriended by the pope, the *Bavarian* was obliged to renounce his title, and *Charobert* aſcended the *Hungarian* throne. He took the name of *Charles*, and held it of the pope, his ſubjects preferring to be vaſſals to him rather than the emperor. A civil war, at this time, raged in the north of *Germany*, between *Gerhard*, count of *Holſtein*, and his nobles, whom he defeated and beſieged in *Lubec*. The *Lubeckers* being ſtrongly ſupported by the duke of *Saxony* and the king of *Denmark*, made a vigorous defence, though *Gerhard* had built a fort at the mouth of the *Trave* to diſtreſs their trade; but the quarrel was at laſt made up, by the interpoſition of the *Daniſh* general, and the emperor *Albert* was to decide, in four years time, to whom the fort was to belong. The *Holſteiners*, however, not being fond of an *Imperial* arbitration, agreed to refer all their future differences to the king of *Denmark*, and the duke of *Mecklenburg*.

1307. Diſturbances in the north.

We are now arrived at the æra of the *Helvetian* liberty. The conſtitution of *Switzerland*, before the acceſſion of the houſe of *Hapſpurg* to the *Imperial* crown, is little known. It is certain that the *Switzers*, by the ſituation of their country, which is mountainous, and in many places inacceſſible, have always been inſpired with notions of independency, which they preſerved by maintaining a ſort of equality of condition among themſelves. In conſequence of this, they oppoſed all their overgrown nobility, but ſubmitted reſpectfully to the *Imperial* authority. Three of their cantons, *Ury*, *Underwaldt*, and *Switz*, had put themſelves under the protection of *Rodolph* of *Hapſpurg*, before he became emperor, and he maintained them in their independency. The emperor *Albert* deviated from this moderation, and finding all the means he employed ineffectual to reduce them to a ſtate of dependence upon him as head of the houſe of *Auſtria*, he filled their country, by virtue of his *Imperial* authority, with a ſet of *German* monſters, under the title of governors, who exerciſed all manner of cruelties upon the natives. One *Griſler*, an *Auſtrian* governor of *Ury*, erected a cap on a pole in the market place of *Altorff*, and ordered that the ſame homage ſhould be paid to it by the paſſengers as to his own perſon. One *William Tell*, an incomparable archer, refuſed to comply with this tyrannical, but ridiculous, command. He was apprehended and brought before *Griſler*, who condemned him either to be hanged, or to redeem his life by cleaving an apple placed on his ſon's head, at a certain diſtance, with an arrow. *Tell* had the good fortune to cleave the apple without touching his ſon.

Riſe of the *Helvetic* liberty,

*Griſler*

*Griſler* ſeeing another arrow in his girdle, demanded what he intended to do with that, and *Tell* frankly anſwered, *To have ſent it through thy heart had I killed my ſon:* upon which *Griſler* condemned him to perpetual impriſonment, within a caſtle, on an iſland; and accompanied him in the boat, that he might ſee him cloſely ſecured. A ſtorm overtaking them, the command of the boat was given to *Tell*, who had got his bread upon the water, and rowing the boat near the land, he jumped aſhore, and made his eſcape.

which is eſtabliſhed.

Though the *Helvetic* liberty is generally dated from this remarkable ſtory, yet we are apt to think, that its connection with it was only accidental, and that it had a more noble riſe. Three *Swiſſers*, *Arnauld Melchtat*, a native of *Underwald*; *Werner Strauffacher*, of *Switz*; and *Walter Furts*, of *Ury*; (names ſo uncouth that they have injured their memory) conſulted together upon the noble principles of freedom, and reſolved to deliver their country from the *Auſtrian* tyranny. Each brought into the concert three more, and each being bound under an oath of ſecrecy, engaged others whom oppreſſion had rendered deſperate. The *Auſtrian* governors ſeem to have facilitated the enterprize of the conſpirators, by the contempt they had for the ſpirit and poverty of the *Swiſſers*; for though they built forts, they took no care as to the diſcipline of the garriſons.

1308. The conſpirators finding themſelves ſtrong enough to make their attempt, fixed on the firſt of *January*, 1308, and almoſt at the ſame hour they made themſelves maſters of the fortreſſes of *Sarn*, *Altorff*, and *Lowertz*, without the loſs of a man. Some hiſtorians tell us, that *Tell* eſcaped to the conſpirators, and entering into their confederacy, he ſtruck *Griſler* dead with an arrow. Whatſoever may be in this, it is certain, that the *Auſtrians*, in a ſhort time, were expelled from the *Swiſs* cantons, who have ever ſince maintained their liberty.

Conjecture.

Though we have given the great outlines of this revolution, yet undoubtedly many circumſtances are omitted. *Albert* intended to have erected the cantons into a principality, for one of his ſons; and we are apt to believe, that *Tell*'s puniſhment was inflicted upon him in conſequence of ſome diſcoveries being made by *Griſler*, of his being engaged with the conſpirators. The death of *Griſler*, by the arrow of *Tell*, who laid an ambuſcade for him, ſeems to be well aſcertained, as a chapel was built in commemoration of the event.

*Albert* is murdered.

*Albert*'s paſſion for aggrandizing his family, or rather his ſons, ruined him. Upon the death of his brother *Rodolph*, duke of *Suabia*, and landgrave of *Alſace*, *Albert* took upon himſelf the tutorage of his only ſon *John*, who, after he was at age, could not perſuade the emperor to put him in poſſeſſion of his eſtates. *John* naturally ſuppoſed that *Albert* intended to beſtow his patrimony upon one of his ſix ſons, whom he had by his empreſs; and in this belief he was confirmed by the univerſal deteſtation that prevailed againſt *Albert*, on account of his iniquitous practices in the affairs of *Bohemia*, *Miſnia*,

*Miſnia*, and *Thuringia*. He employed the biſhop of *Straſburg* to intercede for him with the emperor, who gave him no other anſwer than that he would conſider *John*'s caſe, after he had ſerved for ſome time in his armies. *Albert* was then marching at the head of his troops, to reduce the revolted cantons of *Swiſſerland*; and *John* found means to engage in a deſign of aſſaſſinating him, three of *Albert*'s favourite domeſtics, *Rodolph* of *Warth*, *Walter* of *Eſchebach*, and *Ulric* of *Palm*. *Albert* having made an entertainment to his courtiers at *Baſil*, ſet out for *Rhinfelden*, and being to croſs the river *Rhees*, near *Schaffhauſen*, he entered a boat, attended by *John* and the three domeſtics, while the ſon and the other courtiers waited on the bank of the river for the return of the boat. The emperor and the conſpirators landing, he was proceeding through a new plowed field, when he was ſtruck in the throat by *John*, and wounded by the other aſſaſſins in different parts of his body; which put an end to his life in the ſight of his ſon and all his courtiers, who could afford him no aſſiſtance. The execution of this conſpiracy ſeems to have been owing to the fumes of wine; for it does not appear that the conſpirators had laid down any plan to follow, after it was over. *John*, after lurking a long time in *Italy*, died in a convent, to which the pope had confined him, by way of penance; *Palm* died in a convent likewiſe; *Eſchebach* lived and died a cowherd 35 years after; but *Warth* was broken alive upon the wheel.

His iſſue, and character.

Beſides the ſix ſons which *Albert* had by his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter to the duke of *Carinthia*, he had five daughters, all of them married to conſiderable princes. It cannot be denied that *Albert* had courage and underſtanding; but thoſe hiſtorians who praiſe him for his love of truth, do not conſider, that every act of injuſtice (and *Albert* was guilty of many) is a violation of that divine virtue. His manners and perſon are ſaid to have been vulgar and coarſe, and he made uſe of his affectation for plainneſs, as a cloak for his ſordid avaricious diſpoſition.

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## CHAP. XXXI.

### HENRY *the ſeventh*, *of* Luxembourg.

*Henry* of *Luxembourg* choſen emperor,

THE princes of *Germany* ſeem, for ſome reigns paſt, to have induſtriouſly avoided chuſing for their head, a ſon or deſcendent of the immediately preceding emperor. *Clement* the Vth was then pope, and *Philip* the fair, king of *France*, protected him from the *Italians* and *Romans*, who had driven him into exile. Some have even ſaid, that he owed his elevation to *Philip*, who exacted from him a promiſe that he would favour his pretenſions to the *Imperial* crown. *Clement* durſt not diſoblige *Philip*, but he privately diſpatched advices,

vices, informing the electors, that if they did not speedily determine their chice, *Philip* would become their head, and revive all the claims, which the descendents of *Charles the Great* had upon the empire. He recommended, at the same time, *Henry*, count of *Luxembourg*, who was accordingly chosen by the six electors, the kingdom of *Bohemia* being then vacant. The names of those electors are of importance. They were the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, who acted as chancellors; the count *Palatine*, and ancestor of the present house of *Bavaria*, who was grand master of the household; the duke of *Saxony*, who was great master of the horse; and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who was great chamberlain. Before the election they drew up certain articles for the preservation of the fiefs and privileges which were to be confirmed by the emperor elect, who was chosen at *Franckfort*.

by means of the pope.

His son *John* chosen king of *Bohemia*.

*Henry* of *Luxembourg* had signalized himself in the empire on various occasions, and was in *Franckfort* at the time of the election; but he appeared to be greatly surprized when he was informed that it had fallen upon himself. Among the first exercises of his authority, was his putting *John* of *Austria* to the ban of the empire, for murdering the late emperor. The *Austrian* dominions were claimed and obtained by *Albert*'s sons, *Frederic*, *Leopold*, *Albert*, and *Otho*; and here the iniquity of the house of *Hapspurg* fully appeared; for the princes proved, that the emperor *Rodolph* had left the *Austrian* dominions to their father, who had never dared to avow the injury that was thereby done to their true heir. At this assembly, which was held at *Spire*, *Elizabeth*, daughter and heiress to *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, made her appearance. The *Bohemians* had chosen the emperor's son *John* for their king, but upon an express condition which he and his father agreed to, of his marrying this princess, whose story is somewhat singular. Perceiving that the emperor evaded the match, from some scruples he had of her chastity, she came into the emperor's bed-chamber, attended by the chief matrons of the court, and undressing herself, submitted to an inspection, which fully vindicated her chastity; upon which the nuptials between her and *John* were celebrated with vast magnificence; and *John*, after surmounting a vigorous opposition made to him by the duke of *Carinthia*, was, together with his consort, crowned at *Prague*.

*Henry* prepares to march into *Italy*.

*Henry*, while preparations were making for his march into *Italy*, ordered the bodies of his predecessors, *Adolph* and *Albert* to be solemnly interred at *Spire*, and then he sent a splendid deputation, notifying his election to the pope, who readily consented to crown him at *Rome*, upon his promising to confirm all the rights and possessions of the holy see, which had been sworn to by preceding emperors. In 1310, the emperor summoned the count of *Wurtemburg* to appear in a diet at *Spire*; but the count refusing to submit, he was put to the ban of the empire, and divested of his estates. This emperor

1310.

renewed that perſecution againſt the *Jews*, on pretence of their uſury and extortion, and would for the ſame reaſon have ſeized upon the properties of the knights templars, who were immenſely rich, had they not been protected by the pope. *Italy* ſtill continued to be torn by the factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*; but the *Imperial* authority was then but little heard of in that country. The emperor endeavoured to revive it by making the moſt magnificent promiſes to the ſtates and people, and appointed his ſon *John*, king of *Bohemia*, with a proper council, to adminiſter the affairs of the empire during his abſence. When he arrived in *Italy* with his army and the chief *German* princes, inſtead of obſerving his promiſes, it was eaſily perceived that he intended to revive all the *Imperial* claims upon *Italy*. The pope repented of the encouragement he had given him, and formed a ſtrong confederacy to thwart him, but without ſucceſs. He was received at *Aſti*, *Caſal*, and *Vercelli*, where he left *German* governors, and encouraged all the *Gibelin* faction to repair to his ſtandards. Entering *Milan* without any oppoſition, he obliged the inhabitants, who were rich, to pay him a ſum of money; and he diſplaced *Guy de la Torre* from the government of that city, which he gave to *Matthew Viſconti*, the founder of an illuſtrious race. *De la Torre* reſented his deprivation, and is ſaid to have entered into a conſpiracy for murdering the emperor and his attendants; but this, by others, is thought to be only an invention to juſtify the maſſacre that followed of *la Torre*'s friends, and the ſeizure of their eſtates. *Guy* himſelf eſcaped, and *Henry* ordered his own chancellor to be burnt alive, for having ſecretly plotted with *Guy* for his deſtruction, and that of the *German* army. His progreſs,

As *Henry* was poor, he put his favours up to ſale, at *Parma*, *Vicenza*, and *Placentia*. *Cremona* ventured to oppoſe him, for which he ſacked and plundered it. *Padua* bought her peace with 100,000 crowns, and the *Venetians*, beſides a large ſum of money, preſented the emperor with a magnificent golden crown enriched with diamonds, and other coſtly regalia. The whole of *Henry*'s progreſs, which is known by the name of the *Roman* expedition, was ſo alarming to the *Italians*, that the old iron crown was ſecreted at *Monſa*, and *Henry* was crowned with one made on purpoſe. *Breſcia* made a moſt deſperate reſiſtance againſt the emperor's troops, and under the command of *Thibault de Druſſati*, gave him battle. Though the victory was obſtinately conteſted, and the emperor beaten off his horſe, yet the *German* diſcipline carried the day; the *Breſcians* were driven back into their city, and *Thibault*, being found juſt alive on the field of battle, was, for his ingratitude to *Henry*, torn in pieces by horſes, for which the *Breſcians* hanged fifty of the *German* priſoners over their walls. *Henry*, whoſe brother had been killed during the ſiege, preſſed it with redoubled fury, and obliged the *Breſcians* to ſurrender at diſcretion. Inſtead of inflicting upon them the dread- Oppreſſion,

and miſcarriages there.

ful penalties he had threatened, he was contented with diſmantling their city, and obliging the inhabitants to pay him 60,000 crowns. He appointed a *German* governor in *Breſcia*, as he did in *Verona*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, all which cities he viſited, and then he marched to *Genoa*, where he was received as emperor. The pope, who remained ſtill in exile from *Rome*, confederated with *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and the powerful cities of *Florence*, *Bologna*, and *Lucca*, to ſtop *Henry*'s progreſs. In the mean time, to amuſe him, *Robert*'s brother, the prince of *Morea*, was ſent to *Rome* with a body of troops, on pretence of preparing matters for the pope's reception; but after ſeizing all the chief poſts of the city, he declared that he would not give him admittance.

He is crowned in *Rome*.

*Henry*, by favour of the *Colonnas*, appeared before *Rome* with his army in battalia; upon which the prince of *Morea* withdrew his troops, and *Henry* entering the city, demanded of the deputation of cardinals ſent by the pope to crown him, that the ceremony ſhould be performed in the church of St. *John de Lateran*, becauſe that of St. *Peter*'s was in his enemy's hands. The cardinals, with reluctance, complied; and the people of *Rome*, the ſtreets of which ran with blood, were in hopes of ſeeing their tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed. They were deceived. The emperor, inſtead of giving them the uſual largeſs, demanded money from them; upon which they ran to arms, killed 2000 of his men, and drove himſelf out of the city. *Henry* imputed this loſs and diſgrace to the king of *Naples*, and formed a league with *Frederic* the IId, king of *Sicily*, for attacking *Naples*, after he had reduced *Tuſcany*. The pope endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent this league, for the emperor proceeded with fire and ſword through the *Tuſcan* territories; and after beſieging *Florence* for forty days, he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and to march his army into winter quarters, while his enemy, *Robert*, was choſen by the *Tuſcan* ſtates to be their protector for four years.

1313. His death

In the ſpring of the year, 1313, *Henry* ſummoned *Robert* to appear before him, and not obeying, he was, as his feudatory, put to the ban of the empire, and pronounced guilty of treaſon. He proceeded in the ſame frantic manner againſt the *Florentines* and the *Lucqueſe*. The reinforcements he expected from *Germany* arriving at laſt, and the *Genoeſe* and *Sicilian* fleets being ready, he prepared to march againſt *Naples*, notwithſtanding all the pope could do to reſtrain him; but he previouſly ſent an apology for his conduct to the king of *France*, who ſeemed to be alarmed at his progreſs. *Henry* was ſo intent upon his *Neapolitan* expedition, that he headed it in perſon, though his health was then very precarious. Being advanced almoſt as far as *Vienna*, he died, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned in a conſecrated hoſt, by *Bernard de Montepulciano*, a *Dominican*. His death happened after he had reigned four years, ſeven months, and eighteen days, and in the fifty-firſt year of his age. This

emperor was married to *Margaret*, a daughter of the duke of *Brabant*, by whom he had *John*, king of *Bohemia*, and four daughters; *Beatrix*, who was married to *Charles*, king of *Hungary*; *Mary*, the wife of *Charles* the fair, of *France*; *Agnes*, who was married to *Rodolph*, count palatine of the *Rhine*; and *Catharine*, the wife of *Leopold*, duke of *Auſtria*. We are told by ſome writers that *Henry*, at the time of his death, was betrothed to *Catharine*, daughter to *Albert* of *Auſtria*. We can add but little to what we have already obſerved concerning the character of this prince, whoſe boundleſs thirſt after power and money, expoſed him to the hatred and contempt of the *Italians*. He ſeems to havē purſued a ſyſtem different from thoſe of his immediate predeceſſors, by endeavouring to eſtabliſh that empire in *Italy*, which *Frederic* the IId had in vain aimed at. It is difficult to ſay what the event might have been, had *Henry* lived a few years longer; for though both *Guelphs* and *Gibilines* hated the eſtabliſhment of the *Imperial* power in *Italy*, yet their intereſts were ſo equally ballanced, and the *Italians* in general were ſo greatly divided amongſt themſelves that a reſolute army of *Germans*, animated by the hopes of *Italian* plunder, might have effected vaſt revolutions. and iſſue.

*An interregnum of fourteen months.*

The affairs of *Germany*, during the abſence of her emperors in *Italy*, afford, as it were, a diſtinct copartment in hiſtory, eſpecially, as was the caſe with the laſt emperor, when they left behind them a delegation of power with a king of the *Romans*, or a proper regency. The abſence of the late *Henry* was the æra of the aggrandizement of the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who had already butchered all the *Samogitians* who would not turn *Chriſtians*, and had made ſome important ſettlements towards the *Baltic*. In a diſpute between *Meſterein* and his younger brother *Wratiſlaus*, concerning their ſucceſſion to their father in the dutchy of *Pomerania*, the latter had made ſeveral conſiderable conceſſions to the knights, and tho' they gave them no effectual aſſiſtance, the count de *Helderingen*, grand maſter of their order, being favoured by the pope's legates, was put in poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of *Dantzic*, then belonging to *Pomerania*. *Dantzic*, after this, underwent various revolutions, and paſſed through ſeveral owners, *Brandenburghers* as well as *Poles*. The latter, while they remained in poſſeſſion of it, were ſeized by the former. The knights, at the requeſt of the *Poles*, raiſed the ſiege, but kept the town to themſelves, becauſe their employers could not otherwiſe pay them. After this, they purchaſed the *Pruſſian Pomerania* from the marquis of *Brandenburg*, then a powerful prince in the north of *Germany*. Many other revolutions, belonging to another part of our hiſtory, particularly the acquiſition which the duke of *Mecklenburgh* made of the city of *Roſtock*, happened about the ſame time. Interregnum.

Order of the *Templars* extinguished

But the chief object of attention to all *Europe* in the year 1313, was the extinction of the order of *Knights Templars*. They were put to death with various tortures, and perfecuted in many different fhapes by the *European* princes; but they found fome refpite in *Bavaria* and *Auftria*, though at laft even thofe followed the fate of their brethren, till their order became extinct. The ridiculous charges brought to juftify the cruelties exercifed upon them, fuch as thofe of witchcraft, forcery, and idolatry, fully prove that their wealth was their greateft crime; and indeed, when all circumftances are confidered, had their extinction been effected without the horrid cruelties attending it, the meafure might have been wife and juft, as they were by far too powerful and too rich for a religious order.

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## CHAP. XXXII.

### LEWIS *the fifth, of* Bavaria.

Accefion of *Lewis* to the *Imperial* throne.

UPON the death of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*, his brother *Lewis* claimed the regency of his dominions, in which he was oppofed by *Frederic*, duke of *Auftria*, who was obliged to refign to *Lewis* his pretenfions. It was foon feen that this quarrel was only a trial of fkill between thofe two princes, each of whom had an eye upon the *Imperial* crown. Thofe and many other diforders which then prevailed in *Germany*, obliged *Lewis* and *Rodolph*, dukes of *Bavaria*, to form an affociation for the fupport of the public tranquillity againft thofe robbers who infefted every corner of *Germany*, and which was to laft till the *Imperial* throne was filled. It became now a received maxim among the *German* princes, that the election of an emperor belonged to the great hereditary offices of the palace, but the rights of fucceffion among thofe princes was fo confufed by marriages, intermarriages, laft wills, bans of the empire, and the like, and indeed the right of fucceffion itfelf was fo unfettled among them, that feveral princes claimed the fame fervices. *Henry*, duke of *Carinthia*, difputed with *John* of *Luxembourg*, the king of *Bohemia*, the fervice of cup-bearer, and confequently the right of being an elector. The like difputes happened between *John* and *Rodolph*, the two dukes of *Saxony*, each claiming to be grand marfhal of the empire; nor would *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, refign to his elder brother, the count *Palatine*, his right of voting. All thefe contradictory claims being made by independent princes, were not to be determined by a fuperior tribunal, as none fuch then exifted in *Germany*, nor indeed were they fettled till the paffing of the golden bull under *Charles* the IVth.

To thofe political calamities (for fuch they were on account of their conſequences) many natural ones were added.

Plague,

Plague, famine, wild beaſts, inundations, and earthquakes, raged in *Germany*, from one end to the other, to ſuch a degree, that it is ſaid children and parents eat each other. The princes of the empire made uſe of the firſt abatements of thoſe viſitations to aſſemble at *Franckfort:* they were the archbiſhops of *Mentz* (who was alſo count of *Luxembourg*, and brother to the emperor *Henry* VII.) and *Cologne*; with *John*, king of *Bohemia*, ſon to the late emperor; the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; and *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, his brother; the marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Rodolph*, ſon to *Albert* II. duke of *Saxony*; and *Eric*, ſon to *John* the IIId, duke of *Lower Saxony*. Theſe electors appear to have come to a tacit compromiſe, that all their votes ſhould be admitted, though only ſeven of them could have a right; but authors are even divided as to the number of votes given on this occaſion, nor does it appear that the king of *Bohemia* voted at all. The electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, *Bohemia*, and *Brandenburg*, choſe *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, who being an elector himſelf, was upon the ſpot, and gave his vote to his own party. The other four electors are ſaid to have declared for the duke of *Auſtria*, who having no vote, remained at *Saxenhauſen*, on the other ſide of the river. *Lewis* availing himſelf of his majority, was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle* by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, as his competitor was at *Bonn*, by the archbiſhop of *Cologne*. The intereſt of *Lewis* was ſtrong in *Weſtphalia* and the *Lower Rhine*, as that of *Frederic* was on the *Upper Rhine*; but the *Swiſſes* took part with the *Bavarian*, that they might defend their newly acquired liberties againſt the *Auſtrian*. *Germany* was again involved in blood and confuſion, and we are told that attempts were even made to aſſaſſinate *Lewis*. *Bavaria* was laid waſte by *Leopold* of *Auſtria*, and *Lewis* remained in a ſtate of inactivity till he could know the ſucceſs of an important treaty he was then negociating with the *Swiſs* cantons, which was ſtrongly oppoſed by *Leopold*, who marched about 20,000 men into their country. The three confederated cantons could raiſe no more than 16,000 men, and thoſe but poorly armed; but they poſted themſelves ſo advantageouſly in a paſs, near *Morgarten*, by which they knew the *Auſtrians* muſt march, that the latter were compleatly defeated, the *Swiſſes* ſupplying their want of arms by huge fragments of rocks, which they rolled down from the mountains, and which killed ſo many of the *Auſtrians*, and diſordered their army ſo much, that the *Swiſſes* falling upon them ſword in hand, drove them with great ſlaughter out of their country. This glorious ſtand for liberty, and the victory that attended it, is juſtly compared with the nobleſt that the *Greek* or *Roman* hiſtory can produce.

Plague and other calamities in *Germany*.

In the year 1316, a battle was fought upon the banks of the *Neckar*, between the two *Imperial* rivals, but victory declared on neither ſide. *John* the XXIId was then pope, and both parties applied to him, but he took part with neither, and 1316.

declared both of them to be rebels, if they did not appear at his tribunal, and ſubmit to his arbitration. Thoſe proceedings revived the wars between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy*; and though all of them fought for themſelves, yet the *Gibelins* declared for *Lewis*, as the *Guelphs* did for *Frederic*, who ſeemed to have the greateſt ſhare of the pope's favour; but the *Viſconti* family, who were *Gibelins*, and who conquered for themſelves in the name of *Lewis*, were the greateſt gainers by the diſpute, though they were obliged by the pope and the king of *Naples* to raiſe the ſiege of *Genoa*. Matters remained in this indeciſive ſtate till the year 1319; *Lewis* had the ſtrongeſt intereſt in the empire, but the family of *Auſtria* was the moſt powerful. The two armies at laſt met near *Muldorf*, and *Frederic* propoſed the barbarous (but then thought legal) expedient of deciding their differences by a combat of fifteen men on a ſide. The propoſal was accepted, but the champions fought ſo deſperately that all of them were killed on the ſpot. A general battle naturally enſued, and *Frederic*, not being ſupported by his brother *Leopold*, was obliged, after a long and obſtinate engagement, to repaſs the river *Inn*; but *Lewis* could ſcarcely boaſt of his victory, it was ſo undeciſive. In a few weeks each of them was at the head of a ſtronger army, but *Frederic* obliged *Lewis* to take ſhelter under the walls of *Haguenau*.

*Italian* troubles revived.

1319.

Battle of *Muldorf*.

1320. The ſame ſuperiority was held by the *Auſtrians* during the year 1320, when they ravaged *Bavaria*. Next year, the *Auſtrians* made a fruitleſs expedition into *Italy*; for finding the affairs of the *Guelphs* in a manner deſperate, they returned under their general, *Henry* of *Auſtria*, another of *Frederic*'s brothers, without effecting any thing. *Henry*, on his return, found his brother *Frederic* again ravaging *Bavaria*, where he declared he would fix his quarters between the *Iſer* and the *Inn*. *Lewis* having been joined by the king of *Bohemia*, the burgrave of *Nuremburg*, and the other heads of his party, found himſelf at the head of 30,000 veterans, and reſolved to venture a deciſive action in the plain of *Vechivis*, between *Muldorf* and *Oettingen*, on the 29th of *September*, 1322. The *Bavarians* at firſt were routed, and *Frederic* thought himſelf ſecure of victory, when a *Bavarian* captain, one *Schwepperman*, rallying the troops of *Lewis*, led them on to the charge, renewed the battle, and compleatly defeated the *Auſtrians*. Duke *Henry* was dangerouſly wounded and taken priſoner, as was the duke of *Lorrain*; but *Lewis*'s moſt important acquiſition that day, was the perſon of his competitor, *Frederic*, who was taken priſoner after killing fifty of his enemies with his own hand, and remaining alone on the field of battle. When the burgrave of *Nuremburg* brought him in priſoner, *Lewis* ordered the purſuit to be ſtopped, and *Frederic* was ſent to the caſtle of *Tranſnitz*.

1320. *Frederic* taken priſoner.

1322.

*Leopold* of *Auſtria* was marching to the aſſiſtance of his brother with an army, when he heard of his misfortunes. He

He then retired to his own eſtate, and negociated with the pope and the king of *France*, for the delivery of his two brothers. Duke *Henry* and the duke of *Lorrain* were ſet at liberty, but the former died ſoon after, and *Frederic* continued a priſoner for three years. *Lewis* may be ſaid to have remained now without a competitor in the empire, and was acknowledged emperor by almoſt all the princes, excepting *Leopold* of *Auſtria*, who taking advantage of ſome commotions in *Bohemia*, was in hopes of mounting that throne. *Lewis* ſhewed himſelf placable towards all the princes who were willing to ſubmit, excepting his own brother *Rodolph*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, whoſe dominions he ſeized, and forced him to fly to *England*, where he died in want and obſcurity. The king of *Bohemia* met with ſo much trouble that he ſurrendered his crown to the emperor *Lewis*, who gave him in exchange the palatinate, the inheritance of his brother and family. The *Bohemians* refuſed to ſtand to the bargain, which indeed gives us no favourable idea of the princes who made it, and *Lewis* was obliged to cancel it, and the *Bohemians* renewed their oaths of allegiance to *John*.

*Lewis* acknowledged emperor.

*Lewis* then aſſembled a diet at *Nuremburg*, where a ſtrict ſtatute was enacted againſt the reverſionary grants of benefices obtained at the court of *Rome*; and this increaſed the animoſity between the pope and the emperor. The nature of the *German* fiefs did not favour any alienation of them from the immediate deſcendents of the laſt poſſeſſor; and *Lewis*, whoſe reſentment probably had ſubſided by his brother's death, reſtored the palatinate to his children; but (as we are told) with the expreſs condition, that his and their family ſhould enjoy the electoral vote by turns. By this agreement it would appear as if he had ſome doubts concerning the validity of his own vote, as his was but the ſecond branch. His proceedings with regard to the marquiſate of *Brandenburg* were ſtill more unjuſtifiable. That elector, marquis *Volmar* the third, undertook a pilgrimage to the holy land in the ridiculous manner of thoſe days, and left the adminiſtration of his electorate to his brother *John*, who died in leſs than a month after the departure of the marquis. *Lewis*, as head of the empire, without waiting for an account of *Volmar*'s death, gives his electorate to one of his own ſons, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, in prejudice of the houſe of *Saxe Lawenburg*, and *Anhalt*, the deſcendants of the ancient houſe of *Aſcania*, from which that of *Brandenburg* likewiſe was deſcended, beſides many other competitors of the ſame line. The aggrandizement of family intereſts was not peculiar to the houſes of *Suabia* and *Auſtria*; for it ſeems to have been the ultimate object of *Lewis*, who by his ſecond marriage with *Margaret*, daughter of *William*, count of *Hainault* and *Holland*, acquired not only thoſe two noble earldoms, but *Friezland* and *Zealand* likewiſe.

Diet at *Nuremburg*.

*Lewis* was ſtopped in his career of accumulating wealth and dominions to his family by the continuance of his breach with

The pope superior in *Italy*.

the pope, *John* the XXIId. That pontiff's party was now far ſuperior in *Italy* to the *Gibelins*, and the pope rejecting all offers of accommodation with the *Gibelins*, the emperor acted ſo artfully by his agents with the cities and ſtates who were well affected to him, that they united under his general count *Bertholdi*, who retook *Milan*. The pope upon this publiſhed a bull againſt the emperor, in a ſtrain, if poſſible, more extravagant than that made uſe of by the moſt extravagant and ambitious of his predeceſſors. He there pretends that the em-

Proteſts againſt the emperor,

peror ought to reign by the permiſſion and authority of the pope alone, who may depoſe him at his pleaſure, and therefore he orders all his ſubjects, of what degree ſoever, to withdraw their obedience from that tyrant and uſurper, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. The emperor proteſted againſt the bull, convoked all the learned eccleſiaſtics and laymen in *Germany*, to conſider it, and they pronounced it to be anti-chriſtian, adviſing him at the ſame time to have recourſe to a general council. Tho' the emperor was fully convinced that this advice was rational and conſtitutional, yet he applied for a reconciliation with his holineſs, who would grant him no farther time than three months for reſigning the title of king of the *Romans*, and withdrawing his countenance from the *Italian Gibelins*. All the emperor could do, was to proteſt againſt the papal proceedings, and to endeavour to anſwer the bulls upon paper.

who exhibits articles againſt the pope,

The pope, on this occaſion, was encouraged by the ſtate of affairs in *Germany*, where *Leopold* of *Auſtria* not only refuſed to recognize the emperor's title, but defeated his forces at the ſiege of *Burgau*, where *Leopold* detained the *Imperial* regalia, which he had ſeized. On the other hand the *Gibelins* were victorious all over *Italy*, where the people had been forced to preach up another cruſade againſt the *Imperial* party. His holineſs upon the expiration of the three months, actually excommunicated *Lewis*, who was ſupported by the diet of the empire at *Ratiſbon*, where the princes threatened to treat all who ſhould pay any regard to the pope's excommunication, as traitors and enemies to their country. *Lewis* went further, for he in his turn exhibited 36 articles againſt the pope, for which he inſiſted he ought to be depoſed in a general council. *Lewis* does not ſeem to have properly ſupported the vigorous meaſures he propoſed. He ſpent his time too much in endeavouring to gain over the *German* noblemen by the exhibition of magnificent juſts and tournaments at *Franckfort*. Being diſappointed in this expedient, he entered into a confederacy with the king of *Bohemia*, the archbiſhop of *Treves*, and the earl of *Barr*. They took *Metz*, and the pope offered the *Imperial* crown to *Charles* the fair, of *France*, who was to be ſupported by all the *Auſtrian* intereſt in *Germany*. Other *German* princes ſeemed not ill diſpoſed towards *Charles*, and *Leopold* unadviſedly propoſed that *Charles* ſhould give him and them the meeting at *Bar ſur Aube*. *Charles* conſented, and repaired thither with a magnificent equipage, but was met only by

by *Leopold*, upon which *Charles*, in diſguſt, threw up all further concern in the project.

*Leopold*, after other fruitleſs tentatives, was afraid of being deſerted by his friends, and voluntarily ſent the *Imperial* regalia to *Lewis*; but could not thereby procure his brother's releaſe from priſon. This rigour of *Lewis* was equally diſpleaſing to the princes of the empire, and at laſt he was obliged to ſet *Frederic* at liberty, upon his promiſing to relinquiſh all pretenſions to the empire during the lifetime of *Lewis*. The pope abſolved *Frederic* from his oath, and the *Auſtrians* were about to have renewed the war, when *Leopold* died, and *Frederic*, who had contracted a diſeaſe in priſon, found himſelf embroiled in family quarrels with his brother *Otho*. *Germany* thus obtaining ſome reſpite, the *Italian Gibelins*, and, among others, the *Romans*, invited *Lewis* to that country, that he might make head againſt the pope and the king of *Naples*, who continued to be the heads of the *Guelphs*, and that he might receive the *Imperial* crown at *Rome*, though without the concurrence of the pope, who remained ſtill at *Avignon*. *Lewis* marched to *Italy* with a ſmall army, but aſſembling the heads of his party at *Trent*, he found them ſo ſtrong and numerous, that he ordered the biſhops who adhered to him to excommunicate the pope, which they accordingly did. *Lewis* then received from the hands of the biſhop of *Arezzo*, the crown of *Italy*, at *Milan*, and then he ſet forwards towards *Rome*, from whence the people had lately expelled the *Neapolitan* faction, who had ſurprized their city. ſet at liberty.

*Lewis* in his march reduced *Piſa*, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him a large ſum of money, becauſe they had refuſed to admit him into their city on account of his being excommunicated. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with great ſplendor by *Colonna*, the governor, at the head of the ſenators, and was crowned in the church of St. *Peter*, by the biſhops of *Venice* and *Aleria*. The emperor's behaviour towards the *Romans*, was ſo noble and engaging, that they preſented him with the keys of their city and its fortreſſes, which he garriſoned with his own troops. It would be ſuperfluous, after what has been already ſaid, to repeat the acrimonious writings and bulls fulminated on this occaſion by the pope againſt *Lewis*, who diſappointed him in all his ſchemes. *Lewis* however, at laſt, took a reſolution, which the moſt ſpirited of his predeceſſors had not ventured upon. He aſſembled all the princes and prelates of his party, on the 18th of *April*, 1328, and the abbot of *Fuld*, by his order, publickly challenged any one to take part with that wicked tyrant and uſurper, *James* of *Cahors*, for ſo the pope was called before his exaltation, from the place of his nativity, where he had exerciſed the trade of a cobler. Nothing that is flagitious or venal was then omitted in the charge againſt him, and by the authority of the emperor, who preſided in the aſſembly in his *Imperial* robes, he was convicted of every article, and not only ſen- Expedition of *Lewis* to *Italy*.

tence

He pronounces sentence of death upon the pope.

tence of depoſition, but of death was pronounced againſt him, and likewiſe againſt the king of *Naples*, as a rebel againſt the empire, from which he held his crown. *Lewis* then raiſed a *Cordelier*, who took the name of *Nicholas* the Vth, to the papal throne, by his own authority; and, after ſhewing him extraordinary marks of eſteem, he was recrowned by his hands. Mutual excommunications next paſſed between the two popes, and *John* excepted out of his only the poet *Petrarch*, on account of his inimitable genius in poetry. *Lewis* was now upon the eve of a terrible revolution in his affairs.

His miſconduct.

He and his new pope were incautious enough to burn two perſons at the ſtake for having adhered to pope *John*; and *Lewis*, inſtead of eſtabliſhing his authority at *Rome*, where he was hated, invaded the territories of *Robert*, king of *Naples*, where he received ſo ſevere a check, that after loſing great part of his army, famine obliged him to return to *Rome*, where the cardinal *Urſini*, at the head of the *Guelph* faction, had put that inconſtant people in arms againſt him. *Lewis*, preſſed in the rear by the *Neapolitans*, and by the *Romans* in his front, ſent his pope to *Todi*, to which he himſelf ſoon after fled: From thence he went to *Corneto*, where he had an interview with the king of *Sicily*'s ſon; but in the mean time pope *John* was at *Rome* acknowledged as the lawful pontif, where the names of the emperor and the anti-pope were held in the utmoſt deteſtation. One of the chief cauſes of the emperor's miſcarriage was the diſappointment he met with from the king of *Sicily*, who had failed in ſending him the troops and money he promiſed him, and with this he bitterly reproached the *Sicilian* prince. *Lewis*, deſtitute of troops and money, fled next to *Piſa* in the moſt forlorn condition, and was followed by his anti-pope. At *Piſa* he was amuſed for ſome time by propoſals from the *Algerines*, but being in hopes of aſſiſtance from the king of *Bohemia*, he went to *Bavaria*. He had ſcarcely left *Italy* when all the *Milaneſe*, with *Viſconti* at their head, the *Piſans*, and the chief of the *Gibelin* cities declared for *John*; ſo that *Lewis*, in the year 1329, had hardly the ſhadow of authority in *Italy*. As to the anti-pope, he ſeems to have been moſt ungenerouſly abandoned by his patron. After dragging a life of miſery and obſcurity, and ſkulking thro' almoſt every corner of *Italy*, he preſented himſelf before *John*, with a halter about his neck, abjured the papacy, and had the favour of ending his days in impriſonment.

1329.

Diſorders in *Germany*.

During the emperor's abſence in *Italy*, the wars and commotions that had paſſed in *Germany*, where all civil order was diſregarded, made his return to be conſidered as a public bleſſing, diſgraced and diſappointed as he was. The party that had been formed for the reſtoration of government, was ſo ſtrong, that the *Germans* in general deſpiſed and deteſted pope *John*'s earneſt exhortations for them to chuſe a new emperor. *Lewis*, without availing himſelf of thoſe favourable diſpoſitions in men who had oppoſed him before, moſt abjectly applied

plied to the pope for a reconciliation, offering to reverſe all he had ſaid or done to his prejudice. *John* deſpiſed all his advances, and finding he could not ſhake him in *Germany* by his papal fulminations, he applied himſelf to other means. He wrote to the king of *Bohemia*, commanding him to depoſe *Lewis*. That prince, inſtead of complying, marched into *Italy* at the head of a victorious army, which had before conquered *Lithuania*, declared himſelf the *Imperial* vicar, and in a ſhort time reduced almoſt all the revolted cities of *Lombardy*. This did not diſcourage the pope from renewing his attempts upon the *Bohemian*; and his legate, *Bertraud de Poyet*, had the addreſs to ſtagger the king's fidelity towards the emperor. This happened in the year 1331, and the correſpondence between 1331.
the *Bohemian* and the pope taking air, all *Italy*, as well as the emperor *Lewis*, was alarmed. The *Guelphs* taxed the pope with having invited the *Bohemian* into *Italy*, and the *Gibelins* reproached him for having betrayed the emperor.

*Lewis*, convinced of the *Bohemian*'s infidelity, brought *Fre-* War with
*deric*, marquis of *Miſnia*, *Otho*, duke of *Auſtria*, with the *Bohemia*.
kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, to attack *Bohemia* all at the ſame time. *John* of *Bohemia* hearing this, left his ſon *Charles* as his vicar in *Italy*, and returning with amazing expedition to *Germany*, he beat all his enemies there, but without publickly declaring againſt the emperor. Receiving intelligence that the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* were united againſt his ſon, he repaſſed the *Alps*, but found the young prince victorious. About the year 1332 the pope finding that the *Bohemian* was irreſolute, 1332.
and afraid or aſhamed to own the connections they had entered into together, tampered with *Otho* of *Auſtria* ſo effectually, that that prince not only abandoned the emperor, but acknowledged himſelf and his dominions to be ſubject to the ſee of *Rome*. The emperor, at this time, ſeems to have had very little power in *Italy*, but what reſpect for his ſtation gave him, and the conveniency which ſome of the princes had of gaining him on their ſide in controverted points of ſucceſſion or intereſt. *John* of *Bohemia* had the real power, but though ambitious, he knew not how to make uſe of it. He marched into *Poland* to the aſſiſtance of his friends the *Teutonic* knights, and he there took *Cracow* and concluded a peace with the *Poles*. Either through repentance or diſſimulation, underſtanding that *Otho* of *Brunſwic* having openly declared himſelf on the pope's ſide, and had beſieged *Calmar*, he lent the emperor a body of troops, with which he marched againſt *Otho*. The latter now began to reflect upon the precipitate An accommoſtep he had taken, and that the pope was only uſing him as dation.
the tool of his reſentment; he therefore propoſed an accommodation with *Lewis*, which was accepted of, and the ratifications exchanged.

This accommodation reſtored *Germany* to ſome degree of Succeſs of
tranquillity, ſo far as regarded the operations of her great prin- the king
ces. The common people continued ſtill to be harraſſed by of *Bohe-*
their *mia*.

their petty tyrants, till the cities of *Straſburg*, *Fribourg*, and *Baſil*, in imitation of what had been done in other parts of *Germany*, united together to defend the properties of the inhabitants, and to provide for the ſecurity of the roads againſt thoſe public robbers. This ſtate of quiet gave pope *John* vaſt concern, and being well acquainted with *John* of *Bohemia*'s diſpoſition, he brought him to renew all his engagements with him in an interview they had together at *Avignon*. The *Bohemian* marched into *Italy* with an army againſt *Robert*, king of *Naples*, who had now declared againſt the pope, the *Viſcontis*, and other *Italian* ſtates who had joined *Robert*; and though the *Bohemian* was ſupported by a body of *French* troops, he was twice defeated, almoſt at the gates of *Verona*, and ſhamefully driven back to *Germany*. The emperor *Lewis* laid hold of that opportunity, finding all the advances he made to the pope ineffectual, to convene a council for his depoſition on account of his ambition, wickedneſs, and hereſy; but, in the mean while, the reſtleſs pontif died, in the 90th year of his age. He was the prodigy of his time; though his learning and capacity were as mean as his birth, yet he was the terror of *Europe*, and the ſcourge of its princes. At *Rome* he had never any authority, and he had loſt all influence in *Italy* at the time of his death; but by the moſt flagitious and avowed practice of ſimony, he left behind him more ready money than all the other princes of *Europe* were poſſeſſed of. Such was his vanity, that he added a third crown to the papal tiara, and ſo great was his ignorance, that he employed his ſpare hours in writing diſſertations upon the philoſopher's ſtone.

1324. He was ſucceeded by *Benedict* the XIIth, who renewed all the papal fulminations againſt the emperor; but the latter had been ſo much uſed to ſuch ſtrokes, that he was become callous, and did not feel them. *John* of *Bohemia*, at this time the greateſt prince on the continent of *Europe*, notwithſtanding his defeats in *Italy*, had a ſecond ſon of his own name, who had married *Margaret* the heireſs of *Carinthia* and *Tyrole*, and conſequently an immenſe fortune. The lady diſliking her huſband accuſed him of impotence, and obtaining a divorce, ſhe married the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the emperor's ſon. The *Bohemian*, not willing to give up the lady's vaſt eſtates, quarrelled with the *Bavarian*, and a war enſued, but at laſt the former reſigned all his right to the lady, and confirmed her marriage with the *Bavarian*.

Obſtinacy of the biſhop of *Straſburg*. After this, the biſhop of *Straſburg*, who on account of the emperor's excommunication had refuſed to do him homage, gave *Lewis* diſturbance, and in fact obliged him to accept an accommodation on his own terms, the prelate being ſtrongly ſupported by the duke of *Lorrain*, the biſhop of *Metz*, with other *German* princes, and accounted to be in his own perſon one of the beſt generals in *Germany*. *Lewis*, about this time, made freſh advances to a reconciliation with the papal ſee; nor was *Benedict* the XIIth at all averſe to an agreement; but

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a new ſcene now opened in *Germany*. *Edward* the IIId of *England* laid claim to the crown of *France*, then poſſeſſed by *Philip* of *Valois*, and each of thoſe princes thought it of the utmoſt importance to their affairs to ſecure a ſtrong intereſt in *Germany*. The emperor *Lewis* ſided with *Edward*, and made ſuch account of his new alliance, that he broke off his negociation with the pope, who ſupported the *French* king, in whoſe territories he ſtill reſided, and he brought *Henry*, a prince of the houſe of *Bavaria*, to declare againſt *Lewis*, who ſtill ſtood excommunicated. The kings of *Bohemia* and *Navarre*, the duke of *Lorrain* and the count of *Savoy*, and at laſt the king of *Bohemia*, who was in hopes that the *Imperial* crown would thereby devolve upon his ſon *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, embraced the ſame intereſts, and brought the kings of *Hungary* and *Poland* to join him. The *Bohemian*, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe confederates, invaded *Bavaria*, but was defeated by the emperor, who had declared *Edward* of *England* his vicar in the empire; an office to which he added many ample, and ſome ſovereign, powers.

*Lewis*, more and more encouraged by *Edward*'s friendſhip, aſſembled a diet at *Spire*, conſiſting of all the electors, excepting the king of *Bohemia*, and made his laſt application to the pope to have his excommunication taken off. *Benedict* would willingly have complied, had it not been for the *French* king, in whoſe power he declared himſelf to be. The diet was adjourned to *Franckfort*, and the pope ſtill refuſing them ſatisfaction, they eſtabliſhed an irrevocable law, declaring that the perſon choſen king of the *Romans* by the majority of the electors, was entirely independent of the pope, and that the conſent, confirmation, or approbation of his holineſs, were not in the leaſt neceſſary to enable him to execute the laws of the empire, or to exerciſe the office of emperor. This ſpirited proceeding encouraged *Lewis* to annul, by his own authority, all that had been done againſt him by the holy ſee, eſpecially as the diet had declared every man to be guilty of high treaſon, who ſhould affirm that the pope had a right to depoſe the emperor. This famous conſtitution was enacted at *Franckfort* on the 8th of *Auguſt*, 1338, and carried into execution with ſo much vigour by *Lewis*, that even the biſhop of *Straſbourg* did him homage, notwithſtanding his excommunication. This prelate had ſoon after an opportunity of manifeſting his humanity. The common people of *Germany*, headed by an inn-keeper, one *Armleder*, an enthuſiaſt, pretending to revenge the death of our Saviour, maſſacred the *Jews* with ſuch inhumanity, that to avoid falling into the hands of ſuch monſters, they butchered their wives, their children, and themſelves, and buried their riches, in which their chief crimes conſiſted. This prelate opened an aſylum for the ſurvivors in his dominions, and the enthuſiaſtic ringleader, who pretended likewiſe to be a prophet, was publickly executed.

Diet of *Spire*.

1338.

The

*Edward* king of *England* vicar of the empire.

The vicariate which the emperor had beſtowed upon *Edward* of *England*, had enabled that prince to engage in his intereſt fifty *German* princes, whoſe territories lay the moſt contiguous to thoſe of *France*. The emperor repented of his having given *Edward* the vicariate, and recalled it, that he might employ the troops that followed *Edward* in a freſh expedition into *Italy*. The *Germans*, upon this, abandoned the *Engliſh* monarch, and the *French* king interceded in favour of *Lewis* with the pope, who would have taken off his excommunication had it not been for the new expedition that *Lewis* was meditating into *Italy*. *John*, king of *Bohemia*, who made ſo great a figure in the affairs of *Germany* and *Italy*, was now old, and had loſt his eye-ſight, but not his turbulent diſpoſition. He made his will, and gave his ſon *Charles*, *Bohemia* and *Sileſia*; he bequeathed *Moravia* to *John*; and *Luxembourg*, with his *French* eſtates, to his ſon *Wenceſlaus*, whom he had by one of his wives, who was a princeſs of the houſe of *Bourbon*. The emperor, about this time, began to be more reſpected than formerly, and had ſo much authority that he decided the differences that had ariſen concerning the crown of *Denmark*, and placed *Waldemar*, who was the true heir, and who had been educated at his court, upon that throne. The public tranquillity of *Germany* being in ſome meaſure thus re-eſtabliſhed, *Lewis* ſhewed himſelf worthy the high rank he held, by his reforming the manners of the *Germans* by his wholeſome inſtitutions; by his puniſhing fraud and violence; but above all by his humanizing (if we may ſo call it) the princes of his empire, and rendering his own court the ſeat of ſplendor, urbanity, and politeneſs.

*Lewis* again excommunicated by the pope.

He was the more enabled to do this, as neceſſity and the circumſtances of his affairs had diſabled him from proſecuting his ſchemes in *Italy*, where his party was now ruined. Pope *Clement* the VIth having ſucceeded *Benedict*, renewed all the fulminations of his two predeceſſors againſt *Lewis*, who, notwithſtanding, made advances to him for a reconciliation. He could obtain none, unleſs the conſtitution of *Franckfort* was revoked, and the empire declared to be in the gift of the pontif, was made a preliminary. Many other mortifying terms were added, which being laid before the princes of the empire, they ſtigmatized the whole; and the pope, aided by the king of *France*, after publiſhing one of the moſt diabolical bulls againſt *Lewis* that pride and enthuſiaſm could inſpire, had influence enough to procure an aſſembly of the *German* princes in his intereſt, who choſe *Charles* of *Luxembourg* king of the *Romans*, and he was crowned at *Bonn*, the city of *Cologne* refuſing to receive him. This revolution ſerved only to attach the other *German* princes the more firmly to *Lewis*, eſpecially as it was known, that *Charles* had purchaſed his new dignity by the moſt ſhameful conceſſions to the pope, and that the votes of the princes which he obtained, had been bought by exorbitant ſums of money. Every day endeared

cleared *Lewis* more and more to his people, and *Charles* of *Luxembourg* was every where defeated by his troops.

Affairs of *Italy*.

*Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, had by this time conquered *Naples*, to revenge the death of his brother *Andrew*, who, he pretended, had been aſſaſſinated by his wife *Jane*; and the *Romans*, under one *Rienzi*, a notary public, had again reſumed their ancient republican form of government. Thoſe events prevented the pope from ſupporting the houſe of *Luxembourg* in *Germany*; but while faction lay thus expiring at the feet of *Lewis*, he died on the 11th of *October*, 1347. The manner of his death is variouſly reported. The common opinion is, that having received poiſon from the widow of *Albert* of *Auſtria*, it operated while he was hunting, a diverſion to which he was exceſſively addicted, and that he fell dead from his horſe. Others ſay, what is more probable, that he died of a fit of the apoplexy, juſt after he had received advice of his ſon *Lewis*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, having defeated his competitor *Charles*, the new king of the *Romans*, near *Tirol*.

1347. Death,

The name of *Lewis*'s firſt wife is not known, perhaps, becauſe ſhe died without iſſue. His ſecond wife was *Beatrix*, daughter of *Henry*, duke of *Glogaw*; by whom he had *Lewis*, marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Stephen*, who was deformed; *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* king of *Hungary*; *Anne*, wife of *Muſtine Leſcale*, lord of *Verona*; and *Mathilda*, who eſpouſed *Frederic* the ſevere, marquis of *Miſnia*. The emperor's third wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *William* the IIId, count of *Holland*, by whom he had *William*, *Albert*, *Otho*, and *Lewis*; *Elizabeth*, firſt married to *John*, duke of *Low Bavaria*, and afterwards to *Ulric*, count of *Wirtemberg*; *Agnes*, a nun; and *Anne*, wife of *Gunther de Schwartzburg*, who diſputed the empire with *Charles* the IVth, king of *Bohemia*.

iſſue and

The hiſtory of this prince's life proves that he was more fitted for peaceable than turbulent times. He ſhewed great weakneſs in carrying his reſentment ſo far as he did againſt the pope while he was in *Italy*, and his poverty expoſed him at once to the deriſion and reſentment of that people. He appears not to have been ſo ſolicitous as many of his predeceſſors were about aggrandizing his own patrimony; nor did he, like them, live upon the inhabitants of the *Imperial* cities, from one to the other of which they were perpetually moving. He lived moſtly in *Bavaria*, and his chief amuſements were hunting, love, and the ſplendor of a court. He was by nature and education well qualified for the exerciſe of arms, but in his natural compoſition he had ſo much paſſion and levity, and ſo great a propenſity to pleaſure of every kind, that he was but ill qualified to be an emperor of *Germany*, eſpecially a poor one. The eccleſiaſtics of thoſe days, however, revered him for his piety, and thought that the meaneſt utenſil about him, that he uſed to handle, was hallowed. He reigned 33 years.

character of *Lewis*.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XXXIII.

## CHARLES *the fourth.*

Acceſſion of *Charles* to the *Imperial* throne.

THIS prince received his education at the court of *Charles* the fair, of *France*, who changed his name from *Wenceſlaus* to *Charles*, at the ceremony of his baptiſmal confirmation. Before he was of age he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as his father's lieutenant in *Italy*; but upon his victorious return from that country to *Germany*, his father gave him the marquiſate of *Moravia*, being jealous, as was thought, of his acting longer in a military capacity, and willing that he ſhould be employed in civil concerns of his own. His father, however, found it neceſſary to employ him, which he did with great ſucceſs in reducing the feudatories to the crown of *Bohemia*, in his wars with the *Auſtrians*, the *Lithuanians*, and the *Venetians*. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the battle of *Creſſy*, he was, with the unanimous conſent of the *Bohemians*, raiſed to their throne, and we have already ſeen by what means he was choſen king of the *Romans*. He had been very ſollicitous in repairing the checks he met with after he was raiſed to that dignity, and was marching againſt *Bavaria* at the head of an army, when he heard of the emperor's death. On this occaſion it is ſaid that he returned thanks to God for having prevented him from ſpilling Chriſtian blood, by taking vengeance of his enemies.

His difficulties.

He then made a circuit through the *Imperial* cities of the *Rhine*, and is ſaid to have been received as emperor by 26 of them. He was, however, obliged to put up with many inſults in ſome cities, where he had formerly lived, even to his being arreſted at *Worms* by a butcher for a debt. The magiſtrates of *Nurembourg* received him, but the citizens expelled him. Notwithſtanding this, he was in general acknowledged as emperor by the inhabitants of thoſe cities, and he acted as ſuch without any farther recognition. But this was far from giving him a right to the empire, and he retired to *Bohemia* to ſee what turn affairs would take. The great princes of the empire were far from being diſpoſed in his favour. The archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the count *Palatine*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Saxony*, met at *Loeſtein* (ſome ſay at *Cologne*) where they choſe for emperor *Edward*, king of *England*, then by far the moſt powerful and renowned prince in *Europe*; and they ſent two counts and two civilians to notify to him that he had been unanimouſly elected. This extravagant propoſal was not at all diſreliſhed at firſt by *Edward*, becauſe it flattered his ambition. He was then in the career of his victories in *France*, and to have united three powerful empires in his perſon, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, opened his way to univerſal dominion. He ſent the

The empire offered to *Edward* of *England*,

earl

earl of *Northampton* to examine into the ſtate of *Germany*, while the ambaſſadors remained at *London*. In the mean while, his wife *Philippa* remonſtrated to him the folly and madneſs of his accepting the empire, as it muſt embroil him with the pope, loſe him all the advantages he had gained in *France*, expoſe him to perpetual conteſts with the *Bohemian* party, and, perhaps, even ſhake the allegiance of his *Engliſh* ſubjects. The return and report of the earl of *Northampton* determined him, and he declined the offer, but with the moſt polite expreſſions of gratitude towards the electors.

*Edward*'s refuſal being notified in *Germany*, the ſame elec- who re-
tors proceeded to a new nomination, and their choice fell upon fuſes it.
*Frederic*, marquis of *Miſnia*, or, as he is called, landgrave of *Thuringia*; (the many titles under which one prince then went in *Germany*, occaſions an inexpreſſible confuſion in its hiſtory) but *Frederic* refuſed the dignity, on account of his bodily infirmities: ſome ſay that *Charles* bought him off for 10,000 marks of ſilver. It is not likely that a prince, who had but a few days before been arreſted for a butcher's bill, could raiſe that money; but thoſe facts, if true, convey ſtrange ideas of the wealth of *German* princes in thoſe days. *Bohemia* and its dependencies, formed a great and flouriſhing kingdom: can that happen without the aſſiſtance of money? or, did all the current ſpecie of *Germany* at that time centre in the aſſociated trading cities? while her princes, who were above practiſing commerce, were contented to receive their incomes in military ſervices, cattle, and the fruits of the earth, and had juſt as much ready money as provided them with arms, ſplendid furniture, and apparel. *Frederic* giving thus up his claim, the electors choſe *Gunther*, count of *Schwartzenberg*, a *Thu-* *Gunther*
*ringian* nobleman, merely on account of his virtue and valour, choſen
and he accepted the offer. The city of *Franckfort* refuſed to emperor,
receive him, becauſe he had not been unanimouſly elected, and becauſe he had not remained ſix weeks before the city. *Gunther*, and the electors, raiſed an army, and after a ſiege of two months, compelled the citizens to receive him. *Gunther* is ſaid to have been poiſoned by *Fredank* his phyſician, whom is poiſon-
he forced to ſwallow ſome of the potion before he taſted it. ed.
*Fredank* died in three days, but *Gunther* lived for ſome weeks by the help of emetics. This ſtory is big with improbabilities. Exceſſive drinking, the *German* vice, often kills as ſure as poiſon; and the time of *Gunther*'s ſhort reign, was, no doubt, a ſeaſon of feſtivity.

Be that as it will, it is certain that he laboured under infirmi- *Charles* eſ-
ties which diſqualified him for government; and that upon tabliſhed
*Charles*'s promiſing him 22,000 marks of ſilver, he reſigned to emperor.
him his pretenſions, and at his death, *Charles* paid his debt by giving him an honourable interment. The truth is, the *German* princes of thoſe days were venal to the laſt degree, and were bought off, one by one, from *Gunther*, by the conceſſions *Charles* made them. *Charles*, being recognized as em-

peror, gave the inveſtiture of *Brandenburgh* to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. He diſenfranchiſed *Franckfort* for having received *Gunther*, and like a true needy *German* prince, obliged the inhabitants to repurchaſe their privileges with 20,000 marks of ſilver. At the coronation of himſelf and his empreſs at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he gave the *Imperial* ſceptre to be carried by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, in preference to the marquis of *Juliers*, who had been one of the ambaſſadors who offered the empire to *Edward* of *England*.

Perſecution of the *Jews*.

A dreadful plague at that time deſolating all the empire and other parts of *Chriſtendom*, the people attributed the calamity to the *Jews*, who, they ſaid, had poiſoned the fountains. They were encouraged in this ridiculous belief by their biſhops and princes, who owed vaſt ſums to that miſerable race, and paid them by the people putting them to death in all the various ſhapes that inhumanity could invent. A butcher headed the inſurrection at *Straſbourg*, erected himſelf into the ſupreme and only magiſtrate, and burnt 2000 *Jews* alive, iſſuing an edict that none of the *Hebrew* race ſhould be admitted for a hundred years to come into that city; but in the mean time, he and his followers plundered all their effects. The number of *Jews* who periſhed on this occaſion are ſaid to have exceeded 10,000. The perſecution only ended when the perſecutors had no more objects that could gratify their avarice; but the emperor promiſed that the debts owing to the *Jews* never ſhould be reclaimed. He himſelf was at this time in a beggarly ſituation, through the laviſh promiſes he had made to thoſe who aſſiſted him to mount the *Imperial* throne. The money that had been paid in by the *Jews* for protecting their miſerable remains, was ſoon exhauſted, and he laid a tax upon water carriage, which *Straſbourg* and the other free towns refuſing to pay, he was obliged to give it up to prevent an univerſal inſurrection. He was more ſucceſsful in raiſing money by ſelling and mortgaging the domains of the empire to all who could purchaſe them, and the towns of *Alſace* having bought the privilege of being unalienably united with the *Imperial* domain, he eſtabliſhed a grand bailiwic in that province, and mortgaged the office to the count palatine of the *Rhine* for 50,000 florins.

The ſect of *Flagellants*.

About this time, a ſet of enthuſiaſts, who, from diſciplining their own bodies, were called *Flagellants*, broke out, or rather revived, in *Germany*. They abjured the company of women, and their numbers growing to ſome thouſands, they traverſed the empire, ſcourging themſelves and practiſing a thouſand auſterities wherever they came. At laſt they became ſo numerous and ſo formidable, that the cities and princes of *Germany* united againſt receiving them into their territories, and they dwindled to nothing. We have already mentioned how *Volmar*, elector and marquis of *Brandenburgh*, went to the *Holy Land*, where he actually died, and how his dominions were given to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. An impoſtor, called *Mul-*

*ler*

*ler Meincken*, who had been groom to the marquis, now ſtarted up; and having the advantage of a reſemblance in perſon, and perfectly imitating all his peculiarities, he pretended to be the real *Volmar* returned from the *Holy Land*. He was befriended by the dukes of *Saxony* and *Mecklenburgh*, the prince of *Anhalt*, and all the enemies of the houſe of *Bavaria*, who agreed to oblige *Lewis* to reſtore him his electorate. *Lewis* was ſupported by his brother-in-law the king of *Denmark*, who equipped a fleet, and ravaged the eſtates of *Mecklenburgh*, and all the northern provinces of *Germany* were for ſome time in a terrible combuſtion, which ceaſed through the mediation of the king of *Sweden*, and the impoſtor diſappeared. Even the emperor himſelf iſſued a decree in favour of the groom, but he afterwards diſavowed it in a diet held at *Sprenberg*.

*Charles* held his court in his capital of *Bohemia*, of which kingdom he was the legiſlator, having founded its famous univerſity, and given orders for the learned men of his dominions to compile a body of laws for their government. The empreſs dowager, who, as we have already mentioned, was the heireſs of *Holland*, *Hainault*, and other countries, was then at war with her ſon *William*, who claimed her inheritance, and whom ſhe defeated by means of the auxiliaries ſhe received from the emperor. She was, however, defeated in her turn, and obliged to take refuge in *England*, and *Edward* obliged her ſon to put her in poſſeſſion of *Hainault*, while he kept *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frieſland*. It is inconceivable, notwithſtanding the many diſgraces and loſſes which the emperors of *Germany* had ſuſtained in *Italy*, and the repeated proofs they received that the *Italians* were conſtant in no principle but that of intereſt, that *Charles* ſhould dream, at this time, of reviving the *Imperial* claims in that country; but he was encouraged to this by the ſtate of it in 1351. *Italy* was then torn in pieces by numbers of petty tyrants, all of them pretending to be independent, both of the emperor and the pope. Of thoſe, *John Viſconti*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, was the moſt formidable. He had ſeized the city of *Bologna*, and diſregarded all the excommunications thundered out againſt himſelf and his family on that account. *Charles* informed the pope that he was ready to march with an army into *Italy* to chaſtize *Viſconti*'s rebellion; but this effected a reconciliation between *Viſconti* and his holineſs, who dreaded ſuch a viſit. Notwithſtanding this, *Charles* continued his preparations, which for ſome time were delayed by the troubles which broke out between the duke of *Auſtria* and the inhabitants of *Zurich*, who had made the count of *Hapſburg* a priſoner, expelled their magiſtrates, and entered into the *Helvetic* confederacy. Matters were at laſt compromiſed, but the differences ſoon breaking out again, *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, applied to the emperor, who ſought in vain to perſuade the people of *Zurich* to ſubmit again to the *Auſtrians*. *Charles*,

*Charles* reſides in *Bohemia*.

1351.

after taking a progreſs through *Alſace*, where he eſtabliſhed many excellent regulations, raiſed an army, and marched againſt the confederate *Swiſſes*, who were now ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the canton of *Lucerne*, and were prepared to fight him, when a diſpute happening between the duke of *Auſtria* and the biſhop of *Conſtance*, juſt as the armies were about to join, obliged *Charles* to retreat, and to leave thoſe brave republicans in poſſeſſion of their rocks and their liberties.

1354. *Innocent* the VIth was then upon the papal throne, and appeared to be in a very good underſtanding with *Charles*, whoſe cares were now wholly employed in reſtoring the tranquillity of *Germany*, ſo as that it might not be broken into during his abſence in *Italy*. For this purpoſe, he made up all the differences in the interior parts of the empire. He gave the *Luſatians* the ſame privileges with the *Bohemians*; he confirmed the old privileges of the church of *Treves*; he renewed his alliance with the houſe of *Bavaria*; and *Lewis* of *Brandenburgh* at laſt delivered up to him the *Imperial* regalia. He next appointed his father-in-law, the count *Palatine*, vicar of the empire; and upon *Epiphany* day, 1355, he was crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Milan*, and on *Eaſter* day he and his empreſs received the *Imperial* crowns at *Rome*. Even at that time, the *Roman* citizens would willingly have ſubmitted to the emperor rather than the pope; but *Charles* had not courage enough to break with his holineſs, and he confirmed *Innocent* in all his arrogant claims. This rendered him ſo contemptible in the ſight of the *Italians*, that they not only inſulted his perſon, but maſſacred his attendants, eſpecially after it was publickly known that he had renounced to the pope all juriſdiction in *Rome*. Not contented with this, though he was affronted by every petty ſtate and city through which he paſſed, whether the inhabitants were *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*, yet he lent a body of troops to the pope to reduce his own party, whom he accuſed of contumacy to the holy ſee.

1355. *Charles* crowned king of *Lombardy*

Falls into contempt.

When *Charles* returned to *Germany*, he found the northern parts of it involved in war, which his preſence, in ſome meaſure, quieted; but he was now called upon to a far more arduous taſk. The right of electing an emperor was yet undetermined, and it was neceſſary to fix it. This brings on one of the moſt important periods in the *German* hiſtory. In the year 1356, *Charles* convoked a diet of the empire at *Nuremberg*, in which all the branches of the *Bavarian* family were excluded from the right of electing an emperor, excepting the count *Palatine*. This arrangement meeting with leſs oppoſition than could have been reaſonably expected, the princes of the diet proceeded to farther regulations, and by degrees the golden bull, which is the fundamental law of the empire, was formed for ſettling the right and number of the electors, their functions and privileges, and whatever belongs to the due government of the empire. This famous edict is compoſed of

1356. The famous diet of *Nuremberg*.

thirty

thirty articles, twenty-three of which were then publiſhed at *Nuremberg* in preſence of the emperor ſitting on his throne, and cloathed in his regalia, and ſeven more were added at *Metz*, with equal formality. Not to leave the ſmalleſt ground to diſpute this fundamental conſtitution of the empire, (for ſo it was) the emperor prepared a feſtival, in which the electors were to officiate in the ſeveral capacities which gave them a right to chuſe an emperor. The three eccleſiaſtical electors of *Metz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, appeared on horſeback as chancellors of the empire, each with a letter in his right hand and a ſeal depending from his neck. *Wenceſlaus*, duke of *Saxony*, carried in his right hand a ſilver peck, full of oats, and as archmarſhal of the empire regulated the places and precedencies of the other electors. The marquis of *Brandenburgh* preſented the emperor and empreſs with water in a ewer and baſon of gold. The count *Palatine* ſerved up the victuals in plates of the ſame metal; and the king of *Bohemia* as chief butler preſented wine in a golden cup to his *Imperial* majeſty. During this ceremony, which was performed in the market place of *Metz*, the emperor's table was three feet higher than that of the empreſs, and her's was three feet higher than thoſe of the electors. The marquis of *Miſnia* and the count of *Schwartzenburg* officiated as great huntſmen of the empire, and killed a bear and a ſtag in the emperor's preſence.

An account of the golden bull.

As to the golden bull itſelf, it is ſo called from a little golden box containing the ſeal of it; and ever ſince the time we treat of, it has been eſteemed as ſacred in the *Imperial* conſtitutions. It was compoſed by *Bartolus* the civilian, and is preceded, as well as concluded, by verſes, which mark the pedantry of the age. Seven mortal ſins, ſeven gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and the ſeven branches of the myſtical candleſtick are typical of the ſeven electors. The chief principle of this inſtitution conſiſts in the indiviſibility of the right of electing, which is rendered hereditary in the perſon of the eldeſt ſon in the male line. In the 7th article, the emperor acquires a right to the vacancies of electoral principalities, by which we are to underſtand, that when an electoral principality becomes extinct or forfeited, the emperor may fill it up as he pleaſes. By the original bull, no appeal was admitted to the *Imperial* chamber from the king of *Bohemia*, but this prerogative has been extended to other electors.

War with *Auſtria*.

The golden bull, which, ſince its firſt inſtitution, has proved ſo ſalutary to the empire, did not give at firſt univerſal ſatisfaction. The houſe of *Auſtria*, and the younger branches of that of *Bavaria* thought themſelves injured by it, and confederated to annul it; but the emperor was ſo well ſupported in maintaining it, that he forced them to renounce their alliance. Some of the cities likewiſe (particularly that of *Straſbourg*) complained of their privileges being abridged, as the golden bull debarred them from giving the freedom of their city to aliens. Scarcely was this great inſtitution confirmed,

when *Germany* was overrun by robbers. This æra is leſs attended to in hiſtory than it ought to be. It produced great events in *Europe*, though few in the countries where it took its riſe, from the following occaſion. The war between *Edward* the IIId of *England*, and the *French* king, had employed moſt of the troops in *Europe*, and when peace ſucceeded, the only reſource of the diſbanded ſoldiers was rapine. They formed under ſeveral heads, and being, by the emperor, driven out of *Germany*, they marched to *Italy*, where their preſence and valour, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, created vaſt revolutions. The empire getting rid of thoſe peſts, *Charles* applied himſelf to accumulate riches, and to enlarge the boundaries of his hereditary dominions. For that purpoſe he incorporated the provinces of *Sileſia* and *Luſatia*, with his kingdom of *Bohemia*. This produced a war between him and the duke of *Auſtria*, whoſe generals and ſervants are ſaid to have betrayed him, and who was ſuperior to *Charles* in the field.

**Avarice and ambition of *Charles*.**

When the traitors came to demand their reward from the emperor, he drove them from his preſence, and threatened to give them up to their maſter. Stretching his *Imperial* power to the utmoſt, he ſold new privileges to ſome cities, and encreaſed thoſe of others. In ſhort, he had not a prerogative that was not venal, and from which he did not raiſe money.

**His good qualities.**

Notwithſtanding thoſe failings, *Charles* had many excellent virtues. He was the patron of literature, being himſelf a man of learning. His adminiſtration of juſtice was exemplary, and he repreſſed the ridiculous pride and oſtentation of the clergy. Inſtead of ruining himſelf by hunting after the *Imperial* dominions in *Italy*, he ſold them to the beſt bidders, without endeavouring to recover them from the *Venetians*, who had laid hold of *Padua*, *Verona* and *Vicenza*. About the year 1359, the *German* univerſities began to hold up their heads againſt the pope; and *Charles* demanded of *Clement* the VIth that he ſhould forbear to ſtile the empire a fief of the holy ſee, or the emperors its vaſſals. The pope, inſtead of deſiſting, inſtituted new claims, and ſent a biſhop into *Germany* to demand a tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues for the uſe of his holineſs, and intimated to the emperor, that the vaſſalage of the empire to the pope was become a fundamental law of the church. *Charles* did not chuſe to embroil himſelf, and called a diet at *Mentz*, where the members flatly refuſed to comply with the pope's demands. He durſt not, however, carry his differences with *Innocent* the VIth, then pope, any farther, and inſtead of following out his plan for reforming the clergy, he publiſhed what is called the *Caroline* bull, by which he retracted all that had been done againſt them, ſo far as interfered with the pope's authority over them. *Italy*, on the one hand, and the northern parts of *Germany* on the other, were at this time harraſſed by war. The duke of *Sleſwic*, and the counts of *Holſtein*, ſupported the *Jutlanders* againſt *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, who was at laſt obliged to ſubmit. *Waldemar* then fell upon

1359.

**The north of *Germany* in arms.**

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the commerce of the *Hanſe* towns, which the emperor refuſed to protect. Thus abandoned, they leagued themſelves with the king of *Norway*, and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and carrying the war to the gates of *Copenhagen*, they obliged the *Daniſh* monarch to indemnify them for all their loſſes.

The ſmall revenues ariſing from the *Imperial* dignity, rendered *Charles* little ſolicitous about becoming popular in *Germany*. Being paſſionately fond of his own dominions, he rendered *Bohemia* rich and flouriſhing by reſiding there, and ſpending all his money with his hereditary ſubjects, whoſe trade and manufactures he improved. His court was magnificent and luxurious, and the empreſs being delivered of a ſon in the year 1361, the rejoicings made on that occaſion, exceeded any of the like kind that had been ſeen in *Germany* for many years. *Charles*, at the ſame time, ſtill continued to heap up money, by diſpoſing of the *Imperial* privileges and immunities to any man or body of men who could purchaſe them. The *German* princes remonſtrated to him upon his manner of behaving, and put him in mind of his duty; but all the anſwer he gave them, was, that he was by no means diſpoſed to maintain an emperor of *Germany* upon the revenues of *Bohemia*. His venality in adding *Alſace* to the biſhopric of *Straſbourg*, occaſioned a war between that prelate and the inhabitants of *Haguenau*; but the difference was accommodated by the interpoſition of the margrave of *Magdebourg*. *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, dying about this time, he was ſucceeded by his ſon, an infant, who dying ſoon after, his wife *Margaret*, who was the heireſs of *Carinthia*, made a ceſſion of her fortune to the duke of *Auſtria*, in prejudice of *Stephen*, brother to *Lewis*. This produced a war between the two houſes; but by the interceſſion of the pope, they concluded a truce for three years. The emperor continued ſtill to paſs his time in pleaſure and tranquillity in *Bohemia*, and refuſed to interfere in the affairs of *Peter de Luſignan*, king of *Cyprus*, who was in great diſtreſs, and was earneſtly recommended to *Charles* by the pope. To make ſome amends for this contumacy, he aſſiſted the pope againſt *Barnabo Viſconti* ſo effectually in *Italy*, that he obliged him to ſubmit to the holy ſee.

*Charles* aggrandizes *Bohemia*.

1361.

About the year 1364, *Charles* had a ſhort quarrel with *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, on account of ſome diſreſpectful words the former had ſpoken of the latter's mother; but it was accommodated by pope *Urban*, who was paſſionately fond of preſerving peace among all the princes of *Europe*, that they might the more effectually aſſiſt the king of *Cyprus*. *Charles*, at this time, married the duke of *Pomerania*'s daughter at *Cracow*, where the magnificence of their nuptials could only be equalled by the ſplendor of her reception at *Prague*. He ſtill continued to proſecute ſchemes for the benefit of learning; and his projects for adorning and aggrandizing his capital, even to the joining the *Danube* to the *Moldau* at *Prague*, were truly ſtu-

1364. He quarrels with the king of *Hungary*.

pendous, but impracticable, at leaſt to a prince of his power. A freſh inroad of the freebooters we have already mentioned,
1365. called *Malandrin*'s, rouſed *Charles* in 1365 from the indolence he had ſo long indulged. They were commanded by one *Arnold de Carnolle*, called the high prieſt, and did incredible miſchief in *Lorrain* and *Alſace*. *Charles* marched againſt them at the head of an army, and drove them into *Burgundy*, where, and in other parts of *Europe*, they continued their ravages, till *Arnold* was aſſaſſinated by his followers, who diſperſed of themſelves. The emperor now liſtened to the advice of the princes of the empire, becauſe it fell in with his own avarice, by reſuming the rights of the empire in *Italy*. Propoſing to do this, he formed a project of a confederacy with pope *Urban* the Vth, and actually had a conference with that pontif at *Avignon*. The interview was very cordial; *Charles* was crowned at *Arles*, and a treaty was concluded between him and his holineſs, and ſome of the *Italian* princes, for the recovery of their reſpective dominions that had been ſeized upon by uſurpers. The pope would gladly have laid hold of that opportunity to have engaged *Charles* in the intereſt of *Luſignan*, but he excuſed himſelf; and the aſſembly ſeparated without coming to any preciſe reſolution, either on that ſubject, or that of the banditti. As to the *Italian* treaty, it had no effect till three years after; but all the pope's importunities could not prevail with *Charles* to march an army againſt the *Viſconti*, who ſtill continued to harraſs the holy ſee.

He marches to *Italy*. *Charles*, the better to preſerve his own tranquillity, endeavoured to maintain that of the empire. The truce between *Auſtria* and *Bavaria* was now elapſed, and their armies were again in the field; but *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, being ſent by *Charles* to both competitors, prevailed with them to renew the truce. Soon after, the houſe of *Auſtria* acquired the important city and territory of *Friberg*, by the ceſſion of one of its counts or avoyers, in conſideration of 12,000 florins. The houſe of *Viſconti*, in the mean time, made ſo rapid a progreſs, that it threatened the conqueſt of all *Italy*, and the em-
1368. peror, in the year 1368, at laſt croſſed the *Alps*, at the head of a noble army. He was attended by the duke of *Auſtria*, who was equally jealous of the *Viſcontis*, or the ducal houſe of *Milan*. They took *Verona* and *Vicenza*, but by the mediation of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*, a treaty was concluded between them and the *Viſcontis*, who paid a ſum of money to the confederates. This treaty left *Charles* at liberty to raiſe vaſt ſums from the *Imperial* towns in *Italy*, who had ſided with the *Viſcontis*, and whom he threatened to deprive of all the privileges granted them by his predeceſſors, if they did not re-purchaſe them with money. *Charles* next paid a viſit to *Rome*, where he held the pope's ſtirrup, and led his horſe at the ceremony of the coronation of his empreſs. After this he ſpent ſome months in *Tuſcany*. In this expedition, he carried with him a train of artillery. The *Germans* boaſt of being the firſt who invented

invented gunpowder, but nothing can be more certain, than that it had been known many ages before to the *Chineſe*, as well as the uſe of great guns; and it probably was imported into *Europe* by ſome of the *Europeans* who ſerved in the armies of *Jenghiz Khan*. Origin of gunpowder.

Upon the return of *Charles* to *Germany*, he held a diet at *Franckfort*, where he paſſed an ordinance to pacify the diſſentions then raging among the princes of the empire. The troubles of *Italy* were now renewed, and the pope applied to the king of *Hungary* for aſſiſtance. The emperor was jealous of that prince, and not only refuſed him permiſſion to paſs the *Alps*, but obliged his holineſs to conclude an accommodation with the *Viſconti*. In 1370, *Charles* received into his protection *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, who had been expelled his dominions by the king of *Sweden* and the counts of *Holſtein*; but all that *Charles* did for his reſtoration, was to give him recommendatory letters to the marquis of *Miſnia*, and the duke of *Stetin*. *Waldemar* was equally unfortunate in his application to the new pope, *Gregory* the XIth. He was afterwards reſtored by the aſſiſtance of his hereditary ſubjects the *Mecklenburghers*. A war about this time broke out between *Wenceſlaus*, duke of *Luxembourg* and *Brabant*, and the duke of *Juliers*, in which the former was defeated and taken priſoner. *Charles* was then indulging his natural paſſion for pleaſure and letters in *Prague*; but on this occaſion he raiſed a formidable army to march againſt the duke of *Juliers*. The eccleſiaſtical electors, and ſome princes of the empire, had their reaſons for not wiſhing to ſee *Charles* too formidable in that quarter. They interpoſed with him, and the duke, after ſetting *Wenceſlaus* and his other priſoners at liberty without ranſom, appeared in perſon, and aſked pardon on his knees of the emperor, who raiſed him up and forgave him. *Charles*, who had great civil talents, finding that the commotions in the empire ſtill continued, called a diet of the empire at *Nuremberg*. He there publiſhed an edict, called the regulation of ſixty days, which was the term ordered to every *German* prince or nobleman to abſtain from hoſtilities after receiving an injury or inſult from any of his neighbours, during which time he was to apply for the legal methods of redreſs. This edict was attended with excellent effects. A diet and regulation of the empire. 1370.

*Charles*, retiring again into *Prague*, gave up all further thoughts of *Italy*, and rather than break in upon his pleaſures, he impolitically refuſed to march with an army into *Hungary*, where the *Turks* were making a moſt formidable progreſs. Though the life of pomp and magnificence which *Charles* led, had coſt him immenſe ſums, yet he reſerved money ſufficient to ſecure the *Imperial* crown to his family, by paying 100,000 crowns to each of the electors, who choſe his ſon *Wenceſlaus*, a boy of no more than 15 years of age, king of the *Romans*; and he was accordingly crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*. This important point being ſecured, he ſold to ſeveral princes *Wenceſlaus* choſen king of the *Romans*.

princes of the empire the remaining *Imperial* towns and tolls he was ſtill poſſeſſed of, which, among the common people, gave riſe to the proverb, *That he had plucked the eagle*. *Charles*, upon his return to *Prague*, received a letter from the pope, deſiring him to mediate a peace between *France* and *England*, in
1377. 1377. He pretended to have this matter ſo much at heart, and to be ſo fond of ſeeing *Charles* the Vth of *France*, that he ſet out for *Paris*, attended by his ſon the king of the *Romans*. Some aſſign a more ridiculous motive for this journey, which was the performance of a vow he had made to St. *Maur*, in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, that he might be cured of his gout. Others, with more probability, ſay, that his true reaſon was to treat with the *French* king concerning the diſpoſal of the vicariate of the empire in the old kingdom of *Arles*, which he confirmed to the dauphin. After he entered the confines of *France*, he was moſt magnificently entertained by order of the *French* monarch, till his arrival at *Paris*, which he entered on horſeback at the right hand of that king. During his reſidence in *France*, a private gentleman, one *Erguerent de Couci*, a deſcendent of the houſe of *Auſtria* by the female ſide, obtained leave of him, to reclaim by arms the inheritance of his mother, who was grand daughter to the emperor *Albert*.

*De Couci*, notwithſtanding the romantic air of his attempt to wage war with the moſt powerful prince in *Germany*, found friends and followers who embarked in this ſcheme; and the king of *France* furniſhing him with ſome companies, he ravaged the *Auſtrian* eſtates in *Switzerland* and *Alſace*; but his army advancing too far in the mountains of *Switzerland*, it periſhed with cold, in ſuch numbers, that he was obliged to
Death, abandon his enterprize. *Charles*, in leaving *France*, paid a viſit to *Wenceſlaus* duke of *Luxemburg*, who having no chil-
1378. dren, left all his eſtates to the houſe of *Bohemia*. *Charles* then returning to *Prague*, died on the 29th of *November*, 1378, having lived ſixty-four, and reigned thirty-one years. He was firſt married to *Blanche*, daughter to *Charles*, count of *Valois*, and then to *Agnes*, daughter of *Rodolph*, count *Palatine*. His third wife was *Anne*, daughter of *Bogiſlaus*, duke of *Swenitz*, and by that marriage he obtained that dutchy, with the county
iſſue, of *Javarin*. His iſſue, by that marriage, was *Catherine*, who was married to the duke of *Auſtria*, and *Wenceſlaus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire. He was a fourth time married to *Elizabeth*, daughter to the *Pomeranian* duke whom we have mentioned. His iſſue by her was *Sigiſmund*, king of *Hungary*, afterwards emperor; and *John*, duke of *Gorlitz*. His daughters were *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; *Elizabeth*, married to *John Galeazzo*, duke of *Milan*; *Anne*, married to *Otho*, duke of *Bavaria* and margrave of *Brandenburgh*; *Margaret*, married to *John* the IId, burgrave of *Nuremberg*; *Elizabeth*, wife of *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*; *Margaret*, wife of *Amadeus*, count of *Savoy*; *Agnes*, married

to

to *William* the ambitious, duke of *Auſtria*; and *Helena*, queen of *Henry* the IVth of *England*.

The character which hiſtorians have given of this emperor and cha- is leſs favourable than what he ſeems to have deſerved. His racter of great failing was an attachment to the intereſts of his own *Charles.* family, and the kingdom of *Bohemia*, both which he aggrandized at the expence of the empire; but on the other hand *Germany* was indebted to him, beſides the golden bull, for many excellent laws and edicts, of which ſhe reaps the benefit at this day. In many caſes he conſulted the good of the empire along with his own profit; for ſome of the great offices, which he ſold for money, were fixed in families, ſo as to prevent intrigues and diſputes about the diſpoſal of them, which had often diſturbed the tranquillity of the empire, not on account of any revenue they brought in, but of the great privileges annexed to the exerciſe of them. His love for letters, and his encouragement of them, eſpecially in his univerſity of *Prague*, has been already mentioned. The frequent charges brought againſt him for neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, receive great alleviations from the conſideration of the misfortunes that attended the emperors who had minded them too much. It is allowed on all hands, that he was humane, merciful, polite, and magnificent; and though he is accuſed of being too indolent, yet we find him upon ſeveral great occaſions exerting himſelf in perſon with vaſt vigour and ſucceſs.

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# CHAP. XXXIV.

## WENCESLAUS.

WHEN this prince came to the empire, the great ſchiſm of the weſt, as it is called, was begun. One *Prignano*, a *Neopolitan*, had been choſen pope by the *Italian* cardinals, and took the name of *Urban* the VIth. The haughtineſs and fierceneſs of his manners diſobliged the other cardinals ſo much, that they left *Rome*, declared that *Prignano* was choſen while they were under force, and elected *Robert*, the ſon of *Amadeus* the IIId, count of *Geneva*, who took the name of *Clement* the VIIth, and he eſtabliſhed the ſeat of his pontificate at *Avignon*. This ſchiſm threw all *Europe* in a flame. The emperor, with the kings of *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *England*, *Bohemia*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, with the ſtates of *Italy* and *Flanders*, ſtuck by *Urban*. *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Savoy*, and *Joan* queen of *Naples*, declared for *Clement*; and the diſpute between thoſe two worthleſs competitors and their abettors was attended, for above thirty years, with the effuſion of the beſt blood of *Chriſtendom*. Schiſm in the church.

*Wenceſlaus* was but ſeventeen years of age when he mounted the *Imperial* throne. His father had given him *Bohemia* beſides, Accession of *Wenceſlaus.*

ſides, as he did *Brandenburgh* to *Sigiſmund*, and *Luſatia*, with the two *Sileſias*, to his third ſon *John*. *Wenceſlaus*, upon his acceſſion, declared himſelf for *Urban* the VIth, in a diet which he held at *Franckfort*; and the plague raging in *Bohemia*, he lived for ſome time at *Aix la Chapelle*, where he gave moſt inauſpicious proofs of his future reign and worthleſs diſpoſition. Freſh ſwarms of freebooters now invaded the empire, and *Wenceſlaus*, inſtead of chaſtizing them, conſumed the great treaſures left him by his father in profligacy and debauchery. He imitated, and exceeded, his father, in his rapacious methods of raiſing money, and gave blank patents, ſigned and ſealed, to thoſe who could purchaſe them, and they were at liberty to fill up the vacancies left in them with whatever names they pleaſed. The conſequence was, that all *Italy* inſtantly became a ſcene of rapine, tumult, and confuſion, and in every quarter the powerful oppreſſed the weak. The plague abating in *Bohemia*, the emperor repaired to *Prague*, where he received a deputation from his electors, deſiring that he would reſide in other parts of the empire. His anſwer was, that if they had any buſineſs with him, they muſt come to *Bohemia*. Upon receiving this anſwer, the great princes of the empire confederated together to maintain the public tranquillity, which they in ſome meaſure effected. *Leopold* of *Auſtria* was at this time engaged in a war with the *Swiſs*, and the confederate towns who had withdrawn themſelves from his allegiance. But he was defeated, and loſt his life in the quarrel. This encouraged other towns to join in the confederacy, and *Germany* was ſoon filled with wars, between the inhabitants of confederated cities and the ſubjects of great princes. In the mean while, *Wenceſlaus* was rendering himſelf at once ridiculous and deteſtable. Among the other cruelties he practiſed, he ordered his wife's confeſſor to be drowned, becauſe he would not reveal her confeſſion.

His imprudence.

Troubles of *Bohemia*.

The emperor's brother, *Sigiſmund*, was then ſignalizing himſelf in *Hungary*, and upon the death of *Charles Durazzo*, he mounted that throne. His ſucceſs did not appeaſe the troubles of *Bohemia*, where *Wenceſlaus* engaged a body of the freebooters, whom we have ſo often mentioned, to protect him from the reſentment of his ſubjects, who were in arms againſt him. A perſecution of the *Jews*, which happened at almoſt every period of confuſion in *Germany*, then took place. They were burnt at *Prague*, butchered at *Spire*, and plundered all over the empire; but, at laſt, they found an aſylum in the territories of the duke of *Lithuania*, who was in love with a young woman of their nation. Several towns in *Germany*, at the ſame time, took arms againſt the princes whom the late emperor had placed over them, on pretence that he had no right to diſpoſe of their privileges and properties. The *Straſhourghers* waged war againſt the count *Palatine*, and were put to the ban of the empire, but purchaſed their peace with

with a preſent of 30,000 florins paid to the emperor. *Bavaria* was, by a family compact, divided among three of its dukes, *John*, *Stephen* and *Frederic*; and *Wenceſlaus* proceeding from tyranny to a kind of frenzy, ordered the common executioner to cut off the heads of the magiſtrates of *Prague*, without proceſs or trial. This madneſs is ſaid to have been occaſioned by poiſon, which affected his brain, without deſtroying his life; and it proceeded ſo far, that he made the executioner his intimate companion. In one of his compotations with this man, he was curious to know the ſtate of the human mind immediately before death; and to make the experiment in his own perſon, he blind-folded himſelf, and falling upon his knees, ſtretched forth his neck to have his head cut off by the hand of his friend. The executioner ſtruck him with the flat of his ſword, and the emperor ordering him to be blinded in his turn, ſtruck off his head with the ſame ſword. At another time, he is ſaid to have ordered his cook to be roaſted alive. All theſe, and other frantic acts, this emperor was guilty of, may, without recourſe to poiſon, be attributed to the effects of drunkenneſs, to which it is univerſally allowed he was immoderately addicted.

Frenzy of *Wenceſlaus*,

His brother *Sigiſmund*, king of *Hungary*, as well as his ſubjects of *Bohemia*, conſidering him as a mad-man, confined him. Obtaining leave to bathe himſelf, attended by a female keeper, both of them, being naked, they got hold of a boat, into which they threw themſelves, and reached a fortreſs, where they were received. His ſubjects miſtook ſome lucid intervals, which he diſcovered after this adventure, for the cure of his mind, and ſuffered him to remount the throne; but his extravagancies returning, the *Bohemians* invited *Sigiſmund* into their country with an army, and declared him regent of the kingdom. *Wenceſlaus* was once more ſhut up in priſon, but his preſence in *Bohemia* ſtirring up daily diſturbances, the cuſtody of his perſon was committed to *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, who confined him in one of the towers of *Vienna*. Obſerving, from the window of his priſon, that a fiſherman, one *Grundler*, daily viſited the other priſoners, he found means to engage him in his intereſt. *Grundler* furniſhed him with a ſilken cord, by which he deſcended from the window of his priſon, and eſcaping acroſs the *Danube*, he reached *Prague*, and by the aſſiſtance of a powerful faction of the nobility, he reſumed the government, profeſſing great abhorrence of his paſt miſdeeds. About the year 1397, upon the death of *Clement* the VIIth, his party choſe *Benedict* the XIIIth into the papacy, in oppoſition to *Boniface*, who was then pope at *Rome*. A diet was held at *Franckfort*, where the princes of the empire, being ſeconded by the deputies of the *French* king, agreed to ſend commiſſioners to both popes, to perſuade them to abdicate the papacy, and to wait the reſult of a regular election; but this propoſal was evaded by *Boniface*. A meſſenger was then ſent from *Wenceſlaus*, and the *French* king,

who is confined, but eſcapes.

1397.

king, who had conferred together at *Rheims*, to *Boniface*, repeating the propoſal, and he agreed to it, provided his competitor ſhould conſent to abdicate the papacy likewiſe; but *Benedict* rejected the terms, upon which the *French* beſieged him in *Avignon*, where he was made priſoner, and kept in confinement five years.

**Affairs of the north.**

*Wenceſlaus* ſeems, about this time, to have recovered ſome degree of ſanity. He ennobled and enriched his deliverer, *Grundler*, and his family, and was choſen umpire to terminate the war that had been for ſome time carried on between the knights of the *Teutonic* order, and *Margaret* queen of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, commonly called the *Semiramis* of the north. Their diſpute was concerning the iſland of *Gothland*, which *Wenceſlaus* awarded to be delivered up to the queen upon her indemnifying the knights with a ſum of money.

**Marriage of *Wenceſlaus*,**

About this time *Wenceſlaus* married *Sophia*, daughter of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*; but becoming, if poſſible, more extravagant than ever, he renewed his practices of extortion, and ſold to *Galeazzo*, of *Milan*, the direct ſovereignty of that noble country, with the title of duke, without conſent of the princes of the empire; who reſented this proceeding ſo much, that in two ſeveral diets, held by their own authority at *Franckfort* and *Mentz*, where they ſummoned *Wenceſlaus* to preſide, they reſolved, all other expedients failing, to force him to abdicate the empire, and to chuſe a new emperor. The leaders in this diet were, the archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Treves*, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Saxony*. They proceeded with great regularity in de-

**who is depoſed.**

poſing the emperor, and the ſentence of his depoſition, beſides the malverſations we have already mentioned, charged him with having ſold *Genoa*, and its territory, to the *French*, and with murdering a number of prelates, prieſts, and perſons of diſtinction; with having made a league in favour of the *Tartars* againſt the *Teutonic* order; and with having deſtroyed the univerſity of *Prague*, which had been founded by his father.

**The duke of *Brunſwic* choſen in his room, is murdered.**

The princes then proceeded to the choice of a new emperor, and it fell upon *Frederic*, duke of *Brunſwic* and *Lunenburg*; but he was murdered by the count of *Waldec*, as he went to receive the *Imperial* crown. Upon this they choſe *Robert*, count *Palatine*, in his place. *Wenceſlaus*, before this, had done all he could to allay the ſtorm that threatened him. He had yielded to the houſe of *Bavaria* all their claims upon the higher *Palatinate*, and the towns which his father had ſeized; but he was now ſo much hated and deſpiſed, that all *Germany* confederated againſt him, and approved of his depoſition; the act

1399. which bears date the 20th of *Auguſt*, in the morning, 1399. *Wenceſlaus*, on receiving the news of his depoſition, behaved with an inſenſibility, which in another prince would have been termed philoſophy. *We are glad*, ſaid he, *to be eaſed of the empire*,

*empire, that we may have the more leiſure to attend the affairs of our kingdom.*

The truth is, there is ſomething extremely myſterious in this depoſition, and it is hard to account for the reaſons why the princes of the empire bore with him ſo long as they did, if he was ſuch a monſter as he is repreſented to have been. Perhaps they were willing that he ſhould remain in *Bohemia*, and practiſe his extravagancies there, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize over their inferiors in *Germany*. As to his capital crime, that of having ſold the dukedom of *Milan*, we find no law of the empire that could reſtrain him. After his depoſition, he reigned nineteen years in *Bohemia* with tolerable moderation; and it is ſaid that he was indulgent to the progreſs of the reformation preached up by *John Huſs*, profeſſor of theology in the univerſity of *Prague*, who was the convert of the *Engliſh Wickliff*, the forerunner of the reformation. He was twice married, firſt to *Jane*, daughter to the duke of *Bavaria*, and next to *Sophia*, daughter to *Stephen*, another duke with the ſame title. He died without male iſſue; but, it is ſaid, he had a daughter, *Euphemia*, who was the wife of *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*.

Reflections on the depoſition of *Wenceſlaus*.

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## CHAP. XXXV.

### ROBERT, *Count Palatine of the* Rhine.

THIS prince is reckoned the 36th emperor of *Germany*, becauſe of the intervention of the duke of *Brunſwic*, who had been elected, but not crowned. Though *Robert*, by ſome called *Rupert*, had been regularly choſen, and conſecrated, yet he was obliged to lay the city of *Aix-la-Chapelle* under the ban of the empire, and to appear before it with an army, the dread of which forced the inhabitants to open their gates to receive him. The reaſon they gave for their oppoſing him, was, that *Wenceſlaus*, to whom they had ſworn allegiance, was ſtill alive. Other cities of *Germany* were under the like ſcruples, but the inhabitants of *Nuremberg* bought off their allegiance to that prince, by ſending him a pipe of excellent wine. It appears, however, as if *Wenceſlaus* had now returned to a ſane ſtate of mind. He applied to the *French* king, who interpoſed ſo far in his favour, as to offer to become umpire between him and *Robert*; but the aſſociation of the princes who had depoſed him was ſo ſtrong, that the propoſed mediation came to nothing. The king of *Hungary*, and ſome *Bohemian* noblemen, next offered to interpoſe their good offices in his favour; but *Wenceſlaus* was ſo ſhocked at the ſordid terms propoſed by his brother, that he rejected his aſſiſtance, and left him without taking leave.

Difficulties of the emperor *Robert* on his acceſſion.

In

His expedition to *Italy*.

In the mean while *Robert* endeavoured, in a diet held at *Franckfort*, to re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of the empire, and to re-annex to it the dominions that had been ſevered from it during the late reigns, particularly the dutchy of *Milan*. For this purpoſe he raiſed an army, towards which the pope, *Venice*, and *Florence*, offered to contribute large ſums, and advanced to *Tirol*. From thence he wrote a challenge to *Galeazzo*, in which he ſtiled him ſimply, count of *Verona*. *Galeazzo*, in his anſwer, called himſelf duke of *Milan*, by the grace of God and *Wenceſlaus*, and gave the emperor no other title than *Robert* of *Bavaria*, but promiſed to beat him back to *Germany*. *Robert* continued his march to *Brixen*, in the *Milaneſe*; but though he received conſiderable reinforcements from *Germany*, he was ſo harraſſed by *Galeazzo*'s cavalry, that, after loſing above half his army, he was obliged to return to his own dominions, without attempting one ſtroke of importance. To colour his diſgrace, he pretended that the archbiſhop of *Mentz* had prevailed with the princes to fail in their engagements, and had withdrawn their affections from him. *Robert*'s reputation, at this time, was ſo low, that *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Naples*, who had expelled pope *Boniface* from *Rome*, formed intrigues for the empire, and choſe for his motto, *Aut Cæſar aut nihil*; meaning that he would be *Cæſar* or nothing.

From whence he returns with diſgrace.

The death of *Galeazzo* delivered *Italy* from the fear of receiving a maſter who probably would have given laws to the pope himſelf, and have become one of the moſt independent and powerful princes in *Europe*. The emperor *Robert* might have made vaſt advantages of his death, had he immediately croſſed the *Alps* at the head of an army; but he was underhand croſſed by the pope, who excited the eccleſiaſtical electors to oppoſe the payment of the tenth, which was to enable him to undertake the expedition. *Robert* was therefore obliged to apply himſelf to regulate the internal affairs of the empire, and to improve his own patrimonial eſtates; in which he ſometimes met with oppoſition. He reduced, by force of arms, the marquis of *Badon*, who had preſumed to impoſe tolls in his dominions. The marquis, after this, aſſociated himſelf with the count of *Wirtemberg*, the city of *Straſbourg*, and the towns in *Suabia*; a confederacy that ſubſiſted during all this emperor's reign, notwithſtanding all the meaſures he took to break it. A peace about the year 1405 was eſtabliſhed between the city of *Baſil* and the confederated *Swiſs* cantons on the one part, and the houſe of *Auſtria* on the other, after a bloody war had raged between them for above two years. But the eyes of all *Europe* were now turned towards *Bohemia*, where the reformation from the groſs errors of popery, was making a rapid progreſs under *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, who were protected by *Wenceſlaus* and his queen, notwithſtanding the anathemas thundered out againſt them by the pope and the archbiſhop. The city of *Prague* taking part with *Huſs*, pope

Confederacy againſt *Robert*.

1405.

An account of *Huſs*.

*John* XXIII. laid it under an interdict during the residence of *Huss* there, and cited him to appear at *Rome*, which *Huss* refusing to do, he was excommunicated, but offered to submit himself to the judgment of the university of *Prague*. All *Bohemia* and great part of *Germany* were thrown into confusion by the new doctrines, and *Huss* is said to have formed a strong party in the university of *Prague*, which occasioned many of the *German* doctors and scholars to retire from thence. The schism between the two popes still continuing, neither pope *John* nor the emperor had power enough to compose those troubles, which brought on a most bloody scene of perfidy and inhumanity.

A war between two prelates,

In the course of this contention, a civil war arose on account of a competition about the bishopric of *Liege*, one of the candidates, *John* of *Bavaria*, having been recommended by *Gregory*, and the other, *Theodoric de Pervis*, by *Benedict*. The cities of *Liege*, *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and the towns of *Brabant* raised 50,000 men for *Pervis*, who defeated his antagonist, and shutting him up in *Maestricht*, he would have taken that town, had not the duke of *Burgundy* relieved it, and defeated *Pervis*. *John* was then conducted in triumph to *Liege*, where he behaved with incredible barbarity. He cut off the heads of 120 noblemen. He ordered 24 more with the officers of *Pervis* and *Benedict*'s legate to be thrown into the *Meuse*, obliged the city to pay him 200,000 crowns, and annexed all its secularities to his own see. Cardinal *Cossa*, now called *John* XXIII. had been a pirate and a free-booter, and openly kept a mistress; but he had been lawfully elected by the council of *Pisa*, tho' *Robert* still declared for *Gregory*. We can perceive that *Wenceslaus* by this time was greatly reformed in his morals. He had so much influence, that the prelates who composed the council of *Pisa*, gave him the title of king of the *Romans*, which was, in fact, refusing to acknowledge *Robert* as emperor. This incensed *Robert* so much, that he disowned the authority of the council, and he complained to the princes of the empire of the indignity done him, but he received very little satisfaction.

and between the *Poles* and the *Teutonic* knights.

A war at this time was raging between *Ladislaus* king of *Poland* and the *Teutonic* knights, in which the latter were not only defeated, but lost all the *Polish Prussia*. *Robert* called a diet at *Frankfort*, where the proceedings of the council of *Pisa* were condemned, and he and the members demanded another council. In this, they appeared to be so unanimous, that the emperor might have carried his point by putting an end to the schism, which instead of two had now three heads, had he not been thwarted by the archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been always his declared enemy.

1410. Death, issue, and character of *Robert*.

*Robert* was preparing to reduce that haughty prelate by arms, when a fever seized him at *Oppenheim*, and carried him off in the ninth year of his reign, *May* 10, 1410. Before his death, he named seven executors of his will, by which he distributed

diſtributed his dominions among his children. *Lewis* with the long beard, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, inherited the *Palatinate* and the lordſhip of *Amber*. To *John* he bequeathed *Sultzbach*, *Iruburg*, and the county of *Oham*. The dutchy of *Deux Ponts* was allotted to his ſon *Simmerin*. *Stephen* inherited *Lutzelſtein*, as *Otto* did *Sintzheim*. *Robert* took to wife *Elizabeth* daughter to the burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and beſides the ſons above mentioned, he had daughters, *Elizabeth* married to a duke of *Auſtria*, *Agnes* to the count of *Cleves*, and *Margaret* to the duke of *Lorrain*. With regard to *Robert*'s character, we do not find that after his acceſſion to the empire he diſappointed the good opinion of his electors. He was in his perſon (which was remarkably ſhort) vigorous and active. He was far from being deficient in military accompliſhments, and by diſpoſition he was pious, juſt and humane. To his natural ſagacity, which is ſaid to have been uncommon, he added the improvement of letters, and the greateſt blemiſh of his character was his love of money.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

### JODOCUS *or* JOSHUA.

Short reign of *Jodocus*.

THIS prince is by ſome denied a place in the liſt of *German* emperors; but as he certainly was elected after *Robert*'s death, we have admitted him as a real emperor, tho' it is ſaid he never was formally acknowledged as ſuch. *Jodocus*, before his elevation, was marquis of *Moravia*, and claimed *Brandenburg* likewiſe. He was elected by *Mentz*, *Cologn*, *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, by which we ſuppoſe is meant his own vote, while *Sigiſmund* king of *Hungary* was almoſt at the ſame time elected emperor, by the elector *Lewis* with the long beard, the archbiſhop of *Triers*, and himſelf. Each competitor proteſted againſt the other, and *Wenceſlaus* againſt both. The diſpute might have been bloody, as *Sigiſmund* was preparing to invade *Moravia*, had not *Jodocus* died at *Brinn* about three months after his election.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

### SIGISMUND.

*Sigiſmund* recognized emperor,

WE cannot with any propriety enter on the hiſtory of this prince as emperor, without touching upon it as king of *Hungary*, where, before he was elected emperor, he had reigned 27 years. After his being betrothed to *Mary* princeſs of *Hungary*, her father dying, his widow, queen *Elizabeth*, took upon her the regency; both *Mary* and *Sigiſmund* being too young

young to govern, nor was their marriage yet consummated. *Elizabeth* being influenced by *Gara*, a wicked minister, the *Hungarian* nobility made an offer of their crown to *Charles Durezzo*, king of *Naples*, who was related to *Mary*. He accepted the offer, but *Elizabeth* in the mean time gave *Mary*'s hand to *Sigismund* in marriage; and sent the bridegroom to *Bohemia*. *Charles*, by this time, was arrived in *Hungary*, where he was crowned king with the consent not only of the nobles, but of the two queens. The great men were disgusted at his government, and *Elizabeth* inviting him into her apartment under a shew of friendship, caused him to be murdered, and resumed the reins of government without opposition. Soon after, she and her daughter setting out on a progress through their dominions attended by *Gara*, they were intercepted by *Hiornard*, who by *Charles* had been appointed governor or justiciary of *Croatia*, and who cut in pieces *Gara* with the murderers; while *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding the most moving entreaties which she and her daughter used, was dragged by the hair to a neighbouring rivulet, where she was drowned by *Hiornard*'s order. As to *Mary*, she was shut up in prison. *Sigismund*, hearing of this catastrophe, marched into *Hungary* with an army, and *Hiornard* delivered *Mary* from prison, upon her swearing not to deprive him of his life and dignity. *Sigismund* being received and acknowledged king, did not think himself bound by his wife's oath, and ordering *Hiornard* and all his accomplices to be seized, they were put to death with the most exquisite tortures that ingenious cruelty could devise.

*Mary* soon after died, and *Sigismund* ordered all the noblemen who had invited in *Charles*, and who thought themselves too secure and powerful to be called to account by *Sigismund*, to be arrested. Being brought before him, they refused to behave with common deference to his character, and 32 of the most eminent among them were instantly beheaded. This cruelty disgusted the *Hungarians* so much, that many of them revolted to *Bajazet* the *Turkish* sultan, who defeated *Sigismund* at the head of 100,000 *Hungarians*, in the famous battle near *Nicopolis*. *Sigismund* escaping from the carnage, sunk into a life of indolence, and his noblemen confined him under the custody of the two sons of *Garris*, one of the noblemen whom he had put to death. *Ladislaus* son to *Charles* was then proclaimed king of *Hungary*, tho' not universally received as such, and *Sigismund* acted with so much address, that he prevailed upon the widow of *Garris* to persuade her sons to set him at liberty, upon his making oath to give them the investiture of part of *Moravia*, as soon as it should be in his power. *Sigismund* escaping into *Bohemia* assembled an army, by which he remounted his throne, and reforming his conduct, he became the darling of his subjects. His reputation was very high when he was called to the empire; and on the death of *Jodocus*, he was recognized emperor by the unani-

history while king of *Hungary*.

1411. mous voice of all the electors at *Frankfort*. He ſignalized the firſt months of his reign, by his attention to the internal quiet of *Germany*, and his endeavours to aboliſh the ſchiſm that ſtill continued to divide Chriſtendom.

He diſpoſes of the marquiſate of *Brandenburg*.

Being margrave of *Brandenburg*, he gave that province to *Frederic* of *Hohenzollern*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*, for 400,000 florins of gold; but with a reſervation of a right in his own family to redeem it, if the burgrave's male iſſue ſhould become extinct. He then effected a reconciliation between two warlike prelates, who had ſpent ſtreams of their followers blood in fighting for the poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of *Cologne*, to which each had been nominated by a rival pope. Underſtanding that his brother *Wenceſlaus* was relapſed into his irregularities, he threatened to put him to the ban of the empire; but he found it too difficult to execute his menace, which would have rendered himſelf king of *Bohemia*. The war between the *Poles* and the *Teutonic* knights ſtill continued; and the latter finding means to bring over to their intereſts *Wenceſlaus* and the duke of *Lithuania*, the *Poles* were obliged to purchaſe an accommodation, by giving back *Pruſſia* to the knights. *Sigiſmund* then grew jealous of their power, and ſecretly leagued himſelf againſt them with *Ladiſlaus* king of *Poland*, making the khan of the *Tartars*, at the ſame time, a party in the treaty.

threatens his brother.

His war with the *Venetians*.

The *Venetian* ſucceſſes in *Dalmatia*, called *Sigiſmund*'s attention to that country. He ſummoned the princes of the empire to attend him; but they did not think themſelves intereſted in the quarrel, and none of them ſtirred out of *Germany*. *Sigiſmund*, however, at the head of his *Hungarians*, defeated the *Venetians*, and recovered the countries they had conquered; but not finding himſelf ſupported by the empire, he made peace with them. The treaty being concluded, he had an interview with pope *John* XXIII. at *Placentia*, and the emperor perſuaded him to agree to the calling of an oeconomical council at *Conſtance* the firſt of *November*, 1414, for terminating the ſchiſm. He intimated this council to all chriſtian princes, inviting them to repair to it, as he did the other two popes, *Benedict* XIII. and *Gregory* XII. who both exclaimed againſt it. *Gregory* was protected by *Laudiſlaus* king of *Naples*, the ſame who had been *Sigiſmund*'s rival in the kingdom of *Hungary*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and of the papal dominions, and aſpired to become ſo of all *Italy*, when he was carried off by poiſon in an expedition againſt the *Florentines* and pope *John*. *Sigiſmund* was all this time labouring with indefatigable zeal to reconcile all differences, not only in *Germany* but among the princes of Chriſtendom, that his council of *Conſtance* might be opened with the greater luſtre and celebrity. He confirmed the privileges of the *Alſatian* towns that had been united to that prefecture. He made a progreſs through *Germany*, and compromiſed all differences between the biſhop and citizens of *Straſburg*.

1414.

*Sigiſmund*

*Sigiſmund* is an eminent proof how far an appearance of dignity, pomp, ſplendor, regularity and order, joined to the advantages of a fine and majeſtic perſon, can operate upon mankind. His capacity for buſineſs was but very confined, and yet he did vaſt things, and held a ſuperiority over all the princes in *Europe*. When the time approached for opening the council of *Conſtance*, he granted *John Huſs* a ſafe conduct for his appearance, to give an account of his faith, before the members there. *Sigiſmund*, then, together with his empreſs, who was daughter of a count of *Cilley*, was crowned with great ſplendor at *Aix la Chapelle*, and he arrived on the 23d of *December* at *Conſtance*. Modern hiſtory ſcarcely can parallel the pomp and magnificence, which attended the opening of this aſſembly of the humble ſucceſſors of the apoſtles, who by their proceedings, deſerve to be conſidered as the diſciples of *Satan*. The duke of *Saxony* carried the *Imperial* ſword before *Sigiſmund*, and other princes were appointed to other offices, the aſſembly not being *Imperial* or *Germanic*. No fewer than 100,000 lay-attendants waited upon the princes and the prelates; and the emperor provided not only for order and regularity among them, but for their ſubſiſtence. *Sigiſmund*, cloathed in the *Imperial Dalmatic*, aſſiſted in quality of deacon, at a mid-night maſs performed by pope *John*. The fate of *John Huſs* had been fixed before. The emperor was ſtartled, when it was propoſed that he ſhould be burnt, but yielded, when he reflected, that being inferior to the council, who were judges of matters of faith, he had no right to interfere in their deciſions. In ſhort, vanity and biggotry entirely engroſſed *Sigiſmund*'s mind. Five hundred jewellers attended his court with the like number of muſicians, and that no luxury might be wanting, 718 ladies of pleaſure were licenſed and protected by the civil magiſtrate.

Account of the council of *Conſtance*.

The pope depoſed.

The real intention of *Sigiſmund* appears to have been to erect the empire of *Italy* into a popedom. *John*'s pretenſions ſtood chiefly in his way, and he obtained from him a promiſe to reſign, provided that it was found to be for the good of the church. He no ſooner made this promiſe, than *Sigiſmund* threw himſelf at his feet and kiſſed them; but *John* repenting, eluded the guards that were placed over him by the emperor, and eſcaped on the 20th of *March* from *Conſtance*, in habit of a poſtilion, and fled to *Shaffhauſen*, where he was protected by the duke of *Auſtria*. *Sigiſmund* hearing of his flight, ſupported the authority of the council, which confirmed the ſentence of *John*'s depoſition, and declared itſelf to be ſuperior to the pope. Their firmneſs obliged *John* to reſign in earneſt; and *Sigiſmund* not only put *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria* to the ban of the empire, for aſſiſting him in his eſcape, but gave the *Swiſs* confederacy leave to conquer his eſtates, and they actually made themſelves maſters of *Turgaw* which they kept. The fate of *John Huſs* and his colleague,

*Jerome* of *Prague*, now came to be determined, and both of them, to the eternal infamy of the emperor and the council, were condemned to the ſtake, where they moſt heroicly ſuffered death. *Sigiſmund* at firſt attempted to reſent this proceeding, but he ſoon acquieſced in all. *Peter de Luna*, who ſtill reſided in *Spain*, was now the only competitor for the popedom, for he refuſed to reſign his pretenſions, and it is almoſt incredible, that *Sigiſmund* actually performed a journey into *Spain* in perſon, to perſuade that prelate to a reſignation, or to engage the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* to renounce all obedience to him, if he continued obſtinate. *Sigiſmund* prevailed with the kings, but could not with *Peter de Luna*. *Sigiſmund* leaving *Spain*, came to *Chambery*, where he erected *Savoy* into a dutchy. *Peter*, called *Benedict* XIII. was depoſed, and *Otho Colonna*, being elected pope by the council, aſſumed the title of *Martin* V.

The emperor viſits *France* and *England*.

The emperor's zeal and love of pomp, now induced him to pay a viſit in perſon to the kings of *France* and *England*, then at war with each other. As he affected the character of pacificator of the church, ſo he did that of the arbiter of *Europe*. *Charles* V. was then on the throne of *France*, where *Sigiſmund* was received with ſo much reſpect, that he ſat in the *French* parliament as if it had been his own court, and made knights. When he came to *England*, the nobility waded into the water with their ſwords in their hands to carry him to ſhore; but *Henry* V. their king treated him with reſerve and contempt, and rejected all his propoſals towards an accommodation with *France*. *Sigiſmund* perceiving this, ſought to make *Henry* his friend, and offered to aſſiſt him in his claims upon *France*, provided *Henry* would reinſtate him in certain fiefs that formerly belonged to the empire. During *Sigiſmund*'s abſence, *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria*, who had aſked pardon of the emperor upon his knees, quarrelled with the council of *Conſtance*, and his own brother *Erneſt*, who had taken from him the *Tiroleſe*. The council complained to the emperor of his having impriſoned the biſhop of *Trent*, and deprived him of his eſtates. *Sigiſmund* upon this ordered *Frederic* to be put to the ban of the empire; but an accommodation was effected by the mediation of the neighbouring princes, between him and his brother *Erneſt*, who reſtored to him the *Tiroleſe*. The council of *Conſtance* was ſtill ſitting when the emperor returned to that city, and gave, to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the elector of *Saxony*, the count *Palatine*, the duke of *Pomerania*, and ſeveral other princes, the inveſtiture of their fiefs. He confirmed to the burgrave of *Nuremberg*, in conſideration of another large ſum, the electorate of *Brandenburg*, though the *Bohemians* pretended that that country was a fief of their kingdom, and the *Brandenburgers* were unwilling to acknowledge him; but the burgrave's addreſs and moderation got the better of all difficulties.

Affairs of *Auſtria*,

A quarrel at this time broke out between *Frederic* the war- and of the like margrave of *Miſnia*, one of the moſt magnificent and empire, powerful princes of the empire, and *Sigiſmund*, about ſome *Bohemian* fiefs claimed by the former, and refuſed by the latter, who was heir to that crown. The margrave left *Conſtance* to do himſelf juſtice by arms, and *Sigiſmund* was forced to appeaſe him, by giving him the electorate of *Saxony*, then vacant by the death of the laſt elector of the houſe of *Hainault*. *Sigiſmund* ſoon perceived, that he had got a maſter in the perſon of pope *Martin* V. In that pontiff's proceſſion to be inaugurated, the emperor, after proſtrating himſelf at his feet, held one of the reins of his horſe, as the elector of *Brandenburg* did the other. *Martin* ſoon found the weak ſide of *Sigiſmund*, and that his extravagance and vanity, had rendered him ſo miſerably poor, that he could not be formidable. *Martin* aſſumed the place of arbiter of *Germany*, and abſolved the duke of *Auſtria* from his excommunication, but obliged him to pay 70,000 florins to *Sigiſmund*, who promiſed to reſtore him all the *Auſtrian* eſtates that were in his hands. At laſt, *Sigiſmund*, though he omitted no method of getting money, became ſo poor, that *Martin*, who had his reaſons for ſupporting him gave him a grant, of a tenth of all the eccleſiaſtical effects, in *Germany*, which had almoſt occaſioned a civil war in the empire. A war at this time raged in *Holland* between *Jaquelina*, daughter and heireſs of *William* duke of *Frieſland*, and her uncle *John* of *Bavaria*, biſhop of *Liege*, who pretended to ſucceed to her eſtates. After the war had been carried on with various fortune for ſome time, it was terminated by the interpoſition of *Sigiſmund*, who took part with *John* of *Bavaria*, whom *Jaquelina*'s huſband, the duke of *Brabant*, was obliged to appoint governor of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Frieſland*, for three years, beſides giving him ſeveral other eſtates. But the emperor renounced all pretenſions of being lord paramount of *Hainault*, and it remained with *Jaquelina*. *Sigiſmund* made the greater diſpatch in accommodating thoſe differences, that he might attend to the affairs of *Bohemia*, which were now in a moſt dreadful ſituation.

and of the low countries.

The *Bohemians*, no ſooner heard of the death of *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, than they reſolved to revenge them. The decrees of the council of *Conſtance*, againſt the followers of the new doctrines, as they were called, were ſupported by *Wenceſlaus*, who was ſtill alive. The *Huſſites* ran to arms, forced the town-houſe, and murdered the magiſtrates who had publiſhed the royal mandates; and their proceedings ſo greatly affected *Wenceſlaus*, that he was ſtruck with a fit of the apoplexy, of which he died, and *Sigiſmund*, who was acknowledged king of *Bohemia*, appointed *Sophia* his brother's widow, to the regency of that kingdom. He had an army on foot with which he intended to oppoſe the *Turks*, who had made great progreſs in *Hungary*; but he was obliged now to employ it againſt the *Huſſites*. The latter had choſen for

Death of *Wenceſlaus*

Exploits of *Ziſka* chief of the *Huſſites.*

their leader, the famous general, called *Ziſka*, becauſe he was blind of both his eyes, but he was a brave and a ſucceſsful warrior. His followers aſſumed the name of *Thaborites*, and they moſt ſeverely revenged upon their enemies, the death of their two apoſtles, even to a degree of inhumanity, by deſtroying all the prieſts and eccleſiaſtics, who fell into their hands, and burning down their churches. The regent had been forced to ſhut herſelf up in a fortreſs, but was relieved by the *Imperial* forces, who thought themſelves ſure of a cheap victory; but they were entirely defeated by *Ziſka* through a ſtratagem, in which the women of his party were chiefly inſtrumental. *Sigiſmund*, preſſed by the *Turks* on the one hand, and by *Ziſka* on the other, gained ſome reſpite by the former turning their arms againſt the *Greeks*. A ſhort truce he had made with the *Huſſites* being expired, and he ſtill continuing to refuſe them the liberty of conſcience, *Ziſka* reaſſembled his army at the village of *Thabor*, defeated the two *Imperial* generals, *Albert* of *Auſtria*, and *Henry* governor of *Moravia*, and took the city of *New Prague*.

The north of *Germany* was at this time equally full of commotions. The princes of the houſe of *Holſtein*, ſupported by the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Pomerania*, *Brunſwic*, and other powers, withdrew their homage from the crown of *Denmark*, and though *Sigiſmund* pronounced ſentence in favour of his *Daniſh* majeſty, yet the latter was defeated and forced to apply to *Sigiſmund*'s mediation for a peace. All *Germany* ſoon after entered into a kind of a cruſade againſt the *Huſſites*, and *Sigiſmund* being ſtrongly reinforced, undertook the ſiege of *Prague*, but was again defeated by *Ziſka*, and forced to fly into *Moravia*. *Ziſka* then beſieged the important fortreſs of *Wiſrade*. *Sigiſmund* having recruited his army, attacked the *Huſſites* in their entrenchments, but the *Imperialiſts* were once more completely defeated, and moſt of them cut in pieces; after which the fortreſs of *Wiſrada* was ſurrendered to the *Huſſites*.

Affairs of *Bohemia.*

It appears as if thoſe enthuſiaſts thought *Ziſka*, becauſe he was blind, an improper perſon to be their king. It is certain, that they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, with an offer of their crown, to *Jagello*, king of *Poland*, who declined the honour in favour of *Corebut*, a *Lithuanian* prince, whom he recommended to their choice. They accepted of *Corebut*, and appointed a regency of twenty perſons till his arrival in *Bohemia*. In the mean while, in 1421, *Martin* the Vth ordered a new cruſade to be preached againſt the *Huſſites*, rather than grant them the liberty of making uſe of wine in the ſacrament; and the archbiſhop of *Treves* entered *Bohemia* with an army of thoſe cruſaders, who were beat by *Ziſka*, at the head of no more than 200 men. *Sigiſmund* now offered them terms, but they rejected them, and again beat his army with vaſt ſlaughter, and drove himſelf into *Hungary*. *Corebut* was, by this time, arrived at *Prague*, where the *Huſſites* were far from being unanimous

nimous among themſelves. The moſt moderate among them were for recognizing *Corebut*'s election; but the *Thaborites*, who were attached to *Ziſka*, refuſed to ſubmit to the government of a ſingle perſon. *Corebut* proceeded as if he had been king, but ſuffered in his reputation by a check which he received from the *Imperialiſts* at *Carleſtein*. Returning to *Prague*, he proceeded with great ſeverity againſt ſome *Thaborites*, who were accuſed of having formed deſigns againſt him in his abſence; upon which *Ziſka* declared himſelf his enemy. It was the intereſt of *Sigiſmund* to keep up this diviſion, but *Ziſka* defeated his general the count of *Wirtemberg*, and took the city of *Graditz*. He then drove *Albert* of *Auſtria* out of *Moravia*, and after defeating *Corebut*, whom he forced to renounce the crown of *Bohemia*, he made a triumphant entry into *Prague*; but ſoon after catching an infection, he died in the arms of victory, in a journey to meet the emperor, who offered to give him his own terms. Perceiving his end was approaching, he deſired his body to be left in the open fields, becauſe he choſe that it ſhould be the food of birds rather than of worms; and he ordered his followers to make a drum of his ſkin, becauſe the ſound of it would ſtrike their enemies with terror.

*Ziſka* was ſucceeded in his command by a prieſt called *Procopius* the ſhaven, who had long acted as his partner in the war, and who uſed to march at the head of the army with a ſword in one hand, and a chalice in the other. The troubles in the north of *Germany* again breaking out, the emperor, who was idling away his time at *Buda*, was viſited by *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, who obtained from him a full ſentence in his favour. Several other princes applied to him at the ſame time, and obtained the inveſtitures of their eſtates. The power of *Sigiſmund*, however, at this time, was little more than nominal, and ſerved only to colour the pretences of the contending parties. He could not aſſiſt the *Teutonic* knights, whoſe order was now greatly degenerated, and who had loſt all *Pruſſia* to the *Poles*, nor could he repel the *Thaborites*, who, under *Procopius*, filled all *Sileſia*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, and *Auſtria*, with their ravages. *Procopius* appeared to be a ſucceſſor worthy of *Ziſka*, but exceeded him in cruelty againſt the catholics. His followers were now divided into *Thaborites*, *Orphans*, and *Horebites*; but they all united againſt the *Imperialiſts*. They again defeated the duke of *Auſtria*, great part of whoſe dominions they kept poſſeſſion of, and obtained a compleat victory over a numerous army headed by the princes of the empire, who attacked them in their intrenchments. They laid *Graditz* in aſhes, took *Kamenitz* and *Ritzen*, routed *Maiſonneuve*, another *Imperial* general, and carried their arms into the heart of *Auſtria*. In ſhort, *Procopius* triumphed every where, and was every where irreſiſtable; and being now abſolute in *Bohemia*, he forced the favourers of *Corebut* to ſhut that prince up in a monaſtery. He then carried his

*Procopius* the prieſt chooſen head of the *Bohemian Huſſites*.

arms

arms into *Sileſia*, where he reduced moſt of the forts, defeated a new army of cruſaders under the cardinal of *Winchester*, ravaged the circle of *Glatz*, and laid the whole province under contribution.

Offered terms by the emperor;

The emperor continued as weak, as proud, as poor, and as bigotted as ever. Finding himſelf now in a manner deſerted, he offered terms to *Procopius*, who ſummoned the heads of his party to meet at *Prague*. After ſome negociations, they agreed to a truce for three months, and ſent a deputation, at the head of which *Procopius* appeared, with propoſals to the emperor at *Preſburg*. They demanded the liberty of communicating in both kinds, and a confirmation of their privileges, to which *Sigiſmund* was to ſwear. He gave evaſive anſwers to both demands; pretending that the firſt was not in his power to grant, and that they had not been ſufficiently explicit as to the ſecond. Upon this, the *Huſſites*, whoſe army now amounted to 30,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe, headed by *Procopius*, *William de Roſtka*, and *John Smirzlik*, recommenced hoſtilities, entered *Miſnia* and *Franconia* with fire and ſword, defeated the armies of the empire, and laid its princes under contribution wherever they marched. But in order to account the more clearly for their ſucceſs, it is neceſſary to take a view of the ſtate of the empire in other parts.

Who interpoſes in the affairs of *Denmark*.

The emperor's ſentence, in favour of *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, had very little weight with the prince of *Holſtein* and the northern ſtates, and he was obliged to raiſe an army. *Sigiſmund* interpoſed, and required them to unite againſt the *Huſſites*, which they could not do ſo long as the war in the north continued. The *Holſtein* princes laughed at this injunction, and demanded *Sleſwic* to be declared an hereditary fief, while *Eric* offered to ſubmit every thing to the emperor. After various altercations, conferences were opened at *Nikoping*, but though they proved ineffectual, yet the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Lunenburg*, taking part with *Eric*, the cities of *Stralſund* and *Roſtoc* detached themſelves from the *Holſtein* confederacy. Other diviſions in the empire contributed to the progreſs of the *Huſſites*. The electors of *Saxony*, and the count *Palatine*, refuſed to act under the archbiſhop of *Mentz* as vicar of the empire. The landgrave of *Heſſe* was then at war with the ſame archbiſhop. Two rival prelates for the ſee of *Triers* were filling it with blood and confuſion, and the dukes of *Bavaria* were at war among themſelves; while the *Turks*, under *Morad* the IId, were carrying all before them in *Hungary* and *Servia*. *Sigiſmund*, ſurrounded by ſo many diſtreſſes, propoſed a confederacy between himſelf, *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*, and his brother *Withond*, great duke of *Lithuania*; and a meeting was accordingly held at *Lutſko*. *Uladiſlaus* hated *Sigiſmund*, becauſe the latter had ſupported the *Teutonic* knights againſt him; and he really dreaded the *Huſſites*, who were now deemed to be invincible; nor did he chuſe to provoke the *Turks*; ſo

that,

that, upon the whole, he declined all *Sigiſmund*'s propoſals. *Sigiſmund* then applied to *Withond*'s vanity, and, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of *Uladiſlaus*, entirely won him over, by offering to erect *Lithuania* into a kingdom. *Uladiſlaus*, and the *Poles*, to whom *Lithuania* is a fief, oppoſed this, and not only arreſted the emperor's envoys, as they were proceeding to the coronation, but laid a reſtraint upon *Withond* himſelf, who died ſoon after.

The progreſs of the *Huſſites* was now ſo formidable, that it ſtruck terror into *Rome* itſelf. The popes, *Martin* the Vth, and *Eugene* the IVth, ordered the warlike cardinal, *Julian*, who was legatee *a latere* in *Germany*, to renew the cruſade, which he did, with ſuch ſucceſs, that in 1431, the princes raiſed an army of 80,000 men, half of which conſiſted of cavalry. This army invaded *Bohemia*, and more than repaid upon the *Huſſites* the barbarities which the latter had inflicted upon the catholics. No ſooner, however, did the *Huſſite* army appear, than their enemies were ſeized with a panic, and, notwithſtanding the exhortations of the legate, who was borne down in the general flight, they fled with ſuch precipitation, that the whole of their baggage and money, even to the croſs of the legation, and *Julian*'s veſtments, fell into the hands of the *Huſſites*. The latter had, at this time, an army in *Auſtria*, which beat *Albert*, and plundered his country. This army was under the command of another *Procopius*, ſurnamed the Little, to diſtinguiſh him from the great *Procopius* the ſhaven. The two *Procopii* joining, entered *Hungary*, where they acquired vaſt booty; but here the *Orphans* and the *Thaborites*, ſplitting about religious or other matters, the *Thaborites*, with the great *Procopius*, retired to *Moravia*; while the *Orphans*, under the little *Procopius*, giving battle to the *Hungarians*, were ſo entirely defeated, that ſcarcely 3,000 of them returned home. Notwithſtanding this defeat, the great *Procopius*, at this time, actually gave laws to the empire. Cardinal *Julian*, finding the *Huſſites* invincible, ſought to divide, or win them over, and invited them to ſend deputies to the council of *Baſil*. *Sigiſmund* held a diet at *Preſburg*, in which he propoſed to redreſs all the grievances of the *Huſſites*, provided they would recognize him as their ſovereign. The *Huſſites* ſent deputies to *Preſburg*, who conferred with thoſe of the emperor, but without the gates; and plainly intimated, that they had not forgot the *Imperial* treachery towards their two martyred apoſtles; nor would they agree to ſend their deputies to *Baſil* without having the ſtrongeſt ſecurity for their ſafety. *Sigiſmund* ſeemed to bluſh at the recollection, and promiſed them ſatisfaction in a diet held at *Egra*, where the princes and deputies preſent, engaged for the ſafety of the *Bohemian* deputies, and they received paſſports of their own wording.

*Sigiſmund* thus obtaining a ſhort reſpite from the terrors of the *Huſſites*, went to *Milan*, where he was crowned by the archbiſhops with the iron crown; but he plainly perceived that

Cardinal *Julian* ſent to *Germany*, 1431.

is defeated by the *Huſſites*.

who ſend deputies to *Baſil*.

The emperor goes to *Italy*.

that *Philip*, the duke of *Milan*, was not his friend, though *Sigiſmund* was ſo impotent, that he neither durſt reſent the palpable affronts put upon him by *Philip*, nor enter into any vigorous meaſures for reducing his power. The emperor, therefore, returned to the ſphere in which he ſhined, by making up a breach between the council of *Baſil* and pope *Eugene*, whom the fathers threatened to depoſe; and *Sigiſmund* then took the firſt opportunity of being crowned at *Rome*. The council continued to ſit at *Baſil*, where the *Huſſites*, who were 300 in number, all of them well armed, were greatly reſpected, and their deputies had ſeats in the council. *Procopius* the ſhaven was at the head of the *Bohemians*, and the fathers of the council hailed him as the conqueror of the church and of the empire. The proceedings of the council are foreign to this part of our hiſtory. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the debates between the *Huſſites* and the *Roman* catholics continued fifty days, without any appearance of an accommodation; and then the fathers of the council agreed, that ten of the moſt learned of their body ſhould treat with the *Bohemians* in a diet to be held at *Prague*. The event was, that the council relaxed ſo far as to indulge the *Bohemians* with the cup at the ſacrament. *Sigiſmund*, after his coronation at *Rome*, made *Gonzaga*, who was before lord of *Mantua*, marquis of the ſame. Upon his return to *Baſil*, he met with a *Turkiſh* embaſſy, with propoſals of peace, and magnificent preſents, which he received in public, ſeeming to be well pleaſed with the terms, and requiting the *Turk* with other preſents, equally magnificent.

and returns to *Germany*.

*Sigiſmund*, when he returned to *Germany*, had the pleaſure to underſtand that the diſſentions among the *Bohemians* were daily increaſing; that the *Bohemian* barons had ſeparated from *Procopius* and his military leaders, and that the latter, for ſome time, had been engaged in the ſiege of *Pilſen*. The barons choſe *Maimard de Maiſonneuve* for their leader, and appeared well ſatisfied with the deciſion of the council; but the violent *Huſſites* entered into a league with the king of *Poland* againſt the *Teutonic* knights, and laid waſte the new marche of *Brandenburgh*. *Sigiſmund* advanced to *Ulm*, that he might be at hand to take advantage of the *Bohemian* diviſions. The *Huſſites* being now ſeparated, *Maiſonneuve*, at the head of the *Bohemian* nobles, cut in pieces 20,000 of the *Orphans* and *Taborites* in *Prague*. *Maiſonneuve* and *Riſemberg*, another general of the *Bohemians*, then attacked *Procopius* the ſhaven at *Pilſen*, and utterly defeated him; he himſelf was mortally wounded, his nameſake, the Little, was killed on the ſpot, no quarter was given, and the ſect never could appear again in arms. Thus, through their own frantic diviſions, the *Bohemian Huſſites* were in a manner exterminated, after maintaining one of the moſt glorious rebellions, if we may uſe the expreſſion, that hiſtory can produce. *Sigiſmund* now thought himſelf once more king of *Bohemia*; for though the *Bohemian* noblemen

Affairs of *Bohemia*.

noblemen in general were jealous of their privileges, and extremely averſe to the papal power, yet they were tractable, and not tinctured with enthuſiaſm; ſo that they ſent their deputies to the general diet of the empire, held at *Ratiſbon*, where they performed their homage to *Sigiſmund*. The duke of *Bavaria* was, at this time, under the ban of the empire for contumacy, and the neighbouring princes were ready to have fallen upon him, had he not, by his money, found means to perſuade *Sigiſmund* to refer their demands to an approaching diet at *Franckfort*.

An affair of the greateſt internal concern to the empire occaſioned the holding of this diet. The *Aſcanian* branch of the electoral houſe of *Saxony* was now extinct by the death of *Albert* the IIId, its laſt elector, and four competitors claimed the honour. The competitors were, *Frederic* the warlike marquis of *Miſnia*, the count *Palatine*, the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*. The emperor, in conſideration of 100,000 florins, had given the marquis of *Miſnia* the proviſional adminiſtration of the electorate; but the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, abſurdly appealed to the pope, a proceeding ſo much reſented by *Sigiſmund*, that he brought the princes of the empire over to ſtrengthen his authority, and ſentence was given in favour of the houſe of *Miſnia*, in whoſe deſcendents that electorate ſtill continues. In this diet, a propoſal was drawn up by ſome *German* patriot-princes for aſcertaining the bounds of the *Imperial* authority, and thoſe of the ſubject's obedience; and likewiſe for reſcuing the former from the contempt it laboured under through the meanneſs of its revenues. Sixteen articles of grievances were at the ſame time preſented, but as the princes, who enjoyed the eſtates that had been alienated by former emperors, refuſed to agree to a reſumption, the whole of the propoſal came to nothing. *Sigiſmund* thinking himſelf now ſecure in the empire, entered into a treaty of marriage between young *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*, and his grand-daughter, daughter to *Albert* of *Auſtria*, whom he had deſigned his ſucceſſor in the empire. While this negotiation was depending, the ſtates of *Bohemia* laid before the emperor the terms which they demanded for their future ſecurity; one of which was, that neither he, nor any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever alter their coin; offering, if thoſe terms were granted, to renew their homage to him, to acknowledge *Albert* as his ſucceſſor, and to be reconciled to the *Romiſh* church. All which was formally effected, and a ſolemn compact was thereupon entered into, between the emperor and the people. After this, *Sigiſmund* dedicated his endeavours to win the hearts of the *Bohemians*, and he was moſt magnificently crowned at *Prague*, on the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1436; after which he received homage, and oaths of allegiance, from all the barons and the deputies of the cities.

The electorate of *Saxony* fixed in the houſe of *Miſnia*.

*Sigiſmund*'s good fortune was owing to the prudence and condeſcenſion with which he had been inſpired by his diſ-

Good fortune of *Sigiſmund.*

treſſes and poverty. He recalled all the catholic clergy, and endeavoured to reſtore them to their former power. He hanged up a hundred of the enthuſiaſtic *Huſſites* who held out; but the city of *Gratz*, who refuſed to acknowledge him, held out a long ſiege, and the inhabitants at laſt obliged him to give them honourable terms. As to the *Thaborites*, he wiſely enliſted them in his armies, and perſuaded them, that it was as meritorious to ſerve againſt the *Turks* as againſt the catholics. They accordingly did him excellent ſervice in *Hungary*, where they drove the Infidels with the loſs of above 20,000 men, from all the diſtrict between the *Save* and the *Drave*. Whatever appearances of moderation *Sigiſmund* put on, they vaniſhed with his danger, and he ſtill remained the ſlave of ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm. He now relapſed into all the violences that had brought on his former dangers and diſgraces, and endeavoured to compel his ſubjects to give up the privileges they had ſo dearly bought, by employing force to make them abjure their religion, and to ſubdue their conſciences. This deteſtable conduct made him ſo odious through all *Bohemia*, that he prepared to leave it for the ſafety of his life. In the mean while, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which was thought to be the effect of poiſon. One of his toes was cut off, and it was plain that he had not long to live. His empreſs, *Barbara*, had ſome time before been crowned queen of *Bohemia*, at *Prague*; and we are told, that while her huſband was dying, ſhe formed a party among the *Bohemian* grandees, for obliging *Sigiſmund*'s ſucceſſor to marry her, as the only means of preſerving the public tranquillity. The emperor, who had been carried to *Znain* in *Moravia*, hearing of this confederacy, ordered the empreſs to be arreſted, and ſending for all the nobility of his court, he nominated, for his ſucceſſor, his ſon-in-law, *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*; after which he died, on the 9th of *September*, 1437, in the 70th year of his age, having been king of *Hungary* 50 years, emperor 27, and king of *Bohemia* 17.

His death. 1437.

Account and vindication of his empreſs.

Though we have given the conſpiracy of the empreſs as it is related by bigotted catholics, we cannot help thinking, that it is full of the moſt ridiculous improbabilities. She was not of a family to be, in her own perſon, of any conſequence to the tranquillity of the empire, or of *Bohemia*; nor does ambition at all coincide with that character of lewdneſs with which ſhe is, perhaps with equal injuſtice, branded by the ſame authors. *Barbara*, very poſſibly, might be ſomewhat unguarded in her behaviour, and that ſhe durſt think with freedom, appears from her having been the avowed friend and patroneſs of the *Huſſites*. As ſuch, it was natural for her, when her huſband's life was given over, to apply to the chief *Bohemian* noblemen, to obtain from *Sigiſmund*'s ſucceſſor, ſome previous ſtipulations in behalf of thoſe poor people, as the beſt means of inſuring the public tranquillity. All this is the more probable, as we find that the ſucceeding emperor, ſo far from expreſſing

preſſing reſentment againſt her, ſet her at liberty; and many of the facts charged upon her as the moſt atrocious crimes, are not only conſiſtent with virtue, but ſhew her to have been a woman of ſenſe and ſpirit.

*Sigiſmund* left only one daughter, whom he had by his ſe- His iſſue.
cond wife *Barbara*, and ſhe was married to the emperor *Albert* the IId, of *Auſtria*, who thereby united to his kingdom, the crowns of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, of which ſhe was heireſs. *Sigiſmund* was, in his perſon, remarkably handſome, and being himſelf no enemy to the fair ſex, he is ſaid not to have been very ſtrict as to the conduct of his empreſs *Barbara*. We have already, on ſeveral occaſions, taken notice of his true character, which his adherence to forms and pomp, his regard for the holy ſee, and above all, his perpetual affectation of the character of a mediator, kept above contempt in the eyes of the public. Though unfortunate in war, he is ſaid to have been perſonally brave, and his cotemporaries have praiſed him for his love of learning, and learned men, and his hatred of adulation; qualities, which however plauſible, have often oſtentation and vanity for their roots. Upon the whole, *Sigiſmund* was poſſeſſed neither of true honour nor true wiſdom, and impartial hiſtory will always rank him in the claſs of weak princes.

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## CHAP. XXXVIII.

### ALBERT *the ſecond, of* Auſtria.

THE male line of the *Bohemian* royal family being ex- Acceſſion
tinct, it was neceſſary, by the fundamental laws of the of *Albert*
kingdom, that the throne ſhould be filled by election. *Albert* to the em-
of *Auſtria* was choſen by one party, and *Caſimir*, brother to pire;
the king of *Poland*, by another, who crowned him in the city of *Prague*. This competition produced a war, and the *Poles* joining *Caſimir*, were, at firſt, victorious. *Albert* made the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who was called the *German Achilles*, his general, and he defeated the *Poles* and the *Calixtins* (for ſo *Caſimir*'s party was called) ſo often, that *Albert* was crowned at *Prague*, and at laſt acknowledged king by his rival's party. The eſtates of *Hungary*, who pretended likewiſe to the right of electing their king, choſe *Albert*, upon condition that he ſhould not accept of the *Imperial* crown; but underſtanding that he had been choſen emperor by the diet of *Franckfort*, and that *Albert* was reſolved to ſtand by his wife's hereditary right, they receded from their pretenſions, and recognized him as their ſovereign.

The differences between the pope and the council of *Baſil* who takes ſtill continued, and the princes of the empire reſolved upon a the council
neutrality; but *Albert* was no ſooner ſeated on the *Imperial* of *Baſil*
throne, than he took the council under his protection. Being under his
crowned protection.

crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he reformed the tribunal of the *Auſtregues*, or arbitrators, and aboliſhed the infamous, but old cuſtom, called the ſecret judgment, practiſed in *Weſtphalia*, by which a man might be condemned to death, and yet be ignorant of his ſentence till he came to the fatal ſpot where he was to ſuffer. Other cuſtoms, ſtill more cruel and unjuſt, are ſaid to prevail in ſome parts of *Germany* to this day. All the arts, however, employed by the pope, could not divert the *German* princes from their neutrality; and they inſiſted upon a new council being ſummoned at another place. By this wiſe conduct, the princes brought both the pope and the council to depend on them, and a peace was effected between *Hungary* and *Poland*. This had no influence upon *Morad*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, who beſieged *Semendria*, belonging to the deſpot of *Bulgaria*, which was the bulwark of the *Auſtrian* dominions on that ſide. *Albert* raiſed an army for the aſſiſtance of the deſpot, but the emperor's activity overheating his blood, he died on the 27th of *October*, 1439, and thereby diſappointed the high expectations the public had conceived from the preceding part of his life. He left by his wife two daughters; *Elizabeth*, who was the wife of *Caſimir*, prince of *Poland*; and *Anne*, who was married to *William*, duke of *Saxony*; and a poſthumous ſon, *Ladiſlaus*, who was crowned king of *Hungary*, four months after his father's death. It was during this emperor's ſhort reign, that the empire was divided into circles, in which the dominions of the electors are not included. *Albert* is ſaid to have poſſeſſed many noble qualities, both of body and mind, that fitted him for empire; and from him, by his marriage with the emperor *Sigiſmund*'s daughter, the houſe of *Auſtria* derives its preſent greatneſs.

His death. 1439.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

### FREDERIC *the third, of* Auſtria.

*Frederic the third, guardian to young Ladiſlaus.*

ALBERT, at his death, left both the empire and his other dominions in great confuſion. The electors aſſembling at *Franckfort*, offered the *Imperial* dignity to *Lewis* III, of *Heſſe*; but he declining it, their choice fell upon *Frederic* of *Auſtria*, of the *Stirian* line of that family, and couſin-german to the late emperor; nor indeed was the empire worth accepting of but by a prince who could maintain the *Imperial* dignity by his own hereditary power, which was far from being the caſe with this *Frederic* of *Auſtria*. The late empreſs put her infant ſon under his tuition, as the crown of *Hungary* had been offered to *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*; and that of *Bohemia*, where great diviſions then ſubſiſted, to *Albert*, elector of *Bavaria*, who refuſed it; while the emperor declared, that he would maintain the right of the late emperor's ſon, to both thoſe crowns.

crowns. The *Bohemians*, upon this, chose two administrators, one a *Hussite*, and the other, *Maisonneuve*, a catholic, who each of them, protected the subjects of his own persuasion, for some time, in tolerable quiet. *Ladislaus* of *Poland* continued to assert his right to the crown of *Hungary*, and defeated the troops of the empress-dowager; but a *Bohemian* officer, called *John Gisora*, stopt his progress. It appears at this time, that the emperor and the great princes of the empire, considered the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* as belonging by hereditary right to the infant *Ladislaus* of *Austria*. Cardinal *Julian*, by order of pope *Eugene*, endeavoured to bring about a peace, which he did on these terms, that the king of *Poland* should be the administrator of *Hungary* during the non-age of *Ladislaus*, and succeed him if he should die without issue.

The differences between the states of *Prussia* and the *Teutonic* order still subsisted, and were referred to the emperor, who gave sentence in favour of the knights, upon which the states acknowledged his *Polish* majesty for their king. *Frederic*, like many of his predecessors, applied himself, in the beginning of his reign, to reform and settle the internal policy of the kingdom, and to compose the differences of the church. The council of *Basil* had chosen *Amadeus* duke of *Savoy* for their pope, and he assumed the name of *Felix*, and both parties courted the friendship of the emperor and the *German* princes, but they adhered to their neutrality, to the great disappointment, both of *Felix*, and his competitor, *Eugene*. *Frederic* however had an interview with *Felix*, who offered him his beautiful daughter in marriage, with a fortune of 200,000 ducats; but *Frederic*, though poor, rejected the proposal with disdain, saying at the same time, that "*Felix*, could he find any one to sell him holiness, was very willing to purchase it." About the year 1442, (a period distinguished, if not for the discovery, for the introduction of printing into *Europe*) *Frederic*'s brother *Albert*, on pretence that he had been wronged in his patrimony, put himself at the head of a party of free-booters, and ravaged the dominions of the emperor, who purchased his peace from them, by giving them 70,000 ducats, and putting his brother in possession of *Suabia* and other estates. The towns of *Lubec*, *Hamburg*, *Lunenburg*, and *Wismar*, about this time submitted to *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, but he was deposed by his states, and the duke of *Bavaria* was chosen in his room, because *Eric* had declared that he would leave his crown to the duke of *Pomerania*. In 1443, *Frederic* renewed his family pretensions, upon *Switzerland*, and applied for assistance to the princes of the empire; but they refused to interfere in the quarrel.

He favours the *Teutonic* knights; 1442. purchases peace;

The emperor then engaged *Charles* VII. of *France*, to send his son the dauphin to his assistance. *Charles*, glad of that opportunity, to get a footing in *Alsace* and the empire, sent 40,000 men, who were encountered by no more than 4000 bargains with *France*.

*Swiſs*. The latter killed double their own number, but were all cut in pieces except one man, who upon his return home was beheaded for cowardice. Such a love of freedom approaches to ferocity and ingratitude. But though the *Swiſs* received other checks, the dauphin could get no footing in their country, and he ſeized ſome cities in *Alſace*, which explained the reaſon of his father's giving him 40,000 men, inſtead of 5000, as had been ſtipulated. The emperor *Frederic* is accuſed of an indolence at this time, which gave the ambitious *Ladiſlaus* of *Poland* an opportunity of becoming king of *Hungary*, in prejudice of the infant *Ladiſlaus* of *Auſtria*. One general of the *Poliſh Ladiſlaus*, was the famous *Hunniades* who defeated the *Turks*, and another of his generals, *Giſora*, who took the town of *Sophia*. Thoſe advantages raiſed the character of *Ladiſlaus* ſo highly, that the *Turk* offered him terms very humiliating to his pride and ambition, which *Ladiſlaus* accepted of, and ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve. The miſtaken religion of the times, and papal illuſion made him imagine, that he might be abſolved from the obligation of his oath. He broke the treaty, reſumed his arms, and in the battle of *Varna* againſt the *Turks*, he loſt at once his life and his glory.

*Hunniades* choſen adminiſtrator of *Hungary*.

After this *Hunniades* was choſen adminiſtrator of *Hungary*. He demanded young *Ladiſlaus* from the emperor to be educated in *Hungary*; but meeting with a refuſal, the *Hungarians* invaded *Auſtria*, and carried their ravages to *Vienna*, and all that the emperor, whoſe indolence ſtill continued, could obtain, was a three years truce, through the intereſt of the count de *Cilley*.

Affairs of *Bohemia*.

The *Bohemians* were almoſt in the ſame ſituation as the *Hungarians*. Their two adminiſtrators quarrelled, and they demanded from the emperor, their king, the young *Ladiſlaus*. A troop of free-booters, called *Armagnacs*, under the dauphin of *France*, under the colour of the late treaty of alliance againſt the *Swiſs*, by which they had got footing in *Alſace*, ravaged the empire, and demanded pay for the 40,000 men the *French* had lent to the emperor, who ſaid he had only contracted for 5000. The difference was compromiſed, but the *Brandenburghers* who were the mediators, the *Imperaliſts* and the *French* continued ſtill to ravage *Alſace*, the property of which was looked upon as very diſputable. Pope *Eugene*, at this time, had exerciſed ſome unwarrantable ſeverities againſt the *German* prelates who adhered to pope *Felix*. *Frederic* ſent his ſecretary, *Æneas Sylvius*, to reprimand *Eugene*, who was brought to a ſubmiſſion, and reverſed the depoſition he had pronounced againſt the archbiſhops of *Triers* and *Cologne*. *Frederic* ſtill refuſed to ſend young *Ladiſlaus* into *Bohemia*, where *Podiebrand* the *Huſſite* adminiſtrator carried every thing before him, and impriſoned *Maiſonneuve*, who died in his confinement. The continued indolence of the emperor, as to the affairs of war and policy, made *Germany* at this time a ſcene of blood and confuſion; but he ſuc-

ceeded

ceeded in terminating the ſchiſm of the church, by perſuading pope *Felix* to reſign his dignity. In 1447, articles under the term of *Concordata*, were drawn up and agreed to by the emperor and the *Germanic* body, and approved of by pope *Nicholas*, for putting an end to the grievances which the *German* prelates complained of from the ſee of *Rome*. The emperor then required the fathers at *Baſil* to break up their aſſemblies, and ſent a mandate to the magiſtrates of that city to the ſame purpoſe. The continuance of the council there was too gainful for them to obey, but *Frederic* making preparations to force them, the fathers removed themſelves to *Lauſanne*.

*Albert*, marquis of *Braudenburgh*, was at this time at war with the city of *Nuremberg*, who very juſtly pretended to be entirely independant of him, and both ſides being equally powerful and reſolute, they puſhed each other to debility; ſo that the emperor at laſt brought them to a reconciliation. In 1449, *Humiades* was defeated by the *Turks*, and the ſtates of *Bohemia* again demanded their young king *Ladiſlaus* from the emperor. Meeting with only evaſive anſwers, they propoſed to elect a king out of their own body. *Frederic* diſliked this meaſure, and ſent *Æneas Sylvius* to *Bohemia*; and he not only diverted them from their reſolution, but brought over *Podiebrand* to *Frederic*'s intereſt. The emperor at the ſame time promiſed to ſend *Ladiſlaus* to *Bohemia* as ſoon as he was of age to govern. *Frederic*, by thoſe means having gained a ſhort interval of tranquillity, turned his thoughts towards *Italy*, where the noble dutchy of *Milan*, upon the death of *Philip Maria*, was torn to pieces, among different claimants. *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, the duke of *Orleans*, and *Francis Sforza*, who had been adopted by *Philip Maria* and married to his natural daughter, together with the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Savoy*, were the chief competitors. *Sforza*, a man of great abilities both in war and peace, beſieged *Milan*, and the inhabitants offered to put themſelves under the protection of the emperor; but *Frederic* being too impotent to defend them, they opened the gates to *Sforza*. That prince ſought to create a miſunderſtanding between the pope and the emperor, who wanted to receive the *Imperial* crown at *Rome*, but it was removed by the addreſs of *Frederic*'s truſty agent *Æneas Sylvius*.

*Humiades* defeated.

Beſides *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, the ſtates of *Upper Auſtria* claimed young *Ladiſlaus* as their ſovereign. A gentleman, one *Eiſinger*, who had been wronged by *Frederic* in a purchaſe, ſtirred up the *Auſtrians* to demand *Ladiſlaus* from the emperor, and he was obliged to employ his brother the duke of *Auſtria*, to quell the inſurrection, which had got to a great height. *Frederic*, notwithſtanding his indolence, was vain and covetous. He ſet out this year, for *Italy*, attended by young *Ladiſlaus* and the flower of the *Hungarian* and *Bohemian* nobility. The *Venetians* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and

War in the *Upper Auſtria*.

*Lodi*, which had belonged to the *Milaneſe*; and it was their intereſt to make *Frederic* their friend. They invited him to their city, and preſented him with a magnificent ſervice of glaſs diſhes. His jeſter by a private intimation ſhook the table and broke them all to pieces, and the emperor with great coolneſs obſerved, that had the ſervice been of gold inſtead of glaſs, they would not have been ſubject to that misfortune. Impotent as *Frederic* was, ſuch was the ſtate of *Italy* at that time, that his countenance was of vaſt importance to each of it's jarring ſtates. At *Sienna*, he met with the princeſs *Eleonora* of *Portugal*, to whom he was contracted in marriage; but the pope's legates obliged him, before he entered the dominions of the holy See, to take an oath of obſervance of all it's rights and privileges. In his journey to *Rome*, he intercepted a packet addreſſed to the pope, from *Eiſinger* and the *Upper Auſtrians*, complaining of him as a tyrant, and of withholding from them their lawful prince, *Ladiſlaus*. *Frederic*, poſſeſſed of this intelligence, afterwards made ſo artful an apology to the pope, that he entirely gained over the court of *Rome* to his ſide. Arriving at *Viterbo*, the populace endeavoured to ſtrip him and his attendants of all that was about them, and it was owing to his own activity and thoſe of his retinue, that he ſaved his furniture and jewels from pillage. He was received with great magnificence at *Rome*, where, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the *Milaneſe*, he was crowned king of *Lombardy*, and ſoon after was married to the princeſs of *Portugal*. Before he left *Rome* he recommended a general confederacy of the Chriſtian powers againſt the *Othman* infidels, who were now making an incredible progreſs in *Europe* as well as *Aſia*. He left *Italy* with the grief of not being able to reſume the noble poſſeſſions there, that had formerly belonged to his predeceſſors in the empire. All he could do, was to extort ſome money from different ſtates for the liberty of uſing his name.

The emperor crowned at *Rome*.

Diſorders of *Germany*.

When *Frederic* returned to *Germany* he found the *Auſtrians* and *Bohemians* in arms under *Eiſinger*, who beſieged him in *Neuſtad*, and compelled him to agree to give up *Ladiſlaus* to the tuition of the count of *Cilley* his uncle. This produced a rivalſhip between that count and *Eiſinger*, who acting on more popular principles, drove the count from his guardianſhip, and ſolemnly crowned *Ladiſlaus* at *Prague*. This period is fatally diſtinguiſhed by the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, which was taken by the *Othman Sultan*, *Mohammed* II. The *German* princes were then diſunited among themſelves, and regardleſs of the emperor; ſo that though their common danger obliged them to hold many diets, they came to no unanimous reſolution for ſtopping the progreſs of the infidels. *Hunniades* in *Hungary* was ſtill the bulwark of *Germany*. The princes there ſent him ſome reinforcements, which aſſiſted him in raiſing the ſiege of *Belgrade*, and giving a dreadful overthrow to the *Turks*. His death, which happened a few days after the action,

action, threw the christians into the utmost consternation; out of which the pope wanted to recover them, but the indolent *Frederic* remained insensible of his own and his country's danger. *Calixtus* III. was then pope, and the *German* nation in general complained of the venality and tyranny that it suffered from him and his predecessors. Those were so flagrant, that even *Frederic* was roused out of his lethergy, and would have joined the princes, had not *Æneas Sylvius* artfully disposed his ministers to favour the court of *Rome*.

Death of *Ladislaus*.

After *Ladislaus* was freed from his pupilage. he resented the manner in which he had been treated by his guardian the emperor, so much that a war ensued, and the pope prevailed upon the duke of *Bavaria* to be the mediator between them. *Ladislaus*, at this time, was contracted to *Magdalen* daughter to the king of *France*; but before the consummation of the marriage, he died at *Prague*. Two competitors for the crown of *Bohemia*, both of them suspected of having poisoned the late king, started up. The one was *Rockizane*, a violent *Hussite*, and the other *Podiebrad*, who was chosen, though the emperor, the duke of *Saxony*, prince *Casimir*, and several other princes pretended a right to that succession. The count de *Cilley* had been murdered in *Hungary*. The two eldest sons of the great *Hunniades* had been beheaded, and the third, *Matthias*, was a prisoner in *Bohemia* on that account. Upon the death of *Ladislaus*, the *Hungarians* in gratitude chose *Matthias* for their king, and *Podiebrand* set him at liberty on the condition of his marrying his daughter. The dominions of the *Upper Austria*, which had belonged to *Ladislaus*, next came in dispute, between the emperor, his brother *Albert*, and *Sigismund*, count of *Tirol*; but after much bloodshed and ravages, each had a portion of the succession assigned to him, by the mediation of *Lewis* count *Palatine*.

A crusade against the *Turks*, but fruitless.

*Æneas Sylvius* the active agent of the emperor, and the formidable opposer of the papal power, was now chosen pope, and assumed the name of *Pius* II. He was zealous for the union of the christian princes against the *Turks*, but their disunions, particularly those of the *German* princes, prevented it. The *German* empire was now environed with dangers. *Christiern*, king of *Denmark*, had seized upon the dutchies of *Holstein*, and *Sleswic*, but did homage for them to the emperor. *Podiebrand* in *Bohemia*, found strong opposition to his elective sovereignty, and the *Hungarians* were so superstitious, that they repented their choice of *Hunniades* for their king, because *Frederic* detained from him the *Hungarian* crown, an implement of his inauguration. The pope preached up a crusade against the *Turks*; but no regard was paid to it among the princes of *Europe*; and the indolence of the emperor *Frederic* was such, that the princes of *Germany* deliberated upon setting him aside. But though indolent as to the affairs of the empire, *Frederic* was far from being so with regard to the interests of his own family; for in 1453, he prepared to 1453.

erect *Auſtria* into an archdutchy. The duke of *Burgundy* attended the diet of the empire, and being then one of the moſt powerful princes in *Europe*, he offered to head a cruſade againſt the *Turks*. Cruſades were not then, as formerly, expeditions of vanity and ridiculous enthuſiaſm, but meaſures of ſelf-defence againſt an infidel power, that threatened to ſubjugate all *Chriſtendom*; but the princes of the empire and of *Europe*, were too much engaged in their own quarrels to mind the exhortations of his holineſs. The emperor would gladly have ſeconded him, but he was become ſo much deſpiſed, that he was obliged, for the preſervation of his own dignity, to have recourſe to the friendſhip of *Albert* of *Brandenburg*. In ſhort, nothing but the diſſentions of the princes of the empire among themſelves, could at this time have kept *Frederic* upon the *Imperial* throne.

Diſorders of the empire.

They acted in all reſpects as if they had no head. *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria-Landſhut*, ſupported by other electors and princes, took the town of *Donawert*. *Frederic* complained of his diſreſpect to a diet held at *Nuremberg*. By their aſſiſtance he raiſed troops, and gave the command of them to the *Brandenburg Achilles*, who acted with vaſt ſpirit and prudence, and retook *Donawert* from the *Bavarian*. The latter appealed to a diet of *Nuremberg*; but his behaviour there, in tearing the patent of his office before the emperor's face, gave *Frederic*, liſtleſs as he was, ſo much offence, that he put him to the ban of the empire. The *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, and *Bavaria*, took part with the *Bavarian*; who after a three years war, was joined by many other reſpectable princes of the empire, and at laſt utterly defeated the *Brandenburg Achilles*, to whom the execution of the *Imperial* ban was committed. *Podiebrand* king of *Bohemia*, interpoſed for peace, which was at laſt brought about in a treaty at *Prague*, greatly to the advantage and honour of the *Bavarian*.

Diſputes about the archbiſhopric of *Mentz*.

*Diethric*, count of *Yſembourg*, and *Adolphus*, a prince of the houſe of *Naſſau*, were at this time competitors for the archbiſhopric of *Mentz*, and both maintained their pretenſions by force of arms. *Diethric* was favoured by the canons, as *Adolphus* was by the pope; but *Diethric* was obliged to give way to the prevailing fortune of his antagoniſt. As if there had been no end to the troubles of the empire, a quarrel broke out between the emperor and his brother, *Albert* of *Auſtria*, who was ſupported by the houſe of *Bavaria*, on pretence of *Albert* having been wronged in his ſhare of the ſucceſſion, and of the emperor violating the privileges of the *Auſtrians*. The king of *Bohemia* would gladly have made up this quarrel likewiſe; but though he obtained a ſhort ceſſation from hoſtilities, they broke out afreſh, and *Albert* appeared with an army at the gates of *Vienna*. The magiſtracy of that city was divided, ſome favouring *Albert*, and ſome the emperor; but *Albert* was obliged to retreat, and *Frederic*, upon certain conditions, was admitted into that capital. Here behaving

behaving in an arbitrary manner he loſt all his authority, eſpecially after the inhabitants found he had not money, either to pay his ſoldiers, or to reduce a body of free-booters who inſulted him and ravaged the country, becauſe they had been defrauded of their pay. The emperor demanded a ſum from the inhabitants of *Vienna*, but they were ſo far from complying, that they ran to arms, and drove him, his empreſs, and his young ſon *Maximilian*, into the caſtle, which the inſurgents either would have taken, or ſtarved all within it to death, had not *Podiebrand* interpoſed, and effected an accommodation between the two brothers, upon terms to which neither of them would ſtand. *Frederic* refuſed to ſuffer his brother to be governor of *Lower Auſtria*, in which *Vienna* was comprehended, and *Albert* refuſed to reſtore what he had taken from the emperor.

The emperor beſieged in *Vienna*.

The other princes of *Auſtria*, the duke of *Bavaria*, the empreſs, and the pope, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation; but all was to no purpoſe, and *Albert* at length beat his troops in the field. It is difficult to ſay, what the event might have been, had not *Albert* died ſuddenly, by which the emperor remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the diſputed territories. Thoſe wars laſted till the year 1464, when the *Hungarians*, without regard to the houſe of *Auſtria*, choſe for their king, *Matthias Corvinus*, the ſon of their brave defender *Hunniades*. The emperor claimed that throne by hereditary right, and not only detained in his own jewel-houſe the ſacred crown, without which the *Hungarians* thought their election invalid, but declared war againſt them. In this he only expoſed his own weakneſs; for *Matthias* inſiſting upon the crown, *Frederic* was obliged to give it up, and to enter into a kind of family compact, by which the kingdom was to return to the houſe of *Auſtria*, in caſe the race of the *Hunniades* ſhould become extinct. In ſhort, *Frederic* adopted *Matthias* for his ſon, and *Matthias* acknowledged *Frederic* for his father.

1464. *Matthias Corvinus* choſen king of *Hungary*.

In the year 1465, the progreſs of the *Turks*, who had now conquered *Conſtantinople*, was ſo formidable, that pope *Paul* II. demanded of the empire 32,000 troops, as it's contingent to ſerve againſt thoſe infidels. He made a like demand of the king of *Denmark*, but neither of them was complied with, and *Scanderbeg*, the brave prince of *Albania*, was left to oppoſe the *Turks*. *Denmark* was engaged in a civil war, and the pope himſelf had in a manner diſabled the *Germans* from taking the field againſt any enemy, but their own countrymen. *Podiebrand* eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Huſſites* ſo warmly, that he adopted the worſt part of popery by perſecuting papiſts; for he puniſhed ſuch of his ſubjects as refuſed to communicate in both kinds; for which he was excommunicated by the pope, and his ſubjects were abſolved from their allegiance. Thus his holineſs, inſtead of ſucceeding in oppoſing the *Turks*, armed the chriſtians againſt one another. He iſſued his bulls for a

1465. Formidable progreſs of the *Turks*.

crusade against *Podiebrand*, and gave his crown to *Matthias Corvinus*. While *Bohemia* was thus involved in war, the emperor succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the *Poles* and the *Teutonic* knights, who acknowledged themselves feudatory to the king of *Poland*. The indolence and impotence of the emperor at this time was such, that he suffered *Philip* duke of *Burgundy* to annex the dutchy of *Luxemburg* to his dominions, and the inhabitants of *Liege* to rebel against their bishop, who was supported by *Philip* and *Charles* the dukes of *Burgundy*. The *Liegeois* were entirely defeated by duke *Charles*, who made an absolute conquest of their city, and laid the bishopric under severe contributions.

Affairs of *Bohemia* and *Liege*.

The catholics of *Bohemia*, though glad of the pretext of the papal bulls for withdrawing their allegiance from *Podiebrand*, could not agree among themselves who was to succeed him. The king of *Hungary* had declined the pope's offer, for fear of disobliging the emperor. A diet was held at *Nuremberg* to deliberate on the state of *Bohemia*, and a war with the *Turks*. Here *Podiebrand*'s interest appeared to be very strong, and some of the princes proposing, that *Podiebrand*'s crown should be given to the emperor; the powerful duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* publicly declared, that it was more proper to transfer the *Imperial* crown to *Podiebrand*. All therefore that was done in the diet, was to vote 20,000 men to serve against the *Turks*. It now appeared that *Frederic* had an eye upon the kingdom of *Bohemia* for himself; but when the crown was offered him by the *Bohemian* and *Moravian* catholics, the pope prevailed with *Matthias* to enter those countries at the head of an army, where he committed great ravages. He was, however, several times beat; and after having had a personal interview with *Podiebrand*, in sight of the two armies, he retired to *Hungary*. The emperor all this time was convoking assemblies, and holding diets, for restoring peace among the princes and states of the empire, but all was to no purpose, their interests being incompatible; and *Podiebrand* still refused to give that toleration to the catholics, for which his own party, the *Hussites*, had but a few years before bravely contended. Differences still continued between the duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* and the elector of *Brandenburg*; *Sigismund* duke of *Austria* was at perpetual war with the *Swiss* cantons, and the *Liegeois* tired of the *Burgundian* yoke, broke into *Tongres*, where they made their own bishop prisoner, butchered the canons, and were guilty of a thousand other barbarities. Those were soon retaliated in kind by the duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, who suspecting that *Lewis* XI. of *France* had privately fomented the revolt, in a manner forced that prince to serve as a voluntier in his army, with which he entered *Liege*, and after ordering the inhabitants to be put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, he laid their city in ashes, and proceeded in the same manner in the county of *Franchecomté*. The emperor seemed insensible as to all those calamities;

Diet of *Nuremberg*.

Duke of *Burgundy* subdues *Liege*,

calamities; but under ſome devotional pretext, he undertook a journey to *Rome*, where he held ſome idle converſations with the pope, about the means of oppoſing the *Turks*, and then returned to *Germany*, where he found every thing in greater confuſion than ever.

*Hunniades* had renewed his inroads into *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, by far the moſt powerful prince in the continent of *Europe*, was forming parties among the princes of the empire, to be choſen king of the *Romans*; in which he probably would have ſucceeded, had he not been ſecretly thwarted by *Lewis* XI. *Podiebrand*, ſtill maintained himſelf on the throne of *Bohemia*; and the emperor, whoſe intereſt it was to check *Matthias*, perſuaded him to hold an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Prague*. There *Podiebrand* propoſed, in prejudice of his own family, that the ſucceſſion of the crown ſhould be ſettled upon *Ladiſlaus*, ſon to *Caſimir* king of *Poland*. So diſintereſted a propoſal was embraced by all parties, and *Podiebrand* again defeated *Matthias*, and drove him out of *Bohemia*. In a diet at this time, which was held at *Ratiſbon*, at which ambaſſadors from the duke of *Burgundy* aſſiſted, ſome very vigorous meaſures againſt the *Turks* were propoſed and agreed to; but all of them were ineffectual, becauſe the head of the empire had neither the ſpirit to ſupport or to execute them. In the year 1471, died *Podiebrand* king of *Bohemia*, and *Ladiſlaus*, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was crowned at *Prague*, notwithſtanding a vigorous oppoſition made to him by the party of *Matthias*. The death of pope *Paul* ſucceeded ſoon after, and he was ſucceeded by *Sixtus* IV. who renewed all the vigorous efforts of his predeceſſor for a general war againſt the *Turks*, but they were again damped by the emperor, whoſe natural indolence on this occaſion, was greatly influenced by political and family conſiderations.

and intrigues to be choſen king of the *Romans*

1471. Death of *Podiebrand* king of *Bohemia*.

The duke of *Burgundy* ſtill continued his intrigues, to be choſen king of the *Romans*; but beſides the oppoſition he met with from the emperor and the *French* king, the princes of the empire diſliked ſo powerful a head. The duke then treated with the emperor to be made king of *Burgundy*, and vicar of the empire in thoſe parts, and to give his only daughter *Mary* in marriage to young *Maximilian*. He thought himſelf ſo ſecure of ſucceeding in this negotiation, that he repaired to *Triers* with all the regal ornaments for his coronation. The emperor ſeemed to agree to the match, but intimated, that it ought to take place before the coronation. *Charles* demurred to this, but at laſt agreed to perform homage for *Guelderland*, and the other places he held of the empire; the emperor conſenting to crown him next day. The homage was performed, but the emperor evaded the coronation, by hurrying off to *Cologne*. This behaviour created various ſpeculations. Some have thought, that *Frederic* was influenced by the *French* king, others, that he was incenſed

Marriage of *Maximilian* with the heireſs of *Burgundy*, propoſed.

at

at *Charles* assuming the arms of *Austria*, because he had purchased from *Sigismund* part of the dominions of that house; but the most probable opinion is, that he had reason to believe, if *Charles* was crowned, he would disregard the performance of the match. Be this as it will, it is certain, that he prosecuted his views with unrelenting ardour. He took part with the count *Palatine*, who disputed the archbishopric of *Cologne*, with *Herman* landgrave of *Hesse*, and besieged the town of *Nuys*, which was bravely defended by *Herman*, for a whole year, when he raised the siege, being partly obliged to it by the troops of the empire, and partly by the remonstrances of the *English*. The power of *Charles* encreasing every day, and the empire declining to make themselves a party against him, with the *French* king, the latter found means to engage the duke of *Lorrain*, *Sigismund* duke of *Austria*, the *Swiss* cantons, and some other states in a confederacy against him. This was the commencement of the union between the *Swiss* cantons and the *French* kings.

The *Swisses* unite with the *French*.

1476. In 1476, one *Hagenbach*, the *Burgundian* governor of the *Alsatian* towns belonging to *Charles*, drove the inhabitants into an insurrection, and forced *Hagenbach* to fly to *Brisac*, where he was seized upon by the garrison and the inhabitants, and being formally tried and condemned, for a design he had formed to massacre the natives, and for the murders he had already committed; his head was publicly cut off by torch light. The confederacy against the duke of *Burgundy* gathered strength, not only from the apprehensions the confederates entertained of his power, but of his cruel ferocious disposition. The *Swiss* every where defeated his generals, and he himself taking the field in 1477, lost two brothers, and in a second, which was fought near *Nancy*, he was again defeated, and being mortally wounded, he was found dead next day upon the ice. On his death the *French* king resumed such of his dominions, as had been dismembered from his crown, on pretence that they could not be inherited by a female. The inhabitants of *Ghent*, laid hold of his daughter to prevent her being married to the dauphin of *France*. Upon the death of *Adolphus* duke of *Guelderland*, whom the *Ghentois* designed to be her husband, many rivals appeared for her hand. Among others, was the *English* earl of *Rivers*, whose birth was not thought to be sufficiently illustrious to merit that honour; her subjects were still averse to her matching with the dauphin; she herself hated the son of the duke of *Cleves*, another of her lovers, and during that indecision, *Frederic* renewed his claim in favour of his son *Maximilian*, to whose person and parts nothing could be objected. His addresses were favoured, by his ambassadors producing a letter and a ring, which she had formerly sent to *Maximilian* with her father's consent, by the mother's prepossession in his favour, but above all, by her own inclinations.

They defeat, and kill *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*.

1477.

*Maximilian* marries the heiress of *Burgundy*.

The

The marriage being celebrated and conſummated, though his education had been neglected through his father's ſordid avarice and indolence, *Maximilian* ſhewed great talents for government, by taking part with the *Flemings* againſt the *French* king, who was obliged to reſtore to him *Queſnoy* and *Bouchain*. The war continued ſtill to rage in *Bohemia*, where *Matthias* king of *Hungary* defeated *Caſimir* king of *Poland*; but upon the interpoſition of the pope, a compromiſe was made, by which, *Matthias* was ſuffered to retain the title of king of *Bohemia*, during his life time, together with the poſſeſſion of *Moravia* and *Sileſia*; but the ſovereignty of the kingdom was to remain with young *Ladiſlaus*, whom, in caſe of his dying without iſſue, *Matthias* was to ſucceed. The emperor reſented this treaty, but made no preparations for war, and was quite unprovided when he was beſieged in *Vienna*, the capital of his hereditary dominions, by *Matthias*, from whom he was forced to purchaſe his peace, by renouncing all claims upon *Hungary*, beſides paying *Matthias* 150,000 crowns, and giving him the inveſtiture of all his *Bohemian* eſtates. *Frederic* by thoſe conceſſions, pretended to be diſabled from aſſiſting his ſon *Maximilian*, who was then at war with the *French* king; but being unſupported, he had the worſt in the diſpute. *Maximilian* applied to the diet of the empire at *Nuremberg*, where he exhorted the princes to arm againſt *Lewis*, who thought proper to yield up *Cambray*, *Bouchain*, and *Quesnoy*, which had been formerly under the protection of the empire, and *Maximilian*, about the ſame time, found means to fix the *Liegeois* in his intereſt.

His ſucceſſes in the low countries.

The *Turks*, in the mean while, had taken *Otranto*, which made the pope tremble in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and new propoſals for confederacies againſt them were ſet on foot, when *Mohammed* the IId died at *Nicomedia*, juſt as he was meditating an irruption into *Germany* through *Hungary*. While thoſe great events were depending, *Maximilian* was carrying on a moſt proſperous war againſt the *French* in the *Low Countries*, for the recovery of all that had been diſmembered from the dutchy of *Burgundy*; and his progreſs was ſo rapid, that *Lewis* thought fit to employ the famous hiſtorian *Philip de Comines*, to ſet on foot a negotiation, which probably would have been ineffectual, had it not been for the ſudden death of the dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, *Maximilian*'s wife, who left behind her a ſon, *Philip*, and a daughter, *Margaret*. Great diſputes, the particulars of which are foreign to this part of our work, happened about the guardianſhip of the young prince and princeſs; and *Maximilian*'s government now began to be diſguſtful to the *Flemings*, who complained that he gave all their beſt poſts and places to foreigners. This diſpute terminated in the revolt of the cities of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, who ſecured the perſon of young *Philip*, and called the *French* king, *Charles* the VIIIth, to their aſſiſtance. At laſt, after a three years

Death of the *Turkiſh* emperor.

Affairs of *Burgundy*,

ruinous

ruinous war, *Maximilian*, upon certain terms, was suffered to remain tutor to his son.

1485. and the *Tirol se.*

*Albert* of *Bavaria*, and his brother *Christopher*, had territorial disputes about the estates of *Landsperg*, which were not terminated without bloodshed. *Albert* then persuaded the inhabitants of *Ratisbon*, though a free *Imperial* city, to submit to his authority; and having married *Cunigunda*, the emperor's daughter, he received in dowry with her the *Tirolese*, from her uncle *Sigismund*, to the great disgust of the emperor, who had not been privy to the match. *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, had courted the same princess, and having met with a disagreeable repulse from the emperor, who continued to make use of the arms of *Hungary*, he made a powerful irruption into *Austria*, where he made himself master of all the strong places, excepting *Cornenbourg* and *Vienna*. *Frederic* retired to *Gratz*, where he convened his estates; but they heard his complaints without relieving him, because they knew him to be possessed of vast sums. Seeing, however, that he was on the point of losing all his hereditary dominions, he raised an army, which marched to the relief of *Cornenbourg*, then besieged by *Hazi*, a *Hungarian* general, who defeated his troops, and resumed the siege of the place, which was at last obliged to surrender. *Matthias* then assembling his army, besieged and took *Neustadt*, by which he compleated the conquest of the *Lower Austria*.

The *Hungarians* conquer *Austria.*

A diet at *Franckfort*, where *Maximilian* is chosen king of the *Romans.*

The indolence and indifference with which the emperor beheld those calamities of his dominions, were amazing; but the other princes of the empire beginning to be afraid of *Matthias*, he was obliged first to agree to a truce, and then to an accommodation, by which he was to keep possession of *Austria* till he was reimbursed in the expences of the war, and for certain other demands he had upon *Frederic*. The latter was, at this time, paying a visit to his son *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*, and upon his return, he bestowed the investiture of *Juliers* and *Bergau*, upon *William* the young, and received the oath of allegiance from the prince of *Cleves*. The emperor then held a diet at *Franckfort*, where his son *Maximilian* was chosen, and afterwards crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle* king of the *Romans*. The king of *Bohemia* resented his not having been invited to the ceremony, but the other electors found means to appease him, by authentically recognizing the validity of his vote. It is said that *Frederic* was far from being fond of his son's elevation, being afraid of the activity of his spirit. To keep him as much aloof as possible from the affairs of *Germany*, he lent him a body of troops to support himself in *Flanders* against the *French*. They committed vast disorders in that country, where the inhabitants were greatly discontented that the education of their young sovereign was trusted entirely to the dutchess dowager of *Burgundy*, sister to *Edward* the IVth of *England*, and other foreigners. Their dissatisfaction rose to such a height, on this and other accounts,

counts, that when the ſtates of *Flanders* aſſembled at *Bruges*, they impriſoned *Maximilian* in the caſtle, and beheaded four of his chief counſellors. The inhabitants of *Ghent* followed their example, by beheading ten others for being acceſſary to *Maximilian* entering their city with too ſtrong an armed force. The ſtates were convened at *Mecklin*, in the name of young *Philip*, to deliberate on his father's enlargement; but inſtead of that, they brought againſt him very heavy accuſations. The pope and the emperor were obliged to interpoſe, and *Maximilian*, after ſuffering ten months impriſonment, was not ſet at liberty till he ſigned a treaty by which he confirmed the rights of the *Flemings*. Soon after he arrived at *Brabant*, and being joined by his father, the dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Brunſwic*, *Brandenburgh*, and other princes of the empire, he retracted what he had done. They endeavoured to bring the duke of *Cleves*, who was the ſworn guardian of *Maximilian's* engagements, to be of their party; but like a man of honour, he withſtood all ſollicitations and threatenings; and was, by the emperor, moſt ſolemnly put to the ban of the empire. *Frederic* then beſieged *Ghent*, but was obliged to give over his enterprize on account of a new invaſion of *Auſtria* by the *Hungarians*. On his return to *Germany*, having left the command of his army to the duke of *Saxony*, he erected *Auſtria* into an archdutchy, the firſt duke being *Philip*, *Maximilian's* ſon.

He is impriſoned at *Bruges*, but delivered.

The *Hungarians* had been provoked at the non-payment of the ſubſidies lately ſtipulated by *Frederic*, and a negotiation was ſet on foot between him and *Matthias*, who then lay in a very declining ſtate of health at *Vienna*, of which he ſtill kept poſſeſſion. *Matthias*, inſtead of abating, roſe in his demands; *Maximilian* was for purchaſing peace on any terms, and for clearing *Auſtria* of the *Hungarians*. This created a coldneſs between him and his father, who every day expected the death of *Matthias*; which accordingly happening, inſtead of purchaſing peace, he laid claim to the throne of *Hungary*, in which he was ſupported by many of the *German* princes. The *Hungarians*, on the other hand, elected for their king, *Ladiſlaus* king of *Bohemia*, and he purchaſed peace of *Frederic* for 100,000 florins. A family compact, at the ſame time, was entered into between them, by which *Frederic* was to remain in ſole poſſeſſion of *Auſtria*, and the inheritance of the crown of *Hungary* was ſettled upon *Maximilian* and his iſſue, in caſe *Ladiſlaus* ſhould die without legitimate children. *Frederic*, though a prince of very moderate parts, by perſeverance in an obſtinate attachment to avarice and his family intereſt, did great things, of which his poſterity found the benefit. He annulled his brother *Sigiſmund's* gift of the *Tirleſe* to his ſon-in-law, the duke of *Bavaria*, and put that family to the ban of the empire, the execution of which he committed to the elector of *Brandenburgh*; but he found himſelf unable to carry his point againſt the *Bavarian*. *Maximilian* oppoſed all his

War between the *Hungarians* and *Auſtrians*.

*Ladiſlaus* elected king of *Hungary*.

The houſe of *Bavaria* put to the ban of the empire.

his father's ſordid meaſures, and at laſt prevailed ſo far, that the city of *Ratiſbon*, which had been put to the ban of the empire for taking part with *Bavaria*, was re-enfranchiſed. The diſtrict of *Abenſperg* was given to the duke of *Bavaria*, together with a ſum of money, as a dowry with the princeſs *Cunigunda*, upon his ceding the *Tiroleſe* to the emperor.

Affairs of *France*.

*Charles* VIII. was then on the throne of *France*, and, like the emperor, was intent on the aggrandizement of his own family; and a contract had been entered into between him and *Margaret*, *Maximilian*'s daughter, which he ſought to break, and to marry the heireſs of *Britany*, who had been actually married to *Maximilian*, though the nuptials never had been conſummated. With this view, he invaded *Brittany*, and made himſelf maſter of the perſon of the dutcheſs, whom he married, the pope diſpenſing with his former contract. *Maximilian*, thus diſappointed of his bride, and his pride wounded in the affront offered to his daughter, was exaſperated beyond all meaſure, and appealed to the princes of the empire and the *Swiſs* for aſſiſtance to repair his injured honour; but a peace was concluded at *Senlis*; and *Margaret*, who had been educated at the *French* court, was ſent to her brother the archduke; but the *French* king gave up to *Maximilian* the counties of *Artois* and *Burgundy*, retaining four cities in the former till *Philip* was of age to ratify the agreement. *Ladiſlaus*, whoſe father *Caſimir*, king of *Poland*, died in 1492, continued to reign peaceably over *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and the emperor having ſo vigorouſly, to the ſurprize of all *Germany*, exerted himſelf againſt the houſe of *Bavaria*, was preparing to paſs the reſt of his days in ſequeſtered tranquillity, when he was attacked by a diſtemper from his indulging himſelf too much in eating of melons, which carried him off in the 79th year of his age, in the year 1493. Before his death, a mortification happening in his leg, it was amputated; and he had, for ſome time, amuſed himſelf with the ſtudy of chemiſtry, aſtrology, and other faſhionable deceptions, which in *Germany* go under the name of learning.

Death of the emperor. 1493.

His character and epitaph.

This emperor, though as to his genius he was an abject being, raiſed his family to the amazing grandeur it now enjoys by his provident meaſures, all which have ſucceeded. Though far from being warlike, he was quarrelſome, and he had ambition without reſolution to ſupport it. He was remarkably abſtemious, ſo that being always maſter of his faculties, he employed the low natural talents he enjoyed to great advantage. The greateſt happineſs of his life, was his indulging his fondneſs for the grandeur of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and he choſe for his device the five vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; the initials of which lead to the words, *Auſtriæ eſt imperare orbi univerſo:* in *Engliſh*, It belongs to *Auſtria* to command the whole world. The *Engliſh* of the inſcription on his tomb at *Vienna* is as follows: "*Frederic* III. emperor, pious, auguſt, ſovereign of *Chriſtendom*, king of *Hungary*, *Dalma-*

"*tia*,

" *tia*, *Croatia*, archduke of *Auſtria*, duke of *Stiria*, *Carin-*
" *thia*, and *Carniola*; count, prince of *Hapſperg* and *Tirol*,
" landgrave of *Alſatia*, prince of *Suabia*, marquis, *&c.* a
" prince moſt religious, who governed the empire 38 years with
" great wiſdom and moderation; and who, by the emperor
" *Maximilian*, his ſon, to the moſt ſerene lady *Mary*, daugh-
" ter and heireſs to *Charles*, duke of *Burgundy*, has united
" to the houſe of *Auſtria*, all the dutchies, provinces, lord-
" ſhips, and demeſns which that duke poſſeſſed by ſea and
" land, and which the emperor *Maximilian* preſerves with his
" ſword."

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## CHAP. XL.

### MAXIMILIAN *the firſt.*

THIS emperor was covered with glory when he mounted the throne. He had beat the *French* at the battle of *Guinegaſte*; he had recovered from them the patrimony of his ſon *Philip*, and having been cured of ſome imperfections of nature, which, till the tenth year of his age, made him be conſidered as an ideot, he was looked on as a prodigy, becauſe he knew ſeveral languages, could ſpeak and write fluently, and was brave and active in perſon. To do him juſtice, he eſtabliſhed academies, or prevailed with other princes to eſtabliſh them, all over the empire; and he was ſo vigorous in his preparations againſt the *Turks* after his acceſſion to the *Imperial* throne, that he checked their progreſs. Being a widower, he married *Blanche Maria*, niece of the famous *Lewis Sforza*, ſurnamed the Moor, duke of *Milan*, with whom he had in dowry 450,000 ducats, about 250,000 *l.* but he privately conferred the inveſtiture of *Milan* upon the Moor, who was ſuſpected of having poiſoned his ward, the ſon of his elder brother. *Maximilian*'s ſon *Philip*, was at this time conſidered as the hereditary prince of the *Low Countries*, and the deputies of their ſtates had taken an oath of fidelity to him as their governor. Acceſſion of *Maximilian*.

The revival of literature, and the diſcovery of printing, with the introduction of gunpowder, and many other uſeful arts, had given, at this time, a new face, not only to *Germany*, but to all *Europe*. *Maximilian* held a diet at *Worms*, where he fixed the *Imperial* chamber, but he could not prevail upon the princes, either to engage in a war with the *Turks*, or to oppoſe the progreſs of the *French* in *Italy*, under *Charles* the VIIIth, who laid claim to the crown of *Naples*, and they confined their deliberations entirely to the internal tranquillity of *Germany*. The *Suabian* confederacy, which had been formed for preſerving the peace of the empire, and was now very powerful, was confirmed. *Wirtemburg* was elected into a dutchy; State of the empire, and of *Europe*.

dutchy; *Sforza*'s inveſtiture was ratified; and *Rene*, duke of *Lorrain*, who claimed at the ſame time to be king of *Jeruſalem* and *Sicily*, took an oath of fealty to the emperor, after a particular form, and received the inveſtiture of the dominions, for which he paid homage. As this duke had a ſtrong claim upon *Naples*, *Maximilian* offered to ſupport him in it, if he would join him in a war againſt *France*; but *Rene* declined the terms. Upon the whole, all that the ſtates of the empire could be brought to, was, a reſolution to defend themſelves if attacked by the *French*, who had, by this time, made themſelves maſters of *Naples*, *Sienna*, and *Florence*. Their rapid progreſs gave riſe to a confederacy, in which *Maximilian*, the pope, and other princes of *Italy*, were parties againſt *Charles*. *Maximilian* took that opportunity of marrying his ſon *Philip* to the infanta *Joanna*, daughter to the king and queen of *Arragon*, *Caſtile* and *Naples*; a match which had afterwards great and unexpected conſequences.

*Maximilian* marries his ſon to the heireſs of *Caſtile*.

*Charles*, to prevent the ill effects of this confederacy, ſet out for *France*, and defeated the allies at *Fornova*, about four miles diſtant from *Parma*; but being obliged to take law from his *Swiſs* mercenaries, he clapt up a peace, and returned to his own kingdom; upon which *Ferdinand*, the catholic king, recovered *Naples*. *Maximilian*, dazzled with the promiſes made him by *Lewis* the Moor, paſſed the *Alps* with an army, which was too weak to do much more than pull down the *French*, and erect the *Imperial* arms at *Piſa*. He then attempted to beſiege *Legborn*, but being unſupported by the princes of the empire, he grew deſpicable in the eyes of the *Italians*, and returned to *Germany*, where the princes, in two diets held at *Lindaw* and *Worms*, ſtill refuſed to join his ſchemes. On the contrary, the elector of *Mentz* pathetically lamented the diſordered ſtate of the empire, and the great maſter of the *Teutonic* order complained that the *Pruſſians* had deſolated *Livonia*. *Maximilian*'s weakneſs induced the *Frieſlanders* and *Gueldrians* to aſſert their independency upon the emperor and the empire, and *Maximilian*, to reduce them, appointed the duke of *Saxony* their podeſta or governor; but the *Frieſlanders* drove him out of their country, and called to their aſſiſtance the duke of *Guelderland*. *Maximilian*, in a diet held at *Fribourg*, complained of the *Frieſlanders* as well as the *Swiſs*, for having violated the *Suabian* confederacy; but could meet with no effectual ſatisfaction. The *Poles* applied to the diet for aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, and the princes recommended them to the pope, whoſe agent had moſt iniquitouſly raiſed immenſe ſums in *Germany*, which they deſired ſhould be employed for the relief of *Poland*. The diet complained likewiſe of the extortions of the papal miniſters in *Germany*, and threatened to do themſelves right, if his holineſs ſhould not relieve them.

Victory of the *French* at *Fornova*.

Affairs of *Germany*.

The abuſes on the part of the pope, whoſe agents moſt ſcandalouſly converted to his or their own uſe, the money

raiſed to ſupport the war againſt the infidels, and were guilty of the moſt infamous venality, alienated the minds of the *Germans* from the holy ſee long before *Luther* appeared. *Maximilian*, by this time, had diſappointed his ſubjects in the high opinion which they had entertained of his abilities, upon his acceſſion to the *Imperial* throne. He rendered the podeſtaſhip or præfecture of *Frieſland*, hereditary in the duke of *Saxony*'s family; but the *Frieſlanders* ſtood by their antient privileges, and refuſed to ſubmit to his government. *Maximilian* had neither money nor troops, at this time, to maintain his authority. *Lewis* the XIIth, who had ſucceeded *Charles* in the *French* throne, laid ſtrong claim to the dutchy of *Milan*; and *Lewis* the Moor called upon *Maximilian* for aſſiſtance. All that the latter could do, was to foment the jealouſy of the neighbouring princes againſt *France*; and he particularly encouraged his ſon *Philip*, archduke of *Auſtria* who was in reality more powerful than himſelf, to reclaim th remainder of the *Burgundian* ſucceſſion, which was ſtill withheld by *France*; and in this, *Philip* was, in part, ſucceſsful.

Corruption of the Court of *Rome*.

*Maximilian*, at this time, was miſerably diſtracted between his engagements with *Lewis* the Moor, of *Milan*, and the rebellion (as he called it) of the *Frieſlanders*. He claimed *Friesland* by virtue of the laſt duke's will, and, likewiſe, of a pecuniary conſideration he had paid; but he was oppoſed by *Charles* of *Egmont*, the grandſon of that duke. While he was endeavouring to reduce him, the *Swiſs*, inſtigated by the *French* king, invaded *Auſtria*, and defeated the emperor's troops in a great battle near *Bregentz*. That brave people, every day, became more and more averſe to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and worſted its partizans in every part of their neighbourhood. *Lewis* wiſely availed himſelf of their jealouſy and hatred of the *Auſtrians*, by entering into cloſer connections with them than ever. He concluded a formal treaty with them at *Lucerne*, which included their allies, the inhabitants of the towns in *Alſace*, and the cities of *Straſbourg*, *Baſil*, *Kayſerberg*, *Colmar*, and *Scelestadt*. *Maximilian* endeavoured to prevent this alliance from taking place, by writing a ſoothing letter to the *Swiſs*, whoſe deputies were aſſembled at *Zurick*; but no ſooner was it read, than they unanimouſly called out that, *They ought to repoſe no truſt in* Maximilian. The latter, affecting to deſpiſe, but in reality both hating and fearing them, aſſembled an army near *Conſtance*, and invaded the canton of *Shaffhauſen*. While this army was robbing and plundering the country, it was entirely cut in pieces by the *Swiſs*, as was another of the *Imperial* armies, which had taken *Tungen*; but the *Swiſs* retook it and demoliſhed its fortifications. *Maximilian*, who was then engaged in the war with *Charles* of *Egmont*, hearing of ſo many repeated diſaſters, made a forced march acroſs the *Black Foreſt* to *Conſtance*, where he had given orders for aſſembling a new army, the command of which he gave to the count of *Wirtemberg*. He then ſummoned

Diſagreeable ſituation of *Maximilian*.

His troops defeated by the *Swiſs*,

moned the allies of the *Suabian* league to aſſiſt him againſt the *Griſons*, who were the allies of the *Swiſſes*. They accordingly raiſed an army, but, like the former, it was deſtroyed by the *Griſons* and the *Swiſs*.

*Maximilian* raiſed a freſh army from his hereditary dominions of *Auſtria*, but that, likewiſe, was compleatly defeated by the *Swiſs*, and they and the *Griſons* had their reward in the plunder of the *Tiroleſe*, beſides the glory of aſſerting their own liberties and independency. The count of *Furſtenberg*, one of the *Imperial* generals, was then beſieging *Dormeck* upon the *Rhine*, the inhabitants of which were in alliance with the *Swiſs*, who fell upon the count, killed himſelf and 4000 of his men, and ſeized upon all his artillery and baggage. In ſhort, the haughty houſe of *Auſtria*'s armies, in leſs than ſix months time, were ſeven times defeated and deſtroyed by the
1500. deſpiſed *Swiſſes*. In the year 1500, *Maximilian*, diſpirited and dejected, applied to them for a peace at *Zurich Shaffhauſen*, which they generouſly granted, but left many important points to be ſettled by arbitration. After that, he concluded another treaty with *Charles* of *Egmont*, whom he acknowledged to be duke of *Guelderland*. The firmneſs and valour which the *Swiſs* ſhewed in this quarrel, and their noble adherence to the intereſt of their allies, raiſed their reputation to ſo great a pitch, that *Baſil*, *Shaffhauſen*, and *Appenzel*, acceded to their confederacy, and compleated the number of thirteen cantons, of which the *Swiſs* republic now conſiſts.

whoſe republic is eſtabliſhed.

Difference between the emperor and the pope.

The reſentment of the *Germans* againſt the court of *Rome* grew now every day more and more. *Alexander* VI. was then pope, and the ſcandalous abandoned libertiniſm of his ſon, the famous *Cæſar Borgia*, the account of whoſe murders and profligacy now filled all *Europe* with horror, brought complaints to *Rome*, of his having diſſipated the money that had been raiſed for oppoſing the *Turks*. *Alexander* promiſed to reform thoſe abuſes, and the diet of the empire prolonged the *Suabian* league for twelve years, and provided the means of ſupporting it, by dividing the empire into ſix circles, thoſe of *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Saxony*, the *Rhine*, and *Weſtphalia*. This project, as we have already obſerved, had been formed before; but the dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the electors, not having been comprehended within the arrangement, *Maximilian* ſet them an example of conſenting to it, by forming his own *German* dominions into a circle, and the electors followed his example, by adding four circles more. Thoſe of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*, comprehended the dominions

New conſtitution of the empire.

of the houſe of *Auſtria*; that of the *Upper Rhine*, included thoſe of the *Palatinate*, and the three eccleſiaſtical electors; and thoſe of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, were comprehended in the circle of *Upper Saxony*. The original ſcheme was, that each circle ſhould chuſe a civil and military director; but thoſe offices afterwards became hereditary, and centered in certain princes in each circle, who had power to convoke each

each diet, and preſide at all its tranſactions. The circle of *Auſtria* was allotted to its archduke. The elector of *Bavaria* and the archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*, preſided over the circle of *Bavaria*. The margrave of *Brandenburg*, with thoſe of *Bareith* and *Anſpach*, and the biſhop of *Bamberg*, over that of *Franconia*. The duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the biſhop of *Conſtance*, preſided in *Suabia*. The biſhop of *Worms*, and the count *Palatine* of *Simmeren* in the *Upper Rhine*, the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, directed the affairs of the *Lower Rhine*, as did the biſhop of *Munſter* thoſe of *Weſtphalia*; but conjunctly or alternately with the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine*. The dukes of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, with the duke of *Brunſwic-Lunenburg*, were the directors of the *Lower Saxony*, as the elector of *Saxony* was of the *Upper*; but after the acceſſion of the kings of *Spain* to the ſucceſſion of *Burgundy*, *Franche Comte*, and the low countries, the circle of *Burgundy* was directed by them and their deputies. *Bohemia* was not comprehended in this diviſion, on account of a miſunderſtanding then ſubſiſting between its king and the emperor.

Upon a new irruption of the *French* under *Lewis* XII. into *Italy*, *Lewis*, the *Moor*, of *Milan* fled for ſhelter to *Maximilian*, while they made themſelves maſters of *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, and other principal towns of *Italy*. *Lewis* made a triumphant entry into *Milan*, and was acknowledged by all the powers of *Italy* (the king of *Naples* excepted) as its ſovereign. *Maximilian* was obliged to agree to a truce with him, but the *French* governors upon the return of *Lewis* to his own kingdom, were guilty of ſuch horrid abuſes of power, that the people of *Milan* expelled them, and readmitted the *Moor*, who took 8000 *Swiſs* into his pay, and beſieged the *French* general, *Trivulci*, in *Novara*, which capitulated. *Maximilian* perſuaded the diet of *Worms* to take ſome vigorous reſolutions for oppoſing *Lewis*; but the *Swiſs* mercenaries, whom *Lewis*, the *Moor*, had taken into his pay, g. v: him up to the *French*, and *Lewis* XII. confined him in the caſtle of *Loches*, where he ended his days. *Lewis*, to ſecure his *Italian* acquiſitions, demanded from *Maximilian* the inveſtiture of the *Milaneſe*, which he obtained by the force of money, and propoſing his daughter, *Claudia*, as a wife for *Maximilian*'s grandſon, *Charles*, afterwards the famous emperor, the fifth of that name. This treaty farther imported, that *Lewis* ſhould aſſiſt *Germany* againſt the *Turks*, and guarantee the reverſion of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* to the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Maximilian*'s ſon *Philip*, who, with his wife, was declared by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, the heir to the crown of *Spain*, was a party in this treaty, which was moſt ſolemnly executed on all parts.

Progreſs of the *French* in *Italy*.

The diet of *Nuremberg* reſented the acceſſion of the city of *Baſil*, which was imperial, to the *Hebetic* league, chiefly becauſe other imperial cities might follow its example. The diet, however, was ſo moderate, that the princes were con-

Diet of *Nuremberg*.

tented with ſummoning *Baſil* to accede to the *Suabian* confederacy, and to conſider *Baſil* ſtill as an imperial city, ſubject to the taxes impoſed by the diet of the empire. The *Teutonic* knights, at this time, were by the *Poles* reduced to a low ſtate; and though befriended by the princes of the empire, they could obtain no relief, not even from the homage they were obliged to pay to the *Poles* for their own poſſeſſions. Pope *Alexander* VI. continued to multiply his demands on the empire, and all *Europe*, in a moſt ſcandalous manner, and ſent new nuntios to *Germany*, and all over Chriſtendom, to collect money for a cruſade againſt the infidels. *Maxi-*
A cruſade preached up. *milian* referred his nuntio, *Reymond*, to the princes of the empire, but refuſed to advance any thing from his own finances. The princes, on the other hand, remonſtrated upon the eſtabliſhment of the aulic council by *Maximilian*, as being incompatible with the powers of the *Imperial* chamber. The emperor paid no regard to their remonſtrances, and ſupported his new inſtitution, which in time ſupplanted the *Imperial* chamber, and became the great tribunal of the empire. The princes, in revenge, refuſed their conſent to the erection of the dutchy of *Auſtria*, into an electorate, in favour of archduke *Philip*; but he inveſted *Philip* with other ſignal privileges, which induced the princes of the empire to aſſociate themſelves afreſh, againſt the growing power both of the father and ſon, and to render themſelves independent upon them, as far as the conſtitutions of the empire would admit of.

*Henry* VII. of *England* lends money to *Maximilian*. *Henry* VII. of *England*, was then the richeſt prince in *Europe*, and *Sigiſmund*, who was one of the pooreſt, applied to him for a large loan of money. *Henry* wiſely refuſed him the loan, but made him a preſent of 10,000 l. to be employed againſt the *Turks*, on his agreeing to a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, which proved afterwards extremely advantageous to *England*. *Maximilian*, at this time by a concurrence of cauſes, was choſen umpire to ſettle the differences, which had broken out into a war, between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, on account of *Lubec* and the *Hanſe* towns, which had withdrawn their allegiance from the latter, in favour of the former. A ſpirit of independency ſeems then to have taken poſſeſſion of the *Germans*, and in imitation of the *Swiſs*, their peaſants took arms to render themſelves a ſovereign republic. All the princes of the empire, with *Maximilian* at their head, thought themſelves in intereſt obliged to raiſe troops to quell this inſurrection, which they did, but not without great difficulty. The duke of *Bavaria-Landſhut* had made his ſon-in-law *Rupert*, count *Palatine*, his vicar in the *Lower Bavaria*, and had made a diſpoſition of his dominions in his favour. On that duke's death, *Albert* and *Wolfgang* dukes of *High Bavaria*, diſputed the validity of this diſpoſition with *Rupert*, and their claim being admitted by the emperor, *Rupert* was put to the ban of the empire, for

refuſing to abide by the ſentence. *Rupert*'s father, *Philip*, being encouraged by promiſes from the *French*, took arms in favour of his ſon, and was put to the ban of the empire likewiſe. Half of *Germany* then ran to arms, and was filled with blood and confuſion; but the princes taking part with the emperor, the elector *Philip* was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Heidelberg*. *Rupert* dying, a diet was convoked at *Cologne*, where the elector, *Philip*, aſked pardon of the emperor, and was admitted into favour. After that, an accommodation was effected between the *Palatine*, and the *Bavarian* houſes, as were ſeveral differences among other powerful princes. A diet at *Cologne*.

A negotiation between the emperor and the *French* king, was, all this while, going on at *Blois*, and at laſt concluded. It was agreed, that *Lewis* ſhould receive the inveſtitures of *Milan* from *Maximilian*, whoſe grandſon, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, then but five years old, was to marry the princeſs *Claudia* the *French* king's daughter; but it was ſtipulated, that if the conſummation of this match ſhould fail on the part of *Lewis*, young *Charles* ſhould inherit the dutchy of *Burgundy*, the *Milaneſe* and the county of *Aſti*. If the failure ſhould happen through *Maximilian* or his ſon *Philip*, the houſe of *Auſtria* was then to renounce all it's pretenſions to the dutchy of *Burgundy*, the *Artois*, the *Charolois*, and other counties they had claims upon. *Lewis*, after this treaty was finiſhed, was ſenſible that he had made a bad bargain. *Britanny* was the inheritance of the young princeſs, and muſt go to *Charles* if the marriage took place. He privately engaged his great men to oppoſe it, and the lady was beſtowed in marriage upon the count of *Angouleſme*, preſumptive heir of the crown. Treaty of *Blois*.

The year 1506, was a remarkable period for the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Iſabella*, the wife of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, the heireſs and queen of *Caſtile*, and patroneſs of the great *Columbus*, who ſome time before had diſcovered *America*, died. By her will ſhe provided, that the crown ſhould deſcend to her grandſon, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, who was not to reign till he was 20 years of age, and that her huſband *Ferdinand*, ſhould poſſeſs it in the intermediate time. This will has been cenſured by hiſtorians, as having been obtained by the craft of *Ferdinand*, who undoubtedly was one of the moſt ſelf-intereſted princes of his own, or any other, age; but when we examine the deſtination, it is far from being unjuſt or unnatural. *Iſabella* made her huſband the adminiſtrator of her crown, which muſt otherwiſe have deſcended to a foreign prince, the huſband of her daughter, *Joanna*, who appears to have been a very weak woman. *Ferdinand* engaged her to ſign her mother's will, but agreed that ſhe and her huſband ſhould jointly reign in *Caſtile*; and accordingly, for ſome time, the public acts paſſed in the name of all three; but, ſoon after this arrangement was made, *Philip* died at *Bruges*, with ſo ill an opinion of his father-in-law, *Ferdinand*, that he gave the guardianſhip of his ſon *Charles* to *Lewis* XII. of *France*, notwithſtanding 1506. Death of *Iſabella* of *Caſtile*,

and of *Philip* king of *Spain*.

their late diſagreement. The death of *Philip* threw *Maximilian* into great perplexities; the *Flemings* looked upon him as a prince entirely foreign to them, though he was the grandfather of their ſovereign, nor would they admit him to be their regent. They therefore, for ſeventeen months, ſecluded him from the adminiſtration of all their affairs; but being preſſed in a ſevere war, with the duke of *Guelderland*, they agreed to ſubmit to the regency of *Maximilian*, provided he gave them his daughter *Margaret*, for their governeſs, to which he conſented.

Hiſtory of the league of *Cambray*.

The *Venetians* were, at this time, the moſt powerful people in *Italy*, and had the glory of being the bulwark of *Europe*, againſt the *Turks*. *Maximilian* complained, that they behaved towards him with inſolence, that they poſſeſſed ſome lands belonging to him in *Iſtria*, and that their greatneſs was incompatible with the intereſts of the empire in *Italy*, eſpecially, as they were abetted by the *French* governors of the *Milaneſe*. He convoked a diet of the empire, to know how far the princes would ſupport him, in caſe of a breach with them; and they agreed, that war ſhould be declared with that republic; but gave him little or nothing to carry it on. *Maximilian* intended to be crowned at *Rome*, and paſſed the *Alps* with a ſmall army, which was oppoſed in the valley of *Trent*, and afterwards entirely defeated by *Alviano* the *Venetian* general, who took poſſeſſion of almoſt all the *Trentine*, and *Trieſte* the capital of *Iſtria*, while *Maximilian* was obliged to retire to *Inſpruck*. The emperor thus diſappointed of receiving the *Imperial* crown at *Rome*, with the pope's conſent, enjoined the ſtates and princes of the empire, to give him the title of *Roman Emperor elect*, which has been ever ſince uſed by his ſucceſſors, though not crowned in *Rome*.

Loſſes of the *Venetians*.

The *Venetians* permitted their general, *Alviano*, the honour of entering their capital in triumph, in the manner of the old *Romans*. This, and the great ſtate they aſſumed in their proceedings and negotiations, added diſguſt to that jealouſy, which the other powers upon the continent of *Europe*, who had all of them claims upon the *Venetians*, had for ſome time entertained of their power. *Lewis* XII. ordered his *Milaneſe* governor not to aſſiſt them in acting offenſively againſt the emperor. This rendered the *Venetians* more tractable towards *Maximilian*, with whom they concluded a treaty of truce for three years, but left three months for the *French* king to accede to it. This exaſperated *Lewis*, and he employed his miniſter, cardinal *D'Amboiſe*, to form a general league againſt thoſe haughty republicans. The warlike pope, *Julius* II. who may be called the reſtorer of the papal power, readily embraced the motion, as did *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, and notwithſtanding the late treaty of truce, it was particularly agreeable to the emperor. The laſt hand was put to this famous league at *Cambray*, from which city it takes its appellation. The particulars of their ſeveral uſurpation upon the

contracting

contracting parties are there ſpecified, and agreed to be reſtored to their reſpective original poſſeſſors. The emperor in particular, was to repoſſeſs *Roveredo*, *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Treviſa*, and the *Frioul*. To give *Maximilian* ſome pretext for breaking the treaty of truce, the pope was not wanting in ſummoning him, as avoyer or defender of the holy ſee, to aſſiſt him in recovering its patrimony. *Maximilian* was likewiſe engaged to beſtow the inveſtiture of all the places, the *Venetians* had taken in the *Milaneſe*, upon *Lewis*. So ſtrongly did the ſpirit againſt the *Venetians* operate on this occaſion, that not only the duke of *Savoy*, and the other *Italian* princes, but the kings of *England* and *Hungary*, were invited to accede to the league of *Cambray*, and the houſe of *Auſtria*, during the war, was to ſuſpend all its claims upon the crown of *Caſtile*.

The ſtorm gathered by this league ſoon broke out, in appearances, that, at firſt, threatened the utter extinction of the *Venetian* republic, which was ſtripped by the *French* and *Imperial* arms, of all her poſſeſſions in *Lombardy*. The pope was equally ſucceſsful, and at the head of 10,000 men, took from them all their towns in the *Romagna*, while *Maximilian* was ſecuring to himſelf *Iſtria* and *Friuli*. A general battle was fought at *Ghiara d'Adda*, in which the *Venetian* troops were entirely defeated by the *French* and *Swiſs*, and thoſe republicans were ſoon obliged to abandon all their conqueſts on that ſide, and to retire to their capital. The count of *Frangipani*, and the duke of *Brunſwic*, two *Imperial* generals, retook all the places they had taken the preceding year from *Maximilian*, who was in fact the chief gainer by the *French* victory at *Ghiara d'Adda*. The *Venetians* knew, that the emperor did not wiſh to ſee the *French* too powerful in *Italy*, *Ferdinand* was jealous of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the pope hated all his allies, whom he had confederated with, chiefly that they might quarrel in the end, and drive each other out of *Italy*. Neither he nor *Ferdinand* wiſhed to ſee the *French* or *Germans* powerful at the expence of the *Venetians*. The latter applied in the moſt humble terms to *Maximilian*; but he was overawed by *D'Amboiſe* the *French* miniſter, to whom he gave the promiſed inveſtitures, on the 14th of *June*, 1509, at *Trent*, but received in return 60,000 golden crowns, beſides what he had received ſome time before, to put his armies in motion. A perſonal interview was propoſed, between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, but declined on the part of the latter, and *Lewis* returned to *France*, upon which the *Venetians* began to conceive ſome hopes of retrieving their affairs.

Progreſs of the league of *Cambray*.

*Maximilian* imagined they had been ſo effectually ſubdued, that they could not think of recommencing hoſtilities, but they took *Padua*, and ſeveral other places garriſoned by his troops. *Maximilian* by the aſſiſtance of his allies, was ſoon at the head of 80,000 men, but ſo rooted was the hatred of the *Italians* to the *Germans*, that unable to retake *Padua*, he was

The *Venetians* retrieve their affairs.

obliged to retreat into the *Tirolese*, and the *Florentines* bought their peace of him for 40,000 golden crowns. Mean while the *Venetians* not only reconciled themselves to the pope, but effected a breach between him and the *French* king. His holiness offered to mediate a peace between them and *Maximilian*, but though they offered him a sum of money, the proposal came to nothing, because they refused to part with any portion of their territory. *Maximilian* in the mean while, held a diet at *Augsbourg*, in which the city of *Hamburg* was declared to be independent of *Denmark*, and his views of reviving the *Imperial* authority in *Italy*, were approved of by the diet of *Augsbourg*. This appearing disinterestedness of *Maximilian*, cemented the bonds of friendship, between him and *Lewis*, more strongly than ever, and in the beginning of the year 1510, the *Imperial* and *French* generals, who were the count *de Hanau*, and the marshal *de Chaumont*, marched to *Vincenza*; but the *French* refused to co-operate with *Maximilian* in his favourite scheme of besieging *Pavia*, nor would either the pope or the king of *Arragon* contribute their contingencies towards the common cause.

The treaty of *Blois* concluded between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*.

Differences at that time still subsisted between *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, and *Lewis* acted as arbiter towards both. His award was, that *Ferdinand* should govern *Castile*, the maternal inheritance of *Maximilian*'s grandson, the archduke *Charles*, till the latter arrived at his 20th year, and that the children which *Ferdinand* might have by a second marriage, should have no claim on that kingdom. During the dependency of this arbitration, pope *Julius* gave *Ferdinand* the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and prepared to declare war against *Lewis*, that he might, as he termed it, kick the barbarians, meaning the *French*, and all the ultramontane *Europeans* out of *Italy*. This conduct produced the treaty of *Blois*, between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, who had the like views, but proposed to attain them by very different ends. *Lewis* convoked his *Gallican* clergy, and they gave their opinion, that if the pope was engaged in an unjustifiable quarrel, he might be as lawfully resisted as any other power, and that no more regard was due to him than to any other prince, christian or infidel. *Maximilian*, on the other hand, had a far deeper scheme of policy, which (however it has been censured as chimerical and improbable) was certainly founded in good sense and sound principles of government.

Project of *Maximilian* to become pope.

The popes, for many ages, had been known to be the most ambitious and the most abandoned wretches that ever disgraced human nature, and they had, by the force of their spiritual authority, usurped and enlarged their temporal jurisdiction. They had artfully disengaged themselves from their dependence upon the empire, and yet no limits had been fixed by any public solemn act, by which the boundaries of the two jurisdictions, either civil or pontifical, could be ascertained. *Maximilian*, who is said to have been as great a proficient in history

History as any man of his age, thought it practicable to do in *Italy*, what the caliphs had done in *Asia*, that is, by uniting the whole of the civil and spiritual power in one person, to procure his own exaltation to the popedom. For this purpose he proposed to call a general council, which was to depose pope *Julius*, and then to borrow 300,000 ducats to bribe the cardinals, and the *Roman* nobles, to elect himself pope. The money was to be obtained from the *Fuggers*, then the greatest bankers in *Europe*, by pawning to *James* the elder *Fugger*, four chests full of jewels, with the investiture cloak, not of the empire, but of the house of *Austria*, "of which, says *Maximilian*, in a letter he wrote on this head, we shall have no farther occasion, after we have obtained the papacy." The pope was ignorant of *Maximilian*'s intention, and receiving the *Neapolitan* auxiliaries, which were furnished by *Ferdinand*, he attacked the duke of *Ferrara*. *Maximilian* and *Lewis* complained of *Ferdinand*'s breach of faith, but received no satisfaction, though they offered to refer the cause of the pope to a general council. *Ferdinand*, however, succeeded so far as to persuade *Maximilian*, that the interests of *France* and *Germany* were incompatible, and the latter grew very cold at last towards *Lewis*, requiring him to send a minister to a council, which was to be held at *Mantua*, and where the bishop of *Gurck* acted as the *Imperial* plenipotentiary. *Lewis* thought proper to dissemble, and sent the bishop of *Paris* to *Mantua*. It appears, that *Julius* was still greatly in the dark with regard to *Maximilian*'s designs, and even promised the bishop of *Gurck* a cardinal's hat if he would let him into the secret, but to no effect. While the congress was holding at *Mantua*, *Lewis* was successful in *Italy*, and the pope perfidiously endeavouring to surprize *Genoa*, the bishop of *Gurck* broke off all farther correspondence with his holiness.

In the year 1511, a council was opened at *Mantua*, under the protection of the *French* king, who omitted nothing to regain the good graces and confidence of *Maximilian*. That emperor's poverty was at perpetual war with his politics. *Ferdinand*, though rich, was covetous, and would not give him money; the pope could spare him none, because of the vast designs he was pursuing in *Italy*, and *Maximilian* was once more brought over to join the *French*, even against his better judgment. *Lewis* gave orders to his general, *la Palice*, to act under *Maximilian*, who sent him 9000 men, but declined to take any command in person. *Palice* pursued the war against the *Venetians*, over whom he gained considerable conquests; all which were ceded to *Maximilian*; but finding him still dissatisfied with the *French*, *Palice*, instead of pursuing his advantages, retired to *Milan*. But a new scene of politics now opened in *Europe*.

1511. League between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*.

*England* was then governed by a young, warm, vain, and unexperienced prince, *Henry* VIII. who so far from embracing the maxims which he afterwards pursued, thought it his greatest

*Henry* VIII. of *England*

interest the pope.

greateſt glory, to reſcue the pope from the oppreſſion of the *French* king, who was then very powerful in *Italy*. The politic *Ferdinand*, his father-in-law, knew *Henry*'s weak ſide, and reſolved to avail himſelf of it; the incautious prince fell into the ſnare, and they jointly, but ſecretly, ſollicited *Maximilian* to abandon all connections with the *French* king. *Henry*, next to *Ferdinand*, was the richeſt prince in *Europe*, but laviſh of his treaſure to profuſion, and therefore was an ally extremely proper to ſucceed the *French* king in *Maximilian*'s friendſhip. The latter, to give the better colour for a breach, made many extravagant and ſome unjuſt demands upon *Lewis*, who in vain offered him 50,000 crowns in ſubſidy, for *Maximilian* fell entirely in with the views of *Ferdinand* and *Henry*. *Lewis* ſtood then ſingle againſt a powerful confederacy, which was formed to ſtrip him of his *Italian* acquiſitions. He gave the command of his army to his nephew, *Gaſton de Foix*, a young, but truely military genius, who performed prodigies of valour, and generalſhip, againſt the confederates in *Italy*; but after completely defeating them at the battle of *Ravenna*, he was killed in the purſuit. The conſequence was, that the *Swiſſers* were introduced by the pope into *Italy*, and conquered the dutchy of *Milan*. *Maximilian* had planned out that beautiful territory, as the heritage of his grandſon, *Ferdinand*, younger brother to the archduke *Charles*; but *Ferdinand* and the politic *Italians*, could not endure the thoughts of *Auſtrian* greatneſs in *Italy*, and to the great diſappointment of *Maximilian*, they reſtored that dukedom to the houſe of *Sforza*; and thus the *French* king, excepting a few garriſons, was ſtript of all his vaſt acquiſitions in *Italy*, without *Maximilian* receiving the ſmalleſt ſhare of the conqueſts, he had been ſo inſtrumental in obtaining.

*Maximilian* diſappointed.

The biſhop of *Gurck* in vain remonſtrated upon the injuſtice done to his maſter, and the artful pontif had the addreſs to procure a congreſs to be held at *Rome*, for ſettling all differences between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*, as well as with himſelf and thoſe two powers. *Maximilian* inſiſted upon the *Venetians* doing him homage for *Padua*, *Trevis*, *Breſcia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema*, which they not only refuſed, but claimed from him the reſtitution of all the conqueſts he had made in their dominions. The congreſs thus proving ineffectual, the pope ſided with the emperor, who now finding it impracticable to depoſe *Julius*, altered his ſcheme, and propoſed to be his co-adjutor in the popedom. This appears from an authentic letter which he wrote to his daughter *Margaret*, in which he tells her, that he had abandoned all thoughts of matrimony, or of having ever afterwards any commerce with a naked woman. That he intended to ſend the biſhop of *Gurck* to *Rome* to propoſe his being co-adjutor to the pope, and that he might ſucceed him in that dignity, that he would then become a prieſt, and afterwards a ſaint, and

He purſues his ſcheme of being made pope.

and then, continues he, you muſt of neceſſity adore me after my death, an honour of which I ſhall be extremely proud.

His letter to his daughter on that head.

Some authors have quoted this part of the letter, as an inſtance of *Maximilian*'s ſuperſtitious weakneſs; but we are far from looking upon it in that light, for we conſider it only, as a ſtroke of humour which paſſed from the father to the daughter. There is no neceſſary connection between either a pope or a prieſt and a ſaint; and *Maximilian*'s jocularity on this occaſion, tends rather to ridicule than to manifeſt ſuperſtition. In the ſubſequent part of the letter, he tells her, that he had brought over the king of *Arragon* to approve of his deſign, provided he reſigned the empire to archduke *Charles*, which he was well contented to do; that the *Romans* were 20,000 fighting men ſtrong, to oppoſe the *French* and *Spaniards*, and that they were reſolved to make him pope, to the excluſion of all *French*, *Arragonians*, and *Venetians*; but that 2 or 300,000 ducats, would do infinite ſervice to him in treating with the cardinals. He informs her, that his *Arragonian* majeſty had inſtructed his ambaſſador to give him all his intereſt for the popedom, but injoins her to keep the whole a moſt profound ſecret, ſubſcribing himſelf, "your good father *Maximilian*, future pope." In a poſtſcript he informs her, that the pope could not live very long. From this curious letter, the reader may, beſides other uſeful inferences, conceive ſome idea of the venality of the court of *Rome* at that time, but *Maximilian* ſeems to have been acquainted with the real character of *Julius*. He was a true *Italian*, and his ruling paſſion was to deliver his country from barbarians, whom he indeed employed in cutting one another's throats, after they had ſerved his purpoſes in *Italy*. He rejected, with high diſdain, *Maximilian*'s propoſal communicated to him by the biſhop of *Gurck*, and dying ſoon after, the papacy devolved on *Leo* X. of the houſe of *Medici*, whoſe conduct both in public and private, though the capital encourager of arts then reviving in *Europe*, ſerved only to encreaſe the deteſtation of the papacy, which was every day gaining ground, eſpecially in *Germany*.

Affairs of *Germany*.

*Maximilian* about this time intereſted himſelf in the quarrel between the *Danes* and the *Hanſe* towns, by taking part with the latter. The king of *Denmark*, without regarding the *Imperial* authority, interrupted the trade of the *Hanſe* towns, eſpecially that of *Lubec*, and obliged them to ſue for peace, which was granted them, at *Fleaſburg*. By this time the *French* king, through the perfidy of the pope and *Ferdinand*, was become the great ſupport and ally of the *Venetians*; and the vanity of *Henry* VIII. of *England*, induced him to take *Maximilian* into his pay as a voluntier, at the rate of 100 crowns a day, for which his *Imperial* majeſty actually ſerved under him at the battle of *Guinegate*, commonly called the battle of the *Spurs*. A new league was formed, between pope *Leo*, old *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, and *Henry* VIII. of *England*, againſt *France*. By it, the emperor was to poſſeſs *Burgundy*, the pope *Provence*,

and *Henry* VIII. *Normandy*. This league however was of no long duration, and *Maximilian*, who got money from the *English* monarch, was the only gainer by it. *Francis* I. succeeding *Lewis* in the *French* monarchy, perceived that *Maximilian* though always poor, had, like other princes of his house, great views for his family. He was at that time celebrating the marriage of his beautiful grand-daughter *Mary*, with *Lewis* the eldest son of *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*; and the disordered state of *Germany* had obliged him to relinquish all thoughts of *Italy*, on which the attention of *Francis* was chiefly fixed. *Francis*, whose coffers were then full, neglecting *Maximilian*, concluded a peace with the *English* and the *Venetians*, and marched a strong army into *Italy*, to re-conquer the *Milanese*, which he effected, after having beat the *Swisses* at the battle of *Marignan*. Those rapid successes of the *French*, had not been foreseen by *Maximilian*, and alarmed him so much, that he carried an army of 30,000 men into *Italy*, to assert the *Imperial* claims upon the *Milanese*. He could receive no assistance from the pope, who was overawed by *Francis*; nor could he depend upon *Ferdinand*, whose perfidy and treachery were linked with the infirmities of old age.

*Francis conquers the Milanese.*

*Bad successes of Maximilian,*

The pope being thus forced to take part with *France*, *Francis* returned to his own dominions, as being secure of his new conquests, but the emperor laid siege to *Milan*. He was at this time in so great distress for money, that he sent for the *English* ambassador, attending his camp, and proposed to cede the *Imperial* dignity to his master, *Henry*, for a large pecuniary consideration, promising to convoke a diet at *Triers*, and to engage the princes of the empire to support the cession; after which he was to accompany *Henry* to *Rome*, to receive the *Imperial* crown. It is almost incredible, that those romantic proposals should operate so strongly upon *Henry*, that he advanced him a large sum of money towards the conquest of the *Milanese*. *Henry*, in an interview, which his ambassador afterwards had with *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*, claimed the performance of those mighty promises, and *Maximilian* was not ashamed not only to evade them, but to declare, that he was doing all he could to procure the *Imperial* crown, after his decease, for his grandson, the archduke *Charles*.

*whose difficulties encrease.*

While *Maximilian* was engaged in the siege, or rather blockade of *Milan*, he found himself involved in a variety of difficulties. He had not received his subsidies from *England*, and his troops were destitute of provisions. The life of *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary* was despaired of, 12,000 *Swissers* had reinforced the *French* army, and his grandson, the archduke *Charles*, was become monarch of *Spain*, by the death of *Ferdinand*. Upon the whole, *Maximilian* found himself under an absolute necessity of raising the siege of *Milan*, and of making peace with the *French* king. For that purpose, conferences were opened at *Noyon*, and a treaty took place, by which *Francis* was to remain

remain in peaceable poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*; and *Charles* was to marry, either his daughter *Louiſa*, or his queen's ſiſter, *Renee*, with a large portion of the kingdom of *Naples*, on which *Francis* had pretenſions, for her dowry; but *Charles* was obliged, in ſix months time, to reſtore to *Henry D'Albert*, the kingdom of *Navarre*, which had been injurioufly raviſhed by his grandfather, *Ferdinand*, from *Henry D' Albert*; and he was likewiſe to pay 100,000 crowns a year, towards the maintenance of the princeſs *Renee*: But a new ſcene of affairs now opened in *Germany*.

Venality was then conſidered, not as a crime but as a principle, at the court of *Rome*; nor did the moſt pious directors of the *Romiſh* faith, make the leaſt ſcruple of practiſing it, provided it could, in the moſt remote degree, contribute towards the intereſts of the church. But unhappily for the popedom, people who lived at a diſtance from his court, could not embrace this wicked ſyſtem. *Leo* had at this time in view, two as great deſigns, though of different kinds, as the human mind could well entertain; the one was to extirpate the *Mahometans* out of *Europe*, the other, to complete the building of the church of St. *Peter* at *Rome*, the nobleſt and moſt ſtupenduous fabric that the earth ever bore. For attaining thoſe ends he ſent his bulls to *Albert*, biſhop of *Mentz*, to be puAccount of the riſe of the reformation, bliſhed in *Germany*. By thoſe bulls, plenary indulgences were granted, through which, all who purchaſed them, were not only to exempt their own ſouls, but thoſe of their parents and friends, from the pains of purgatory; together with many other ridiculous privileges of the ſame kind, annexed to thoſe impoſitions on the common ſenſe of mankind. The diſtribution of thoſe indulgences, was a matter of vaſt conſequence and profit, and was committed to *John Chatel* a *Dominican* and his brotherhood. *Maximilian* ſeems to have taken no concern in this matter; and the choice of the *Dominicans* for diſtributers of the indulgences, was owing to the partiality of the archbiſhop of *Mentz* for that purpoſe. Their order was equally wicked and ignorant. They ſet up offices and booths in taverns, and other tippling-houſes, where the indulgences were expoſed, as vendible commodities. The money they brought, was partly remitted to the pope, and partly conſumed in the moſt riotous exceſſes, by the collectors. The *Auguſtine* monks, who, by a previous contract, thought themſelves entitled to be the agents of this infamous commerce, reſented the preference given to the *Dominicans*, ſo far that they preached againſt that order, and their frantic proceedings.

One *John Staupitz* was then vicar general of the *Auguſtines* and of in *Germany*, and patronized by the elector of *Saxony*, a prince *Luther's* of true piety and good ſenſe. *Staupitz* choſe for his co-adju- diſputes tor, *Martin Luther*, who belonged to the univerſity of *Wit-* with the *temberg*, a man of undaunted reſolution, of a rough, rapid *Dominimagination*, and, in that country, of uncommon erudition. cans.

*Luther*

*Luther* in public diſputations advanced many arguments, or what are called *theſes*, againſt the doctrine of indulgences, and the proceedings of the *Dominicans*, and maintained them with vaſt ſpirit and keenneſs, even to the queſtioning the pope's authority. In a ſhort time, *Luther* made proſelytes of all who durſt think for themſelves, but was oppoſed by one *John Thetzel* at *Franckfort* on the *Oder*, who was the pope's inquiſitor, and condemned *Luther*'s writings to the flames. This ſerved only to ſpread the ſpirit of reformation the wider, and *Luther* was ſo far from being intimidated by *Thetzel*'s cenſures, that he and his brethren, the *Auguſtines*, burnt the works of the *Dominicans* at *Wittemberg*. *Maximilian* was plied by each party, to declare in its favour, but he wiſely avoided entering into the diſpute. The *Dominicans* peſtered the pope to ſide with them, and he ſummoned *Luther* to appear before his commiſſaries at *Rome* in ſixty days.

*Luther* abſconds.

*Maximilian* was then in a declining ſtate of health. *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, was no more than ten years of age, and he was obliged to intereſt himſelf in the choice of a proper regency during his minority. At the ſame time he was on the eve of accommodating all differences with the court of *France*. He was ſenſible, that the empire at this time was over-run with diſorder, corruption and venality, and he ſummoned a diet at *Augſbourg*, where he recommended his grandſon, the archduke *Charles*, to be his ſucceſſor in the empire. He wrote to the pope, who had it then in his power to reſtore tranquillity to the empire, by pronouncing a definitive ſentence in the differences, between the *Dominicans* and the *Auguſtines*; but thoſe growing every day more outrageous, before he received any anſwer from his holineſs, he at the requeſt of the *Dominicans*, ſummoned *Luther* to appear at the diet of *Augſbourg*. During the dependency of this affair, the elector of *Saxony* was backed by the univerſity of *Wittenberg*, in his endeavours to prevail upon his holineſs, to diſpenſe with *Luther*'s journey to *Rome*, and to be contented with his appearing before his legate, cardinal *Cajetan* at *Augſbourg*. The haughty legate conſidered the ſimple friar as a ſuppliant for pardon, rather than as a champion for his own opinions, and *Luther* inſtead of recanting, defended them with great ſtrength of reaſoning, not unmixed with obſtinacy. It does not, candidly ſpeaking, appear, that even at this time, any plan of reformation from the errors of popery had been ſettled. *Cajetan* was exaſperated to the laſt degree, by *Luther*'s perſeverance; and the latter, mindful of the fate of *John Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, of a ſudden diſappeared, but not before he had affixed to a public place, an appeal from the legate to his holineſs.

*Maximilian* took the leſs concern in thoſe threatening appearances, as he was then buſied in ſecuring for his grandſon *Charles*, his ſucceſſion to the *Imperial* crown. In this he conſulted the hereditary attachment, which the *Auſtrian* princes always had entertained for their own family; for it was eaſy

to

to foresee, that a prince who aspired to the *Imperial* throne, after being possessed of that of *Spain*, must meet with great opposition. On the other hand, the danger was alarming, should his rival, *Francis* I. be chosen emperor; but some of the electors thought there was less danger, in having a *French* than an *Austrian* head, because of the great hereditary dominions, which *Charles* possessed in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, independent of the crown of *Spain*. *Maximilian* was so intent on the elevation of his grandson, that it hastened his death. Upon the breaking up of the diet, he repaired in vast anxiety of mind to *Inspruc*, where he found himself affected by a slow fever. He gave orders for his being removed to *Austria*, and endeavoured to banish his indisposition by exercise. Returning one day from hunting, he eat some melons to assuage his thirst, which threw him into a dysentery, that carried him off in the 60th year of his age. He ordered his body to be interred at *Newstadt* in *Austria*, after all its cavities had been filled up with quick lime.

*Maximilian* his death, character, and issue.

The character of *Maximilian* has not met with justice from later authors, who have injudiciously, and calumniously ranked his poverty among his failings, though it was only his misfortune. His person was handsome and majestic. He had a genius strongly turned towards poetry, a lively imagination, and his memory was tenacious to a miracle. He owed his indigence in a great measure to his liberality and magnificence; he affected learning, and learned men, and was brave, resolute, and patient of every inconveniency in a military capacity. He introduced reformations in military discipline, that kept their footing for many years after in *Europe*, and some of them, perhaps, continue to this day. Notwithstanding all those noble qualities, the whole of his conduct was a system of inconsistency. After he had planned a wise measure, of the greatest consequence to his affairs, he was generally obliged to abandon it on account of his poverty. The same misfortune obliged him to relinquish his design to become pope; and it is certain, that he was more capable of forming great designs, than of executing them, even though his poverty had been out of the question. He often abandoned his most important affairs, to indulge himself in the pleasure of hunting, in which he was so bold, that he sometimes involved himself in precipices, from which the people of *Tirol* were obliged to draw him up with cords, half dead with hunger and fatigue. Among *Maximilian*'s other virtues, his modesty and decency of behaviour, were not the least conspicuous, though with regard to his amours, he was far from being of a cold constitution.

His first wife, *Mary* of *Burgundy*, died by a fall from her horse. His marriage, by proxy, with the heiress of *Britany*, never was consummated. He had an aversion for his third wife, daughter to the duke of *Milan*, which broke her heart. His daughter *Margaret*, by *Mary* of *Burgundy*, was married, first

firſt to *John*, the ſon of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of *Spain*, and afterwards to *Philibert* duke of *Savoy*; but the laſt nuptials never were conſummated. His eldeſt ſon, *Philip*, by *Mary* of *Burgundy*, who died twelve years before *Maximilian*, married, as we have already obſerved, *Joanna*, ſurnamed the *Fooliſh*, daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and by her he had ſix children; *Charles*, who ſucceeded his grandfather in the empire; *Ferdinand*, who was emperor likewiſe; *Eleonora*, wife to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, to whom ſhe bore a daughter, and afterwards to *Francis* I. of *France*, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; *Iſabella*, who was married to *Chriſtiern* king of *Denmark*, expelled by his ſubjects for his tyranny; *Mary*, the governeſs of the *Low Countries*, who was wife to *Lewis* king of *Hungary*; and a poſthumous daughter, *Catharine*, who was married to *John* III. king of *Portugal*. Beſides his lawful iſſue, *Maximilian* had eight natural children, ſons and daughters, whom he provided for, ſuitably to their ſtations.

# CHAP. XLI.

## CHARLES *the fifth.*

State of *Germany* during the ſucceeding interregnum of ſix months.

A Vacancy of the *Imperial* throne, was an object that had engaged the attention of all *Europe*; but the government of the empire, during the interregnum, was veſted in the *Saxon* and *Palatine* electors, and it continued ſix months. *Charles* was already a formidable prince, by his hereditary dominions, and the electors, through the vaſt encreaſe of the *Turkiſh* power, were obliged to chuſe for their head, a potentate, who could maintain not only the rights, but the territories of the empire. *Francis* I. of *France*, openly declared himſelf his rival for the *Imperial* dignity; but pope *Leo* X. ſecretly croſſed the election of both, becauſe either of them, if elected, muſt be too powerful in *Italy*; ſo little regard had his holineſs to the intereſts of *Chriſtendom*. The intrigues of the two competitors, and their ſcandalous application of money, to bribe the electors, are below the dignity of hiſtory to relate particularly. The *French* king ſent into *Germany* four hundred thouſand crowns, which were diſtributed among the princes of the empire, to obtain their votes. Each, ſeparately, received his bribe, but when they met in a body, they debated themſelves into a reſolution, to raiſe neither to the *Imperial* dignity, and it is certain, that they offered it to the elector of *Saxony*, *Frederic* the wiſe. He, from the patriot conſideration, that the empire required a powerful head, had engaged his vote to *Charles*, who by the voice of all the electors, except that of *Treves*, who continued firmly attached to *Francis*, was choſen emperor on the 28th of *June*, 1519.

*Charles V.* elected emperor.

1519.

*Charles*

*Charles* was then in *Spain*, and the elector *Palatine* was sent to give him intimation of his election, upon which he immediately set out for *Flanders*, and on the 21st of *October*, 1520, he repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned. The electors and princes wisely made use of the circumstances, under which *Charles* was chosen, to obtain of him a capitulation, by which the *Imperial* authority, and the rights of his subjects in the empire, were more precisely ascertained than they had ever been before. On the very day of his election a battle had been fought, between the bishop of *Hildesheim* and the duke of *Brunswic*, upon a territorial dispute; and indeed the interregnum was filled with blood and commotion, no regard being had to the vicars of the empire or the ordinary courts of justice. *Charles*, before his arrival in *Germany*, having heard that *Henry* VIII. of *England*, was preparing to have an interview with *Francis* I. surprized *Henry* by a visit in his own dominions, where he landed at *Dover*. His real motive was to bring *Henry* over to a league with him against *France*, and though no characters could be more opposite than those of the two monarchs, yet *Charles* had address enough to gain his point upon the main, by flattering *Wolsey*, *Henry*'s minister, with the hopes of one day gaining the papacy by his means. The 6th of *January* was appointed for holding the diet at *Worms*, and it is said that *Henry*, who was then a furious opposer of *Luther*, exacted from *Charles* a promise to suppress him and his sect. Rigorous edicts accordingly were published against *Luther*, after he had had a full hearing before the diet. Some of the mad bigots for popery advised *Charles* to act as his grandfather *Maximilian* had done, by paying no regard to the safe conduct he had given to *Luther*, but he rejected this wicked advice with a noble indignation, and *Luther* was suffered to depart unhurt. He was, however, put to the ban of the empire, but he was secreted in a castle belonging to the duke of *Saxony*, where he remained concealed for nine months. 1520.

*Charles* visits *Henry* VIII. of *England*,

In a succeeding diet, which was held at *Nuremberg*, *Charles*, after promulgating several laws and edicts relating to the internal state of the empire, acquainted the assembly, that upon the death of pope *Leo* X. his first minister, who had the charge of his *Spanish* affairs, *Adrian Florissen*, had been advanced to the popedom, and that it was necessary for himself to repair to *Spain*. This was a request by no means agreeable to the members of the diet, who had entertained some thoughts of making his continual residence in the empire one of the terms of his capitulation; but this was looked upon as unreasonable, therefore no opposition was made to his request, and he departed for *Spain*, after leaving his brother, the archduke *Ferdinand*, his lieutenant in *Germany*.

and goes to *Spain*.

The reader in this part of our work is not to expect a compleat history of *Charles* V. whose actions and power extended to many different parts of the globe, and which will be recounted

State of *Europe* at this time.

counted in their proper order; for which reaſon we ſhall confine our preſent narrative to the affairs of *Germany* only. *Ferdinand*, who was more of a bigot than his brother, inſiſted upon executing againſt *Luther* and his followers, the edicts of the diet of *Worms*, and likewiſe the bull which had been iſſued by *Leo* X. againſt that reformer, in order to obtain a uniformity of religion. The ſtate of *Europe*, as well as the empire, at this time, was unfavourable to ſo rigorous a barbarity, which obliges us to take a curſory view of it, that the reader may be the more enabled to account for the great events that followed. The diſſolute lives, and open corruption of the *Romiſh* clergy, contributed, far more than their ignorance and ridiculous doctrines did, towards the reformation; becauſe few are judges of literature, but every man is of another's practice in point of morals. The ſeeds of reformation had long lurked among the common people, and notwithſtanding the boaſt of the popiſh univerſality of religion, it would be no difficult matter to prove, that in many places of Chriſtendom, there always exiſted an oppoſition to the groſs errors of popery. The *Engliſh Wickliff* had laid the foundation for the reformation long before, on a much ſtronger and more liberal plan than that of *Luther*, and *Huſs* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were his diſciples. The moſt uninformed part of *Europe* in matters of religion, were its princes and great men; becauſe they took up with that religion which was moſt convenient for themſelves. *Henry* VIII. of *England* was, as we have already hinted, intoxicated with the vanity of being a champion for the pope. *Francis* I, though a prince perſonally brave, liberal and open, conſidered religion only as an engine of ſtate. *Charles* V. with more ſound ſenſe and refined policy, for the ſame reaſon, eſpouſed the abſurdities which he ſecretly deſpiſed. *Chriſtian* II. king of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, with great parts, was ſo great a monſter of inhumanity, that he was deſervedly called the *Nero* of the north; but his conduct ſhewed that he was indifferent to all religions, though he profeſſed a warm attachment to the *Romiſh*. But philoſophy and true ſcience had now got footing in *Italy*, and began to diſſeminate themſelves through *Europe*, nor could all the power of its princes ſtifle them.

Proceedings againſt *Luther* and his followers.

At the time when *Charles* nominated his brother to be his lieutenant or vicar, the two vicars of the empire ſtill ſubſiſted and here it is neceſſary to remind the reader, that there is a material difference between the power of the emperor, and that of the empire. The vicars of the empire are accountable to the diet only, and their decrees are irrevocable; the vicar of the emperor is accountable to him alone, and his power is limited to his hereditary dominions, of which the archduke *Ferdinand* was then in poſſeſſion. The duke of *Brunſwic* and *Lunenburg* ſtill continued to be at war with the biſhops of *Hildeſheim* and *Minden*, and all of them had been ſummoned before the diet; but they deſpiſed the order, and kept their arms in

the

their hands; nor was *Charles* as yet powerful enough to wreſt them from them, though they were put under the ban of the empire. The duke of *Saxony* was known to be the protector of *Luther*, and on the 6th of *May*, 1521, an edict was iſſued in the name of *Charles*, enjoining all the ſubjects of *Germany* to impriſon *Luther* and his adherents, under certain cenſures due to diſobedience. The duke of *Saxony*, though he knew the edict to be levelled againſt himſelf, diſregarded it, becauſe of the prevalency of *Lutheraniſm* in the empire. The legate of *Clement* VII. who was then pope, puſhed for the execution of the edict, in its moſt extenſive ſenſe, in a ſubſequent diet held at *Nuremberg*, and prevailed with the catholic princes to meet at *Ratiſbon*, where they entered into a confederacy not to make any alteration in religion, but to maintain it as then eſtabliſhed, in all its abſurdities, to perſecute the *Lutherans* with the utmoſt ſeverity, and to defend each other if attacked. This confederacy was formed too late; for by that time the tyrant *Chriſtiern* had been dethroned in the north, and *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway* had embraced the reformation, as had a great part of *Lower Germany*, *Livonia*, and *Pruſſia*. The great maſter of the *Teutonic* order, *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, in particular, with a view of founding a new family, to whom he could leave a civil juriſdiction, forſook the errors of popery, that he might be at liberty to marry.

1521. 1521.

Revolution in the north of *Europe*.

In the mean while *Charles* V. had again viſited *England*, where he was received with great honour, and was betrothed to his couſin *Mary*, daughter to *Henry* VIII. and his aunt, *Catherine* of *Arragon*, and who was afterwards *Mary* queen of *England*, and wife to *Philip*, *Charles*'s ſon. Thoſe eſpouſals were ſtrengthened, as is ſaid, by an engagement entered into by *Charles* to repay *Henry* 500,000 crowns (which were advanced him as the marriage portion of the princeſs) if the marriage did not take place; and *Charles* was likewiſe to pay to *Henry* annually, 130,000 ducats, as long as he ſhould continue to act offenſively againſt *France*. But the great engine of *Charles*'s ſucceſs with *Henry*, was cardinal *Wolſey*. The cardinal was at this time ſomewhat diſcontented with *Charles* for preferring his preceptor *Adrian* to the papacy; but *Charles* had addreſs enough to ſoften him, by repreſenting to him *Adrian*'s very advanced age and infirmities of body, and indemnifying *Wolſey* for the loſs of his *French* revenues, while his maſter was at war with *France*. It is certain that *Charles* was at this time very needy. The *Germans*, though he was at war at once in *France* and *Italy*, furniſhed little or nothing towards the expence: *Spain* was poor, and his officers in the lately diſcovered world were too buſy in enriching themſelves, to regard their maſter's intereſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, *Charles* made a formidable head againſt *Francis*. Pope *Adrian* had joined their confederacy; the *Venetians* had taken part with *Sforza*, the rival of *Francis* in the *Milaneſe*, and their example was followed by the *Florentines*,

*Charles* again viſits *England*.

the dukes of *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, and other ſtates of *Italy*, *Charles* was then in *Spain*, but had able miniſters and generals, whom he could truſt with the management of his affairs. The elevation of *Clement* VII. to the popedom, rendered *Wolſey* his irreconcilable, but ſecret, enemy. The loſs of his friendſhip was replaced by that of the conſtable of *Bourbon*, the greateſt ſubject of *France*, who, diſguſted with his ſovereign, entered into the ſervice of *Charles*, and paid him a viſit in *Spain*.

War between him and *France*.

*Charles* attacked *France* on the ſide of *Navarre*, as *Henry* did in *Picardy*; but the *French* defended themſelves with great bravery. The revolt of *Bourbon* rendered it improper for *Francis* to march in perſon into *Italy*, but his general, *Bonivet*, advanced thither with an army. Had he improved the conſternation of the *Italians* to his maſter's advantage, he might eaſily have become maſter of *Milan*; but he trifled away his time ſo egregiouſly, that his army mouldered away by famine and diſeaſes, and an army of capricious *Swiſſes*, whom he expected, inſtead of joining him, returned to their own country, and carried with them all their countrymen, who were ſerving under *Bonivet*. In ſhort, the *French* loſt all they had in *Italy*, excepting *Cremona* and *Lodi*. *Genoa* declared for *Charles*, who gave his countenance to *Sforza*, but not the inveſtiture of *Milan*. While the *French* were thus unfortunate in *Italy*, *Germany* was threatened, on the ſide of *Hungary*, by the *Turks*, who had taken *Belgrade*, and the important iſland of *Rhodes*, and her internal tranquillity was diſturbed by a war, between the *Alſatians* and the elector of *Triers*.

1524.

Affairs of *Germany*.

In 1524, pope *Clement* ſent a legate to the diet of *Nuremberg*, to engage the *Germans* in an offenſive war with the *Turks*, and to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the *Romiſh* church in the empire. *Charles* was too much engaged in war with *Francis*, to give much attention to the affairs of *Germany*; and at this time, had planned no leſs than the entire deſtruction of the *French* monarchy. He had agreed to give his ſiſter, the queen-dowager of *Portugal*, in marriage to the conſtable of *Bourbon*, who was to invade *Provence* and *Dauphiny*, of which he was to be declared king, but to hold them in fief from *Henry* of *England*. *Charles* was to be put in poſſeſſion of *Burgundy*, and the remaining dominions of *France* were to be left to *Henry*. *Bourbon* could not be brought to acknowledge *Henry* as king of *France*. He, and the marquis of *Peſcara*, with an army of *Imperialiſts*, invaded *Provence*, and beſieged *Marſeilles* (contrary to *Peſcara*'s judgment) but were obliged to retire with loſs and diſgrace to *Italy*. In the mean while, *Wolſey*'s diſguſt at the emperor operated inſenſibly, on the ſide of *Picardy*, where the war was at a ſtand. This encouraged *Francis* to march in perſon with an army into the *Milaneſe*, the conqueſt of which was the great object of his ambition. That city received him. The *Imperialiſts* and *Sforza* retired to *Lodi*, and *Francis*, inſtead of purſuing them, was ſo ill-fated as to beſiege

siege the strong town of *Pavia*, which was defended by the marquis *de Leyva*, a *Spaniard*, and one of the ablest generals of his time. *Pescara* and *Lanoy* assembled an army, and *Bourbon* brought 12,000 lansquenets, or *German* soldiers, to raise the siege. They fought *Francis*, defeated and took him prisoner. The king of *France* taken prisoner.

Had this event not happened, or had *Francis* been possessed of the smallest degree of prudence, and declined the battle, the affairs of *Europe* must have taken a turn disagreeable to *Charles*. *Henry* VIII. influenced by his haughty minister, *Wolsey*, had in effect abandoned his alliance. Pope *Clement* VII. had linked himself with *Francis*, to whom he had promised the crown of *Naples*, and the other states of *Italy*, the *Florentines* in particular, could not endure the power of *Charles* in their own country. *Charles* received the news of his rival's captivity and his own victory, with a moderation that is scarcely to be paralleled in history, but it was dictated 1525. by profound dissimulation, tho' his conduct at this time was very unaccountable. Though he was the most active prince of the age, and now in a manner master of *Italy*, instead of making any dispositions for improving his good fortune, he amused himself with his amours at *Madrid*, and in extinguishing the few remains of *Spanish* liberty. Instead of pushing *Henry* to take advantage of *France* on the side of *Picardy*, he neglected that court so much, that *Wolsey* gave his master's inclinations a new turn, by alarming him with the danger of *Europe* from the power of *Charles*. As a proof that the moderation of the latter was mere dissimulation, he at this time changed the manner of his signature, for instead of writing to him with his own hand, he employed that of his secretary, and instead of subscribing himself, "Your affectionate son and cousin," as usual, he only wrote '*Charles*.' *Henry*, who was of a disposition very different from that of *Charles*, discovered at first an extravagance of joy at the captivity of *Francis*, but soon after sent an ambassador to *Madrid*, requiring *Charles* to fulfil his engagements with him, by a powerful invasion of *France*, and to repay him the money he had borrowed in *England*. This only produced recriminations on the part of *Charles*, who seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of marrying the *English* princess, and he upbraided *Henry* for his inactivity on the side of *Picardy*; upon which *Henry* concluded a treaty with the regent of *France*, mother to *Francis*, and entered into engagements with her for his deliverance. Dissimulation of *Charles*.

*Germany* was at this time a scene of confusion, on account of religious disputes. *Melancthon*, a famous, but a moderate reformer, opposed *Luther*; and *Storck*, a *Silesian*, founded the sect of Anabaptists, of which *Muncer* was the head. This fanatical wretch preached up an equality of condition among all mankind, and his notions quickly propagating themselves among the peasants of *Suabia*, who were more than commonly oppressed, he was soon at the head of a numerous rabble, and Rise and defeat of the *Anabaptists* in *Germany*.

publiſhed his doctrines ſword in hand. Their claims at firſt were very moderate: they offered to pay the tythes of their corn for the relief of the poor, provided they had the liberty of hunting and fiſhing, with wood to build cabins, and their inſupportable fatigues diminiſhed by their rigorous maſters. Their demands being diſregarded, *Muncer* and *Storck*, attended by one *Fiffer*, a real enthuſiaſt, marched into *Thuringia*, attended by the peaſants of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, *Alſace*, and the *Palatinate*. They murdered all the nobility and gentlemen who fell into their hands. They took *Heilbron*, *Spire*, and *Wurtzburg*, with other places, and laid all the adjacent country waſte. They were at laſt encountered near *Franchauſen* in the county of *Mansfield*, by *Frederic*, the old elector of *Saxony*, and entirely defeated. *Muncer*, being taken, abjured his tenets and loſt his head; as did *Fiffer*, who died fully convinced of the rectitude of his cauſe; but *Storck* eſcaped into *Sileſia*. *Charles*, at the time of the battle of *Pavia*, was ſo poor, and his troops were ſo ill paid, that *Lanoy*, his governor of *Naples*, was obliged to remove *Francis* to the ſtrong fortreſs of *Pizzighitone*, leaſt the *German* lanſquenets ſhould have detained his perſon for the arrears of pay due to them. While he remained there, a treaty was ſet on foot between him and *Charles* for his liberty.

Treaty between *Charles* and *Francis*,

It now appeared that *Charles* was reſolved to avail himſelf of the utmoſt of his royal priſoner's diſtreſs. He demanded that *Francis* ſhould put him into poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Burgundy*; that *Provence* and *Dauphiny* ſhould be given to the duke of *Bourbon*; that *Henry* VIII. ſhould be ſatisfied; and that *Francis* ſhould renounce all claim to any *Italian* territory. *Francis* rejected thoſe demands with indignation, but offered to aſſiſt *Charles* in recovering ſuch of his family eſtates as had been uſurped by the *Venetians*; to remit the homage paid by the emperor for *Artois* and *Flanders*; to marry the emperor's ſiſter, and to hold *Burgundy* as her dowry, to be inherited by the children of the marriage. *Francis* imagining that the terms propoſed to him had been dictated by the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* miniſters, deſired to be removed to *Madrid*, that he might treat with *Charles* in perſon. *Francis* falling ſick ſoon after his arrival there, was viſited by *Charles*, with great appearances of friendſhip; and upon his recovery, the treaty was reſumed. After many obſtacles it was ſigned on the 14th of *January*, 1526. The chief articles of this treaty conſiſted in *Francis*'s giving up to the emperor the dutchy of *Burgundy* and the county of *Charleroy*, and renouncing the ſovereignty of *Artois* and *Flanders*. He was likewiſe to cede to *Charles*, *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Mortagne*, *St. Amand*, *Liſle*, *Douay*, *Orchies*, and *Heſdin*; and to give up his claims upon all the *Italian* dominions. He was to withdraw his protection from the dukes of *Gueldres* and *Wirtemberg*. He was to oblige the heirs of *Navarre* to renounce their pretenſions to that crown. He ſigned a league offenſive and defenſive with *Charles*. He pro-

1526.

miſed

miſed to marry his ſiſter; he was to receive into favour the duke of *Bourbon*; and he was to ſend into *Spain* his two ſons, the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans*, as hoſtages for the performance of the treaty. Thoſe princes were accordingly exchanged for their father upon the river *Andoye*.

who evades it.

Before *Francis* obtained his liberty, the ableſt miniſters about *Charles* repreſented to him the improbability of that king's fulfilling this treaty, adviſing him to treat his royal priſoner with leſs rigour, to accept of the terms *Francis* ſhould propoſe, and to truſt for the performance to his honour and ſenſe of gratitude. *Charles* had in his veins too much of the *Auſtrian* blood to follow this advice, which was equally wiſe and generous; and *Francis* conſidered the conceſſions he had made as not being obligatory upon him, becauſe they had been extorted from him during his confinement. He underhand perſuaded the ſtates of *Burgundy* to remonſtrate againſt his diſmembering that province from his crown, and found means, to the great diſappointment of *Charles*, to form a powerful confederacy againſt him, conſiſting of *Henry* VIII. pope *Clement* VII. the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and the *Swiſs*. By this confederacy the dutchy of *Milan* was ſtipulated to the houſe of *Sforza*, and it obtained the name of the holy league, becauſe the pope was at its head. The *Venetians* took *Lodi*. The pope's army, under the duke of *Urbino*, entered the *Milaneſe*, where the inhabitants declared for their duke. *Leyva*, though at this time old, emaciated, lame, and bedridden, vigorouſly ſupported the intereſt of *Charles*, who remained ſtill at *Madrid*, where he ſettled punctilios among the *Spaniards*, and married the infanta *Iſabella*, daughter to *Emanuel* the Great, king of *Portugal*.

Progreſs of the *Turks*.

*Germany* continued to be threatened by the *Turks*, and torn by religious diſputes. The elector of *Saxony* was ſtill the greateſt patron of the reformation, and perſuaded the landgrave of *Heſſe* to ſhake off the papal yoke. *Solyman* the magnificent had defeated *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, in the fatal battle of *Mohatz*, and *Lewis* loſt his life in the flight. In the diet which *Ferdinand* called at *Spire*, religious diſputes engroſſed the members ſo much, that all thoughts of ſupporting that unhappy prince were neglected. The holy league, as it was called, was of vaſt ſervice to the progreſs of the reformation, as it detached the pope from the emperor, who threatened, if his holineſs refuſed it, to call a council by his own authority. *Charles*, at the ſame time, gave the conſtable of *Bourbon* the inveſtiture of *Milan*, and ſent him againſt the forces of the league, at the head of 40,000 men. The rapidity with which he proceeded, intimidated the pope into a truce with the emperor; but *Bourbon* purſued his march without regard to negociations of any kind, and appeared before the city of *Rome*. The pope ſtanding on his defence, *Bourbon* loſt his life in endeavouring to ſcale the walls; but his army ſtormed the city, and ſhut the pope up in the caſtle of

*St. Angelo.* The *Imperialiſts* were guilty of great diſorders, and his holineſs was obliged to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner into their hands. *Charles* receiving the news in *Spain*, ordered the pope to be ſtrictly guarded; but, by an unuſual ſtrain of hypocriſy, he ordered public prayers and proceſſions to be made for his deliverance, and ſoon after actually granted him his liberty; but not without obliging his holineſs to agree to his terms.

The pope taken priſoner.

*Charles* became now formidable to all *Europe*, and his ſucceſs againſt the pope ſerved only to render the bonds of friendſhip the more ſtrong between the then kings of *France* and *England*. *Charles*, who had trifled away his time ſo long in *Spain*, perceived his error, eſpecially when he received accounts of the prodigious progreſs of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and that they were threatening his hereditary dominions of *Auſtria*. His brother *Ferdinand*, by the death of *Lewis*, was now become king of *Hungary*; but meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition from *John de Zapollo*, vaivode of *Tranſilvania*, he endeavoured to engage the princes of the empire in his intereſt, by convoking a diet at *Spire*. Here the proteſtant princes again made a ſtrong effort for the eſtabliſhment of their religion, but they were not ſtrong enough, and a decree paſſed, by which the decree of *Worms* ſhould prevail in all the places where it was publiſhed; and that no perſon ſhould be there allowed to profeſs *Lutheraniſm*, but that the people ſhould be indulged in that profeſſion till a council could be called; but with an excluſion to the *Sacramentarians* and *Anabaptiſts*. The proteſtant princes, and fourteen *Imperial* cities, proteſted againſt this decree, from which they obtained the name of PROTESTANTS. Thoſe cities were *Straſbourg*, *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Conſtance*, *Rottingen*, *Windſeim*, *Memmingen*, *Nordlingen*, *Lindau*, *Kempten*, *Heilbron*, *Werſembourg*, and *St. Gall*. In many of thoſe cities the maſs was formally aboliſhed. Great part of *Swiſſerland* declared for the reformation, under the *Zuinglian* form. The *Bohemians*, who had made ſome years ago ſuch amazing efforts againſt the *Romiſh* church, were converted but in part; and the *Anabaptiſts*, who were the enthuſiaſtic enemies both of papiſts and of proteſtants, renewed their ravages, but were again chaſtized by the elector palatine, and other princes of the empire.

Decree in favour of the Proteſtants.

*Ferdinand* elected king of *Bohemia*.

In the mean while, *Charles* ſtill continuing in *Spain*, his affairs in *Italy* tended to ruin; but his brother *Ferdinand*, to the crown of *Hungary*, added that of *Bohemia*, which he obtained by election. The kings of *France* and *England*, at this time, had ambaſſadors at *Madrid*, and *Charles* appeared to be highly exaſperated againſt both, not without reaſon. *Henry* of *England* was ſoliciting a divorce from *Charles*'s aunt, *Catherine* of *Arragon*, without any fault of her own being alledged; and *Francis*, whoſe children ſtill remained hoſtages in *Spain*, not only refuſed to fulfil the treaty of *Madrid*, but actually was at war with *Charles* in the *Milaneſe*, where the *Imperialiſts*

were very weak. The heralds of the two kings being admitted into the preſence of *Charles*, he reproached *Henry* for being the tool of *Woolſey*'s diſappointed ambition, and he ſent a formal challenge to *Francis*, to fight him in ſingle combat. This challenge being intimated to *Francis*, his anſwer was, that *Charles* lied, and lied in his throat, and deſired him to appoint the place of combat. *Charles* did ſo by another herald; but the two monarchs, after a variety of ridiculous circumſtances, ſtood ſo much upon punctilios of honour, that, eager as they were to fight one another, they never met.

*Charles* was ſenſible of the neceſſity of his preſence in *Germany*, but now that he was willing, he found his enemies multiply ſo faſt, that he durſt not venture thither. *Lautrec*, the *French* general, after over-running the *Milaneſe*, penetrated into the kingdom of *Naples*, where he ſeized upon *Abruzzo*. The *Venetians* were poſſeſſed of the maritime coaſts of the ſame country, and *Doria*, the *Genoeſe* admiral in the *French* ſervice, beat the *Imperial* fleet. Fortune ſeemed never tired of repairing the loſſes of *Charles*. The plague ſwept off the greateſt part of the *French* army under *Lautrec*. *Doria*, diſguſted by *Francis*, entered into the *Imperial* ſervice, and *Clement* VII. had a thouſand, both family and political, reaſons, for detaching himſelf from the holy league, which he accordingly did. Old *de Leyva*, the *Imperial* general, though ſeventy-three years of age, with all his bodily infirmities encreaſed, beat the *French* army in the *Milaneſe*, and drove them out of that dutchy. Pope *Clement* had the good fortune to make his peace with *Charles* before his allies, the *French*, received this blow; and was favoured beſides, by the earneſt deſire which *Charles* had to diſappoint *Henry* in proſecuting his divorce from his aunt. *Charles*, perhaps, in this, was animated more by a motive of intereſt than conſanguinity; for he was afraid leſt his couſin *Mary*, the iſſue of that marriage, ſhould be baſtardized.

The *French* defeated.

The defeat of the *French* army in the *Milaneſe*, obliged *Francis* to treat with *Charles* about an equivalent for his performance of the treaty of *Madrid*, and it coſt him two millions of golden crowns. This accommodation was not a little forwarded by the preparations which *Solyman* was making for giving the crown of *Hungary* to *Zapollo*, and for invading *Auſtria*, which he did, and beſieged *Vienna* itſelf. That city was ſo bravely defended by *Philip* the warlike, brother to the elector *Palatine*, that *Solyman*, in thirty days, raiſed the ſiege, and drew off towards *Conſtantinople*, with the loſs of 60,000 men. Before his return, however, he gave *Zapollo* the inveſtiture of the crown of *Hungary*. We ſhall reſerve for another part of our hiſtory, to which they belong, the tranſactions of *Charles* in *Italy*, and attend to thoſe of *Germany*.

Their treaty with *Charles*.

*Charles* was exaſperated at the contempt with which the proteſtants had treated the firſt decree he iſſued, that of *Worms*, and would gladly have puniſhed them. He conſulted with the pope, who

who avoided calling a general council; but they agreed that a diet of the empire ſhould be aſſembled, and that if the emperor ſhould not in that ſucceed in reducing the proteſtants, a council ſhould be called. A diet was accordingly ſummoned at *Augſburg*, and in the mean while the proteſtants drew up a plan of their doctrine, which has ever ſince been known by the name of the *Augſburg* confeſſion of faith.

Diet of *Augsbourg*.

The diet was opened the 20th of *June*, 1530, and *Charles* preſided in it in perſon. *Campeggio*, the pope's legate, endeavoured to harangue the proteſtants into a re-union with the church of *Rome*; he was anſwered by a ſolemn requeſt, made by the elector of *Saxony* and the other princes of the proteſtant party, that they might, for their vindication, lay before him their confeſſion of faith, with its authorities from ſcripture. This favour was granted by *Charles*. The *Romaniſts* put in an anſwer to the proteſtant confeſſion, but the proteſtants refuſed to comply with *Charles*, who preſt them to a re-union with the *Romiſh* church. Their obſtinacy prevailed, and *Charles* was obliged to adjourn the diet for ſix months. During that time, it was made penal for the proteſtants to make proſelytes to their own faith; but the pope was to be requeſted to convoke a general council to meet in a year. The *Lutherans* were ſo highly provoked at the adjournment, that they withdrew from the diet before it took place, which *Charles* ſo much reſented, that he publiſhed a decree, prohibiting the exerciſe of any but the *Romiſh* religion, under ſevere corporal puniſhments and loſs of eſtate. The *Lutherans* aſſociated themſelves with the cantons of *Zuric* and *Baſil*. The city of *Straſbourg* diſagreed in many points of faith among themſelves, but all of them were unanimous in ſeparating from the church of *Rome*.

The proteſtants oppoſe the election of the king of the *Romans*,

The elector of *Saxony*, and the proteſtant princes, had other motives beſides that of religion for uniting together at this period. *Charles* had openly declared, that he intended his brother ſhould be choſen king of the *Romans*, and this, with the vaſt power he poſſeſſed, raiſed in the proteſtants ſome apprehenſions which have proved ſince well grounded, that the empire, in time, would be rendered hereditary in the houſe of *Auſtria*. The diet for chuſing the king of the *Romans* was ſummoned to be held at *Cologne*, and the old elector of *Saxony* received a particular invitation to be preſent. He diſcovered no diſſatisfaction at the time, but he took the firſt opportunity of compleating a plan for more firmly uniting the proteſtant princes among themſelves, which he did at *Smalcald*, and the union was formed on the very day appointed for the election of a king of the *Romans*. By this league of *Smalcald*, the proteſtant princes, ſtates, and cities, entered into a defenſive alliance with one another, againſt all who ſhould attack them. The king of *Denmark*, the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, the cities of *Hamburgh*, *Embden*, *Northeim*, *Franckfort*, *Brunſwic*, *Gottingen*, *Minden*, *Hanover*, *Hildeſheim*,

*Hildeſheim*, *Lubec* and *Stetin* were invited to join the league. After this they publiſhed letters, which were addreſſed to the emperor, containing a defence of their conduct, and complaining of the election of the king of the *Romans*, as being irregular, and againſt the conſtitutions of the empire. The aſſembly of *Cologne* paid no regard to thoſe reaſons, nor to the repreſentations of *John Frederic*, the elector of *Saxony*'s ſon, who had been ſent by his father to watch over the proceedings of the diet. *Ferdinand* was elected upon the ſtrength of precedents, and crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The princes of the league of *Smalcald*, far from acknowledging the validity of this election, applied to *Francis* I. of *France*, and *Henry* VIII. of *England*, for aſſiſtance and protection. *Francis*, though he burnt proteſtants in his own dominions, ſupported thoſe in *Germany*, and ſent them money. *Henry* gave them only promiſes, being ſtill in hopes of carrying his divorce at the court of *Rome*.

The fear of the *Turks* and of foreign troops entering *Germany*, operated more ſtrongly upon *Charles* than any principles of moderation. Though he had put *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, to the ban of the empire for turning proteſtant, and diſenfranchiſing his popiſh knights, yet he could carry his reſentment no farther; for *Albert* was in poſſeſſion of the *Ducal Pruſſia*. The proteſtants refuſed to contribute towards the war with the *Turks*, as long as the ſevere edicts which had been publiſhed againſt them were in force. *Charles* ſeemed, at laſt, to liſten to the advice of the elector of *Mentz*, to come to ſome accommodation with the proteſtants, and impowered him, with the elector *Palatine*, to invite the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, with other proteſtant princes, to a conference at *Schweinfurt*. The terms which the popiſh mediators had to offer, amounted to little more than ſome few abatements of the rigour of the *Imperial* decrees, and thoſe too, on the condition that the princes ſhould renounce the league of *Smalcald*. The proteſtants, on the other hand, inſiſted on the election of the king of the *Romans* being declared void. An irruption of the *Turks* into the *Auſtrian* dominions effected an accommodation. It was agreed that no regard ſhould be had to the decrees, either of *Worms* or *Augſbourg*; that a general peace within *Germany* ſhould take place, and that the ſubjects of neither religion ſhould quarrel on religious accounts; but that a council ſhould be aſſembled in ſix months. The proteſtants, in conſideration of this indulgence, which was as great as they could have hoped for, agreed to aſſiſt the emperor in his wars with the *Turks*; and ſeven of the chief proteſtant princes, with the deputies of twenty-four cities, ſigned the agreement, which was afterwards confirmed by the emperor in the diet of *Ratiſbon*.

and obtain many advantages.

The landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the wiſeſt of the proteſtant princes, were earneſt in their endeavours to improve the reſpite

The *Turks* repulsed in *Hungary*.

spite they got by this concordate, by reconciling differences among the protestants in religious matters. *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and *Bucer*, were the heads of sects. They differed upon matters they did not understand, and the less each understood them, he was the more obstinate. They were, however, emulous to shew their gratitude to the emperor, by contributing 150,000 florins, and furnishing a large body of men, towards his expedition against the *Turks*, who were now ravaging *Germany*, and had advanced as far as *Lintz*. *Solyman*, their emperor, was at the head of 200,000 men, and *Charles* had about 120,000. Great matters were expected from the campaign. But after the count *Palatine* had cut off a large body of the infidels, near *Gratz* in *Stiria*, *Solyman* made his retreat, and *Charles* instead of deposing *Zapollo*, and recovering *Hungary*, returned to *Germany*, where his army was disbanded. It is, perhaps, unjust to blame him for this precipitate conduct, as most of his soldiers were volunteers, and thought their engagements in the field over, as soon as the

1532. *Turks* were repelled. In *October* 1532, *Charles* went to *Italy*, leaving his brother *Ferdinand* his lieutenant in *Germany*. His business (as he pretended) was to consult with the pope, upon the meeting of a general council, in consequence of what he had promised at *Ratisbon*. His real design seems to have been to make a league with the pope, whom he met at *Bologna*, for preventing the return of the *French* to *Italy*. This league being concluded, he went to *Genoa*, where he embarked for *Spain*. In the mean while, the old elector of *Saxony* died, and was succeeded by his son, *John-Frederic*, not only in his dominions, but in his zeal for the protestant religion. To him repaired the bishop of *Regis*, on the part of the pope, and *Lambert Briart*, on that of the emperor, to found his dispositions, with regard to religious matters, on pretence of consulting with him upon the time, place, and manner of convoking a general council.

Death of the old elector of *Saxony*.

The elector saw through their design, but demanded time for taking the sense of his allies at *Smalcald*. The protestants assembling there, returned a plausible answer to the two ambassadors, and thanked the emperor for his zeal in composing the religious differences of *Europe*; but they were not wanting to themselves, in obviating his ambitious designs. The landgrave of *Hesse* undertook, by means of the *French* king, to replace the duke of *Wirtemberg* in his dominions, which had been taken from him by *Charles*, and given to his brother *Ferdinand*, on a very frivolous account. *Francis* I. generously lent the landgrave 100,000 crowns, and a body of men, upon a mortgage of the county of *Montbeliard*; and with this assistance, the landgrave and the duke beat the *Imperial* troops, under that count *Palatine* who had defeated the *Turks*. The duke, who was a protestant, thus recovering his dominions, was a valuable acquisition to that interest, nor was he or the princes of his party, sparing in their profes-

The duke of *Wirtemberg* restored.

sions

ſions of duty and attachment to the emperor and his brother, whom they now acknowledged as king of the *Romans*. *Charles* and *Ferdinand* were under a neceſſity to diſſemble; a new pacification was made between them and the proteſtant princes, and the duke of *Wirtemberg* was left in peaceable poſſeſſion of his dutchy; but it was declared to be a male fief of the houſe of *Auſtria*, to which, conſequently, in default of male heirs, it was to devolve.

The court of *Rome* reſented this pacification, to which the emperor and his brother had been obliged to ſubmit, and ſent its nuncio, *Paul Verger*, into *Germany*, with aſſurances to the princes, of his readineſs to call a general council, which in his heart he dreaded. *Henry* VIII. by this time had ſhaken off his allegiance to the papal power, and the proteſtants had renewed their league at *Smalcald* for ten years. The papal fulminations thus loſt their effect; perſuaſive methods were tried, but in vain; and the kings of *England* and *France* ſent their ambaſſadors to the princes of the *Smalcaldian* league, to aſſure them of their friendſhip and protection. The profeſſions made by the *Engliſh* monarch were full and ſatisfactory, thoſe made by *Francis* empty and trifling. After ſome vague aſſurances, he apologized for having burnt ſome proteſtants, becauſe they were *Sacramentarians*, the moſt rational, perhaps, of all the reformed ſects, as they affirmed, that God was in the bread only by faith. He likewiſe made a merit of having rejected an advantageous offer of alliance with the *Turks*. This proſperous ſtate of proteſtantiſm in *Germany*, far from producing ſuitable effects, rendered the ſectaries wanton and frantic. The anabaptiſts of *Munſter*, headed by one *Rotman*, drove out their biſhop, magiſtrates, and clergy, inſtituted a new plan of ſociety, which allowed of polygamy, and at laſt they choſe one *John* of *Leyden*, who had joined them with a mad body of *Frieſlanders* and *Hollanders*, for their king, and he actually was crowned at *Munſter*. That city, in the mean time, was beſieged by its biſhop, who reduced thoſe wretches to miſeries which enthuſiaſm alone could endure. At laſt the frenzy of ſome among them ſubſiding, the biſhop got poſſeſſion of the city, the fanatics were put to the ſword, and the mock king, with his miniſters, ſuffered death under the moſt excruciating tortures.

Inſurrection and defeat of the Anabaptiſts.

The emperor *Charles* was ſtill in *Spain*, from whence he made an expedition to *Barbary*, where he replaced *Muley Haſſan* on his throne, from which he had been driven by the *Turkiſh* pirate *Barbaroſſa*. The *French* king ungenerouſly made uſe of his abſence, to attempt the recovery of the *Milaneſe*, for which purpoſe he marched a numerous army into *Piedmont*. This diſabled *Charles* from making his *African* conqueſts compleat. Having given orders for oppoſing *Francis*, he repaired to *Rome*, where he threw out bitter invectives againſt his *French* enemy, who was by this time maſter of almoſt all *Savoy*. *Charles* was then in the zenith of his

Expedition of *Charles* to *Africa*. 1536.

his glory, and the princes of *Europe* saw the procedure of *Francis* with indignation. The *Venetians* armed against him. The *Swiss* began to desert his service, and *Charles* in a public consistory at *Rome*, where the pope presided, sent him a challenge of defiance to single combat. He at the same time settled with the pope, the measures for convoking a general council, which was fixed to be held at *Mantua* in the ensuing *June*. *Francis*, by this time, was dispossessed of all *Piedmont*, excepting the city of *Turin*, by *Charles*, who at the head of 50,000 men, against the advice of his best generals, invaded *Provence*, in hopes of being joined by the *French* protestants. He was disappointed, all *France* armed against him. He was defeated in an attempt he made upon *Marseilles*, and after losing a vast number of men by death and desertion, he returned to *Genoa*.

Deputation of the protestants to him.

The protestants, who had been for some time unmolested, sent thither three ambassadors, *Pappenheim*, *Bambach*, and *Peuthinger*, to give *Charles* favourable impressions of their loyalty and intentions. *Charles* seemed to listen to them with pleasure, and sent the pope's bull, for the convocation of a council, to *Smalcald*, where the princes were, together with *Luther* and their chief divines. After debate, they absolutely rejected the bull, and all councils which should be assembled without the verge of the empire, or in which the pope was to preside. Their firmness on this occasion, drove the catholic princes into a confederacy, to counterbalance that of *Smalcald*. The chief of those princes were the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Saltzbourg*, the two dukes of *Bavaria*, *George* duke of *Saxony*, and *Evric* and *Henry* dukes of *Brunswic*. Even this measure could not prevail with the pope to convoke the council at *Mantua*. The enmity between *Charles* and *Francis* was now at a greater height than ever, and alarmed the pope with the other catholic princes so much, that they unanimously interposed for an accommodation; but all they could effect, was a truce for three months. The reputation of *Charles* at this time met with a terrible shock. The dauphin of *France* died, and the *French* emissaries gave it out, that he had been poisoned by *Charles*. One *Montecuculi*, an *Italian*, in the train of *Catharine de Medici*, was accused of being the assassin, and being put to the rack, some words were extorted from him that favoured the suspicion. It is, however, more probable, that if the young prince was poisoned, it was at the instigation of that infernal woman, whose husband, *Henry*, became thereby heir-apparent to the *French* crown.

1537. The *Turks* defeat the *Imperialists* in *Hungary*.

By this time, the king of *Denmark*, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, had acceded to the *Smalcaldian* league, and the pope with great difficulty prevailed on *Francis* and *Charles* to repair to *Nice*, where he himself likewise attended, and the truce was prolonged to ten years. Before this, *Francis* had entered into a treaty with *Solyman* the *Turkish* emperor, who sent his admiral, *Barbarossa*, to ravage the sea-coasts of

*Naples*, and the *Auſtrian* dominions, from whence that barbarian carried off 16,000 chriſtians, who were made ſlaves. *Solyman*, in conſequence of the ſame league, invaded *Hungary*, and between *Buda* and *Belgrade*, defeated the king of the *Romans*, with the loſs of 16,000 *Germans*. *Francis* I. was too weak to ſecond thoſe vigorous efforts of the *Turks*, who gave a ſecond defeat to the *Imperialiſts*, but being unſupported by their ally, they returned to *Conſtantinople*. *Charles* now became, in his turn, a ſuiter to the proteſtants, that they would unite againſt the common enemy; and in an aſſembly held at *Frankfort*, the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion was indulged to its profeſſors, for fifteen months longer, and the pacification of *Nuremberg*, with the imperial edict at *Ratiſbon*, were to be confirmed. It was farther agreed, that a conference ſhould be held at *Nuremberg*, between the learned of both perſuaſions, and that the proteſtant princes ſhould ſend their deputies to *Worms*, to agree upon their contingencies of troops and money, againſt the *Turks*, but in the mean time they were to admit no more princes into the league of *Smalcald*.

*Charles* continued ſtill in *Spain*, and heard that the inhabitants of *Ghent*, his native place, were upon the brink of revolting in defence of their privileges. *Ghent* was then, perhaps, the moſt flouriſhing town on the continent of *Europe*. The *Ghenters* had great privileges, which had been violated by the governeſs of the *Low Countries*. They had expected to be taken under the protection of *France*, but *Francis* not only generouſly refuſed to take advantage of this diſtreſs of *Charles*, but gave him the fulleſt aſſurances of ſafety in his paſſage through *France*; his two ſons, *Henry* the dauphin, and *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, offering themſelves as hoſtages for his ſecurity. *Charles*, at this time, ſeems to have dropt his real character. He refuſed any ſecurity, but that of the *French* king's honour. *Francis* met him at *Loches*, in perſon, and at their interview, no traces of their former enmity could be diſcerned. The man to whom *Francis* had been a priſoner, and whom he had repreſented as a poiſoner, and he whom *Charles* had challenged as a traitor, and poſted for a coward, cloſed together in embraces of mutual confidence and friendſhip. *Francis* attended his brother-monarch through *Orleans* to *Paris*, where he was entertained with the utmoſt magnificence and cordiality. It is ſaid, that *Charles* promiſed *Francis* at this time, the inveſtiture of the *Milaneſe*, and that the latter afterwards repented of the generous treatment he had given his rival, whom the *French* princes of the blood conveyed as far as *Valenciennes*, the firſt town of the *Low Countries*.

*Charles* paſſes through *France* againſt the *Ghenters*.

Polite entertainment of *Charles* in *France*.

*Charles* having aſſembled an army at *Bruſſels*, entered *Ghent*, as a conqueror. Thirty of the leading mutineers were hanged, many more were baniſhed, and the city was ſtript of its privileges, arms, and artillery, beſides being fined in 1,200,000 crowns, and bridled with a ſtrong citadel. While

*Charles* puniſhes the *Ghenters*.

*Charles*

*Charles* remained in the *Low Countries*, the proteſtants complained of many infractions of the *Frankfort* agreement; and inſiſted upon the propoſed conference among the learned. They were oppoſed by the papiſts, but *Charles* ratified the *Frankfort* agreement, and appointed a diet at *Worms*, to be held in *October* following, for the termination of all farther religious diſputes, to the great mortification of the pope. The *Lutheran* religion continued to proſper in *Germany*. The duke of *Miſnia* and *Thuringia* dying a ſtrong *Roman* catholic, he had left his great poſſeſſions to the houſe of *Auſtria*, in prejudice of his brother *Henry*, and his family, who were proteſtants. The elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and other proteſtant princes oppoſed this deſtination. The hereditary fiefs in *Germany*, were not to be alienated from the lawful heirs, on account of any religious diſpute; and *Luther*, with his aſſociates, ſeconding their reaſoning by their ſermons, the inhabitants of the countries in queſtion embraced proteſtantiſm, and the new heir took poſſeſſion of his eſtates. *Charles* was too wiſe to attempt to reduce the proteſtants by force, in this proſperous ſtate of their affairs, and indeed, the averſion he ſhewed to them was rather political than religious. He at laſt appointed the learned conference ſo often mentioned, between three doctors, on each ſide. The *Roman* catholic champions were *John Eckius*, *John Gropperus*, and *Julius Pflugius*; thoſe for the proteſtants, were *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *Piſtorius*. The preſidents were to be the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the famous *Granvel*, the emperor's firſt miniſter. This conference, like all others of the like kind, broke up without any effect, and *Charles* remitted the conſideration of the diſputed points, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the pope and his nuncio, *Contarini*, to a future diet.

1540.

A conference appointed.

Liberty of conſcience allowed in *Germany*. 1541.

In the mean while, *Charles* indulged the proteſtants with as much latitude, in matters of religion, as they could reaſonably deſire, and at laſt he publiſhed a decree, called the *Interim*, which in fact eſtabliſhed a toleration of both religions all over the empire. During the diet of *Ratiſbon*, in 1541, *Charles* put the duke of *Cleves* to the ban of the empire, for his having thrown himſelf under the protection of *France*, and gave orders that all *Germans* ſhould leave the *French* ſervice. The diet breaking up, he paſſed to *Italy*, having formed the project of a freſh deſcent upon *Barbary*. He landed on the coaſts of *Algiers*, the 23d of *October*, with an army of 24,000 men. This expedition was extremely unfortunate; ſcarcely had he formed the ſiege of *Algiers*, when ſtorms by ſea, and infidels by land, reduced his army to 10,000 men, ſunk 15 of his galleys, and near 100 of his other ſhips; ſo that he was obliged to return with the miſerable remains of his force to *Carthagena*.

*Zapollo*, the *Turkiſh* king of *Hungary*, was now dead, and had left his ſon *Stephen* under the tuition of his mother, at *Buda*.

*Buda.* The king of the *Romans* would gladly have performed homage to *Solyman* for that crown, but the haughty *Othman* insisting upon his doing it for *Austria* likewise, and other mortifying terms, *Ferdinand* laid siege to *Buda*. *Solyman* marched to its relief, and totally defeating *Ferdinand*'s army, he got possession of the persons of the young prince and his mother, whom he had pretended to protect, and annexed *Hungary* to his own dominions. A diet being assembled at *Spire*, the princes unanimously agreed, to contribute their quotas against the common enemy of *Christendom*, and the pope's legate informed the members, that his master had pitched upon *Trent*, for holding a general council, on the 1st of *November* following, and that he had invited the emperor and the *French* king to send their ambassadors thither. But those two princes were once more at war with each other. *Charles* had evaded the demand which *Francis* had made of the investiture of *Milan*, for his son; and, as *Francis* alleged, he was privy to the assassination of two of his ambassadors, one to *Venice*, and another to *Constantinople*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that *Francis* cultivated the friendship of the *Turks*, with a view of their distressing *Germany*, and thereby alienated from himself the affections of the protestant princes there, who were disgusted with the inconsistencies and infidelity of his conduct.

*The Turks* homage for *Hungary*.

*Francis* attacked *Charles* in *Brabant*, *Luxembourg*, *Artois*, *Piedmont*, and *Rousillon*, at the same time; but met with nothing but shame and disappointments. *Charles* published manifestoes reproaching *Francis*, for his alliance with the *Turks*, and *Francis* answered him, by saying, that when he was attacked by wolves, it was lawful for him to call dogs to his assistance. In an assembly at *Nuremberg*, in the beginning of the year 1543, where *Ferdinand* presided, the members came to several vigorous resolutions against the *Turks*; and sent a kind of a petition to *Charles* in *Spain*, desiring him to return to *Germany*, to defend it against such a complication of enemies; the *French*, under the duke of *Cleves*, having likewise invaded it. *Charles* complied with this request, and after indicting a diet at *Spire*, he arrived in *Germany*, and put himself at the head of an army, against the duke of *Cleves*. He opened the campaign by taking *Duren*, after a bloody siege, upon which, the towns of *Juliers*, *Ruremond*, and *Venlo*, surrendered. The duke of *Cleves* found himself obliged to purchase his pardon, by agreeing to the terms which *Charles* prescribed, and renouncing the alliance of *France* and *Denmark*. While he was thus making his peace, *Francis* was advancing with an army to support him, but all he could do, was to take *Luxembourg*, while *Charles*, by the assistance of his new confederates, the *English*, laid siege to *Landreci*, which was so well prepared to receive him, that he abandoned his enterprize, and returned to *Germany* to hold a diet at *Spire*. This diet had been convoked to satisfy the protestants, on the sub-

A new war with *France*.

1543.

*Charles* returns to *Germany*.

ject of their grievances, and to support *Charles* in his wars with the *Turks* and the *French*. Farther liberty of conſcience was granted to the proteſtants, till a national council ſhould ſit in *Germany*, or till another diet was convoked, and it was decreed, that a like number of judges in the *Imperial* chamber, ſhould be choſen out of each religion.

The proteſtants aſſiſt him.

The proteſtants, overjoyed at thoſe and many other conceſſions in their favour, agreed with the other members, to grant to the emperor double ſubſidies, and voted ſix *Roman* months (a ſupply ſo called) towards the expence of 4000 cavalry and 24,000 infantry, to be employed againſt the *French* king, and that every perſon throughout the empire, ſhould contribute according to his abilities, towards the war againſt the *Turks*. The elector of *Saxony*, recognized *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*. *Charles* approved of all that had been done, and agreed that the elector of *Saxony*, ſhould ſucceed to the dominions of the duke of *Cleves*, in caſe the latter ſhould die without male-iſſue. At the ſame time, a private compact was entered into, between the houſes of *Auſtria* and *Saxony*, by which the elector's eldeſt ſon was to marry *Ferdinand*'s eldeſt daughter, provided the religious differences could be ſettled before ſhe was of age for conſummation. *Charles* made the beſt apology he could to the catholics, for agreeing to ſo many conceſſions in favour of the proteſtants, and concerted meaſures with the king of *England*, for retrieving the loſſes he had lately received in *Italy*, by the ſucceſs of the *French* arms. This plan extended even to the ſacking the city of *Paris* by their joint force. The emperor beſieged and took *Metz*, retook *Luxembourg*, with many other places on the frontiers of *France*, and advanced with inconceivable rapidity to *Chateau-Thierry*, while the *Engliſh* amuſed themſelves with taking *Boulogne*, and ſome frontier towns in *Picardy*; ſucceſſes which did not at all anſwer the intention of their grand plan. *Francis* was now reduced to vaſt diſtreſs, and *Charles*, who was ſecretly diſſatisfied with the *Engliſh*, liſtened to terms of an accommodation with *Francis*, which was concluded at *Crequi*; the particulars of which, will fall properly under another head of this hiſtory; but the emperor engaged to forward an accommodation between *France* and *England*, which, however, he could not effect, though his mediation was backed by that of the proteſtants.

*Charles*'s league with *England* againſt *France*.

1545. The proteſtants unite againſt the emperor,

The pope now convoked the ſo often mentioned council, to meet in *March*, 1545, and the emperor called another diet at *Worms*, where the proteſtant princes abſolutely refuſed to acknowledge any council, that was held under the pope; upon which the emperor broke up the diet, or rather adjourned it to *Ratiſbon*. The hiſtorians of both parties are far from being agreed, as to the cauſes of the civil war, that followed in *Germany*. Perhaps both were to blame; but it is certain, that the jealouſy the proteſtants entertained againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the paſſion which *Charles* and his brother

brother entertained for its aggrandizement, rather than any religious tenets, (though it muſt be owned they too operated ſtrongly) contributed towards it. *Henry* of *Brunſwic*, who had received levy-money from the *French* king, turned the troops he raiſed by it againſt the proteſtants, who could not be perſuaded, that the emperor himſelf, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions to the contrary, did not ſecretly favour and authorize his proceedings. The landgrave of *Heſſe*, at the head of a proteſtant army, defeated *Henry* and took him priſoner. *Charles* interceded in his favour, and concluded a truce with the *Turks*, but at the ſame time, ordered the proteſtants to lay down their arms, as their danger no longer exiſted. Proceſſes before the *Imperial* courts, were now renewed againſt the proteſtants, to oblige them to give up the church-lands they held. But in 1546, they aſſembled at *Franckfort*, and reſolved to defend themſelves by force, againſt the execution of the *Imperial* decrees. In this reſolution, they were greatly encouraged by the elector *Palatine* joining their confederacy; but their cauſe at this time received a blow, by the death of *Luther*, which happened juſt about the time the council of *Trent* was opened, and at the age of 62. 1546.

*Charles* by this time was 46 years of age, but his conſtitution had been greatly impaired, and perhaps, his natural temper ſoured, by the prodigious toils, both civil and military, which he had undergone. His infirmities had diſabled him from appearing at the diet of *Ratiſbon*, till ſix months after it had been convoked. Perceiving that the proteſtant princes neither appeared in their own perſons, nor ſent deputies to it, he broke out, publicly, into bitter invectives againſt them, and concluded a very advantageous treaty with the pope, for ſuppreſſing them, which produced another, between *France* and *England*, by way of counter-balance. Both parties now prepared for war; *Charles* had obtained of the pope, *Paul* III. 10,000 *Italian* foot, and 500 light horſe; for which he paid him 200,000 crowns for ſix months; but his holineſs granted him at the ſame time, half the church revenues of *Spain*, and gave him leave to mortgage the income of the monaſterial poſſeſſions there, to the amount of 500,000 crowns. *Charles* had likewiſe in *Italy*, an army of veteran *Spaniſh* foot and horſe, the beſt troops then in the world, and he himſelf had abilities, both in peace and war, ſuperior to thoſe of any of the proteſtant chiefs. Before hoſtilities commenced, he publiſhed an artful manifeſto, importing, that he had taken arms againſt the princes of the league of *Smalcald*, not becauſe they were proteſtants, but rebels, by holding unlawful aſſemblies, oppreſſing their fellow ſubjects, and linking themſelves with foreign princes, againſt the *Imperial* authority. The elector of *Saxony*, and landgrave of *Heſſe*, in a counter manifeſto, accuſed *Charles* of tyrannizing over the conſciences of men, and took the field with 70,000 foot, and 15,000 horſe, with 130 pieces of cannon. and take the field,

The reader may eaſily perceive, that *Charles* did not depend, in this war, on his *German* poſſeſſions. That people would not have furniſhed him with the vaſt expences it required, nor durſt the pope have given him leave to mortgage their eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. Notwithſtanding this, he acted with a ſpirit and dignity becoming the head of an empire. He laid the elector of *Saxony*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, under the ban of the empire, and promiſed the elector's dominions to his couſin, *Maurice*, though he was a proteſtant. Having fortified *Ratiſbon*, he took up a ſtrong camp upon the *Iſer*, and being joined by the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* troops, he ſaw himſelf at the head of 45,000 brave well diſciplined ſoldiers.

as does *Charles*,

The elector of *Saxony* had been puſhed by the landgrave, to attack *Charles* before his army was aſſembled, but that elector declined giving umbrage to the elector of *Bavaria*, in whoſe territories both armies were, and who declared, that he would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; upon which they marched to attack *Ratiſbon*. *Charles* had not yet been joined by his *Low Country* troops, and the proteſtants had taken advantage of his inactivity to poſſeſs themſelves of the paſſes of the *Tiroleſe*, from whence they extended themſelves to the *Danube*. Six *Swiſs* regiments ſerved in their army, as did *Philip* of *Brunſwic*, and four of his ſons, three princes of the houſe of *Anhalt*, *George* of *Wirtemburg*, the counts of *Oldenburg*, *Mansfield*, *Ottingen*, *Honneberg*, and *Fruſtemberg*; each at the head of his own regiment, not to mention many other princes, and the proteſtant cities, which likewiſe contributed their quotas, and, in a few days, they were joined by the *Palatine* troops; ſo that upon the whole, the emperor durſt not venture to attack them.

who breaks the proteſtant confederacy,

In the mean while, *Maurice* of *Saxony* declared for the emperor, and the breach widened between the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Heſſe*. *Maurice*, at the head of 10,000 foot and 3000 horſe, took poſſeſſion of the electorate of *Saxony*, where he defeated the electoral troops; and count *de Buren* who commanded the *Imperial* troops, from the *Low Countries*, by a ſoldierlike march, eluded the vigilance of the proteſtants, and joined the *Imperial* camp at *Ingolſtadt*. It is probable, that before this junction, if the proteſtants had vigorouſly attacked *Charles* in his camp, he would have been defeated; but after his army was aſſembled, he took *Neuburg*, and after various marches and counter-marches, he got poſſeſſion of *Donavert*, in a manner, which ſhewed his ſuperiority of ſkill, over the proteſtant generals, who loſt ſeveral opportunities of attacking him with deciſive advantages. Many reaſons may be aſſigned for their miſcarriages, beſides the capital one, the differences between their two commanders in chief. The *Imperial* authority, and the name of *Charles*, were ſtill dreaded in *Germany*. He had intelligence of all their deciſions and deſigns. The great foreign ſupports of the league of *Smalcald*, the kings of *England* and *France*, were now

now dead, and the elector of *Saxony* had been ſtript of his dominions. Towards the end of the year, the princes offered to open conferences for an accommodation, but *Charles* treating them with haughtineſs and ſeverity, the elector of *Saxony* formed connections with the proteſtants of *Bohemia*; but his hopes from them ſoon vaniſhed, by the vigilance and intrigues of the king of the *Romans*. *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, who owed ſo much to the *Saxon* family, was the firſt who deſerted the common cauſe of proteſtantiſm, and the elector *Palatine* purchaſed his peace, by throwing himſelf at the emperor's feet, and eight proteſtant towns withdrew their quotas from the confederacy.

1547. and takes the elector of *Saxony* priſoner.

Notwithſtanding thoſe great defections, the elector of *Saxony*, by means of his *Bohemian* allies, who now openly declared againſt their king *Ferdinand*, ſtill kept the field, and recovered ſome of his dominions. Early in the ſpring, the emperor reſolved to put an end to the war, and marching at the head of all his army from *Egra*, he ſent his *Hungarian* and *Spaniſh* horſe before him, to take poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, that the elector of *Saxony*, who was encamped at *Mulberg* behind the *Elbe*, might have no intelligence of his approach. His vigour and ſecrecy ſucceeded ſo well, that the elector knew nothing of his march, till he ſaw his troops on the other ſide of the river. At firſt he would not believe them to be *Imperialiſts*, but the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers plunged into the ſtream, deſtroyed a bridge of boats made by the elector, and ſwam croſs the river with their ſwords in their mouths. This uncommon intrepidity, daunted the elector ſo much, that he gave orders for a retreat. But the *Imperialiſts* having paſſed the river in boats, part of which they brought along with them in waggons, the emperor ordered him to be purſued by his cavalry, which they did, and overtook him in a wood, called, *d' er Schwainhart*. The elector was then in a poor condition, to fight ſuch an army as *Charles* had with him. He had ſent part of his troops to *Wirtemberg*, and part to *Bohemia*, ſo that he is ſaid to have had with him, not above 10,000 fighting men. Finding it impoſſible to eſcape, he prepared to fight, on the 24th of *April*; but his army was cut in pieces, by that of the *Imperialiſts*, who are ſaid to have loſt no more than 40 men. He himſelf behaved bravely in his own perſon, but being wounded in the cheek, and ſurrounded by his enemies, he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to a *Miſnian* gentleman, one *Thilon Trotte*, who carried him to the duke of *Alva*.

Behaviour of *Charles* towards him.

It is certain, that during this whole war, the emperor behaved with wonderful moderation towards the proteſtants. Two days before the battle, duke *Maurice* generouſly ſent his kinſman, the elector of *Saxony*, an account of *Charles*'s ſtrength, and earneſtly importuned him to ſubmit, as *Charles* was diſpoſed to grant him, even then, very advantageous terms. The elector truſting to the river, rejected his advice with a haughtineſs, that no doubt was offenſive to *Charles*.

When the duke of *Alva* brought the elector into the *Imperial* preſence, *I yield myſelf*, ſaid he, *a captive to your majeſty; but I humbly hope for a priſon ſuitable to my rank. You own me then for emperor!* replied *Charles* with a diſdainful ſmile, *your treatment ſhall be according to your deſert.* In ſaying this he left him, and the king of the *Romans* reproached him with great rudeneſs. Along with the elector, *Erneſt* duke of *Brunſwic* was taken priſoner, and *Charles* ordered a court of juſtice, of which the ſevere duke of *Alva* was appointed preſident, to try the elector, who was there condemned to loſe his head, and to forfeit all his dominions. He was playing at cheſs with *Erneſt* of *Brunſwic* when his ſentence was intimated to him; but before it could be executed, the elector of *Brandenburg* and duke *Maurice* interceded ſo effectually in his favour, that *Charles* conſented to ſpare his life, provided he would renounce the electoral dignity for himſelf and his heirs, and give up the towns of *Wirtemberg* and *Gotha*, with all his conqueſts and alliances. The emperor, on his part, reſtored the duke of *Brunſwic* to his liberty, conſented that duke *Maurice*, on whom the electorate was beſtowed, ſhould pay an annuity of 50,000 crowns to the depoſed elector, who was to reſide in the town of *Gotha*, but a priſoner under an *Imperial* guard. *Sibilla* of *Cleves*, the elector's wife, threw herſelf at the emperor's feet to obtain her huſband's liberty, but *Charles* wholly rejected her ſuit.

His treachery to the landgrave of *Heſſe*, whom he detains in priſon.

Before the battle of *Mulberg*, the pope, who was leſs afraid of the proteſtants than of *Charles*, had withdrawn from him his *Italian* auxiliaries; and after the elector of *Saxony*'s perſon was diſpoſed of, duke *Maurice* and the elector of *Brandenburg* undertook to mediate with *Charles* for the landgrave of *Heſſe*. *Charles*, who was heartily exaſperated at the pope, ſhewed himſelf placable, provided the landgrave would agree to ſuch terms as ſhould diſable him from appearing againſt him in arms for the future. *Charles*, to give the greater weight to this propoſal, which was branched out into a great variety of particulars, and of which the elector of *Brandenburg*, the count *Palatine*, and duke *Maurice* were to be the guarantees, advanced with his army towards *Heſſe*. The landgrave thought proper to ſubmit, and ſigning the treaty (which contained, as he imagined, a clauſe importing that he ſhould not be detained a priſoner) aſked pardon of the emperor on his knees. In the evening he, with the elector of *Brandenburg* and duke *Maurice*, ſupped with the duke of *Alva*, but after ſupper he was given to underſtand that he was under an arreſt. His two friends, who remained with him all night, expoſtulated next day upon this treachery. They denied that the treaty contained any clauſe for the landgrave's liberty, and producing it, it was found that by an infamous perverſion of a ſingle letter in a *German* word, it was made to ſay, that the elector ſhould not remain in perpetual impriſonment, inſtead of importing that he ſhould be confined to no priſon.

The

The two princes reſented this deception, which had been overlooked by the landgrave, and *Charles* was inclined to have ſet him at liberty, had he not been diſſuaded from it by his *Spaniſh* and *Low Country* miniſters. The landgrave ſubmitted without repining, and punctually performed all the terms of the treaty. At the ſucceeding diet at *Augſbourg*, held the firſt of *September*, the princes of the empire, popiſh as well as proteſtant, joined with the landgrave's wife and ſons in their applications for his liberty; but *Charles* was not then to be intimidated by the threats of a diet. He was abſolute maſter in *Germany*, and he plainly told the princes, that perſonal matters ought to have the laſt place in their deliberations, and that the affairs of religion and the internal tranquillity of the empire, ought to have the firſt. He then ordered a project of regulating controverted points of divinity on a certain footing, till a council could be called; and therefore it obtained the name of "ad interim." Among other particulars contained in this project, the proteſtant clergy were permitted to marry, and to adminiſter the ſacrament to the people in both kinds. This ſcheme was received by the princes, or rather obtruded upon them by the elector of *Mentz* as a decree; but its contents were diſpleaſing to both parties.

A new diet at *Augſbourg*.

*Charles* then applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to regulate the courts and adminiſtration of juſtice in the empire, and added ten aſſeſſors to the *Imperial* chamber. To keep duke *Maurice*, who was ſtill importunate for the liberty of his kinſman, quiet, he gave the inveſtiture of the electorate of *Saxony* to him and his heirs in perpetuity, and failing them, to his brother duke *Henry* and his heirs. In all other matters, the diet entirely complied with *Charles*, who introduced many new inſtitutions for the benefit of the empire, and the re-eſtabliſhment of its tranquillity. In particular, he made the faireſt profeſſions to the proteſtants to induce them to ſend deputies to the council, which was to reſume its ſeſſions at *Trent*. *Charles* then ſet out for the *Low Countries*, to meet his ſon *Philip* at *Bruſſels*. He was no ſooner gone, than the proteſtant princes reſumed their courage, complained of the inquiſition which had been erected in the *Low Countries* by *Charles*, through which their trade with thoſe parts was deſtroyed, and entered a formal proteſt againſt the ad interim. *Charles* returning to *Germany*, aboliſhed his *Low Country* inquiſition, and aſſured the diet of *Augſbourg* that all religious differences ſhould be amicably adjuſted at *Trent*. He then diſmiſſed the diet, and went to *Inſpruck*, where the *Saxon*, the *Brandenburg*, the *Daniſh*, and other ambaſſadors renewed their ſolicitations for the landgrave's liberty. *Maurice* of *Saxony* meeting with nothing but evaſive anſwers, reſolved to retrieve his credit with thoſe of his religion, many of whom thought that he held a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor. He knew that *Charles* never could be his hearty friend, and that without diſtinguiſhing himſelf by ſome bold ſtroke, he could

Evaſive conduct of the emperor.

not revive the confidence of the other party. The city of *Magdebourg*, at that time one of the moſt powerful in *Germany*, had refuſed to obey the *Imperial* decrees, for which it was put under the ban of the empire, the execution of which was committed to duke *Maurice*, who ſuffered the *Magdebourgers* to beat the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, but they afterwards ſurrendered their city to him upon capitulation. *Maurice* engaged in his ſervice the troops with which he had reduced *Magdebourg*, entered into a ſecret alliance with *Henry* II. of *France*, the elector, and marquis of *Brandenburg*, the count *Palatine*, and other heads of the proteſtant party, and reſolved to declare againſt *Charles*, who was now intent upon his *Italian* wars, as his brother *Ferdinand* was upon thoſe with the *Turks* in *Hungary*.

The proteſtants take the field againſt him,

When *Maurice* took the field, *Charles* had but few troops in *Germany*, ſo that the former made a moſt rapid progreſs. After taking the city of *Augſbourg* and many other places in *Suabia*, he advanced towards the *Alps* to ſecure their moſt important paſſes againſt the return of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* troops into the empire. *Charles*, aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs of *Maurice*, ſent his brother *Ferdinand* to treat with him. *Maurice* amuſed *Ferdinand* with the hopes of a congreſs at *Augſbourg*, and a fifteen days truce on its meeting; but no ſooner was *Ferdinand* departed to give an account of his negociation to his brother, than he was followed by *Maurice*, who bravely forced the paſſes of the vallies leading to *Inſpruck*, and would have ſeized the perſon of *Charles*, who was ill of a fit of the gout, had he not been carried off in a litter, attended by the depoſed elector of *Saxony* (whom *Charles*, on this occaſion, reſtored to his liberty) and his brother *Ferdinand*. Next day *Maurice* entered *Inſpruck*, and gave up all the effects of the emperor to his ſoldiers. In the mean while, the *French* king reduced *Verden*, *Toul*, *Metz*, *Nanci*, and all *Lorrain*, which he pretended to hold as vicar of the empire, and advanced towards *Haguenau*. The princes of *Germany* were now aſſembled at *Paſſau*, to treat of an accommodation between *Charles* and *Maurice*. The former threatened to ſend to the latter the head of the landgrave, if he ſhould not agree to reaſonable terms. This menace was not loſt, and the famous pacification, known by the name of that of *Paſſau*, and which, in fact, was the baſis of proteſtant liberty, was concluded; the council of *Trent* having diſſolved itſelf upon the approach of *Maurice*. By this pacification, which was concluded on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, 1552, a general amneſty on all ſides was eſtabliſhed; the proteſtants were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and a re-admiſſion to the *Imperial* chamber, from whence they had been excluded ſince their defeat at *Mulberg*. The liberty of the landgrave of *Heſſe* was, at the ſame time, verbally ſtipulated; and after receiving ſome impediments in paſſing through the *Low Countries*, he returned to his own dominions.

and he narrowly eſcapes being ſeized at *Inſpruck*.

1552.

*Germany*

*Germany* was, at this time, in a moſt miſerable ſituation. *Charles* and *Ferdinand* quarrelled about the ſucceſſion to the empire, which *Charles* wanted for his ſon *Philip*, and becauſe *Ferdinand* would not give it up, he required the electors to depoſe him, which they refuſed to do. *Henry* II. of *France*, had ſent to *Maurice* and his confederates 240,000 crowns, which enabled them to lay waſte the lands of their countrymen. *Albert* of *Brandenburg* plundered the *Teutonic* commanderies, and over-run *Suabia*, while the dominions of *Mentz*, *Worms* and *Spire*, were ravaged by the proteſtant confederates, who laid ſiege to *Franckfort* itſelf. *Charles* borrowed 200,000 crowns from the duke of *Florence*, and laid ſiege to *Metz*, but he was, by the duke of *Guiſe*, obliged to raiſe it. The pacification of *Paſſau* having ſecured the proteſtants from their apprehenſions of *Charles*'s power, they united under him againſt the *French* king, and even *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, ſubmitted to his authority. Early this year *Charles* took *Terouenne*, and raſed it to the ground, as he did *Heſdin*, and then he reſigned the command of his army to *Emanuel Philibert*, ſon to the duke of *Savoy*, being intent at that time upon finiſhing the marriage of his ſon *Philip* with queen *Mary* of *England*. *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, the moſt reſtleſs prince of his age, now renewed his ravages upon the *Roman* catholics in ſuch a manner as threatened deſtruction to the empire. The great *Maurice* of *Saxony* took up arms againſt him, and loſt his own life in beating *Albert*, who eſcaped to *Franconia*, from whence he was driven by *Ferdinand*'s troops to *France*, but was admitted as a party in a treaty of truce concluded at *Vaucelles* between the emperor and the *French* king. State of *Germany*. 1553.

A new diet, at this time, was held at *Augſbourg*, by *Ferdinand*, for executing the treaty of *Paſſau*. The debates were carried on with great animoſity, and chiefly turned upon the ſeizures which ſome temporal eſtates had made of eccleſiaſtical revenues; but it was agreed, that no member of either profeſſion ſhould ſuffer for his religion, and that the civil and eccleſiaſtical power ſhould be always conſidered as diſtinct objects. *Charles* began now to form ideas very different from thoſe he had entertained before. His gout and infirmities had afforded him leiſure for reading and reflection, which gave him favourable impreſſions of proteſtantiſm, and he found that his greatneſs had been attended with ſo much trouble and diſquiet, that it was not worth enjoying any longer, and therefore he reſolved to retire from the world. His paſſion for aggrandizing his family ſtill remained with him, and truſting to the capricious diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*, he had conſented to diſhonourable terms of marriage between *Mary* of *England* and his ſon *Philip*, to whom he had reſigned *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Milaneſe*. He had ſeen himſelf out-witted by his brother *Ferdinand*, who kept faſt hold of the ſucceſſion to the empire. One half of *Germany* hated him, the other half did not Another diet at *Augsbourg*. *Charles* abdicates his dominions.

not regard him; the *Spaniards* complained that he exhausted their country of men and riches, in quarrels entirely foreign to their intereſts, and that the riches of the new world were inſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition. His ſubjects of the *Low Countries* conſidered him as a tyrant, who had invaded and attempted to aboliſh their liberties, and upon the whole, he had a moſt uncomfortable proſpect before his eyes, if he did not diveſt himſelf of his power; ſo that his reſignation of his dominions was a meaſure equally dictated by prudence and philoſophy. He aſſembled the ſtates of the *Low Countries* at *Bruſſels*, and there he diveſted himſelf of their ſovereignty, they taking an oath of fidelity to his ſon *Philip*, to whom he ſoon after reſigned the crown of *Spain* and his *American* poſſeſſions. His reſignation of the empire hung long upon his ſpirits. Finding himſelf baffled by *Ferdinand*, he was in hopes that he might be prevailed upon to agree to *Philip*'s being choſen king of the *Romans*; but *Ferdinand* reſolved to continue that dignity in his own family. *Charles* then, after heſitating a year from the time of his abdicating the crown of *Spain*, ſent the prince of *Orange*, *Hilde*, the vice chancellor of the empire, and *Haller*, his ſecretary, as his ambaſſadors to the diet, with a formal reſignation of the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*.

He retires to *Spain*.

*Charles* is now to be conſidered as a private perſon, having reſerved to himſelf only 200,000 crowns a year out of his *Spaniſh* revenues; but he took leave of his greatneſs with unuſual ſplendor. When he left *Bruſſels* to retire to the retreat he had marked out for himſelf in *Spain*, he was attended by five crowned heads; his ſon *Philip*; his ſon-in-law *Maximilian*, king of *Bohemia*; the king of *Tunis*; his two ſiſters, the queens dowager of *France* and *Hungary*; beſides the dukes and dutcheſſes of *Savoy*, *Lorrain*, and *Parma*. He then bade a formal adieu to all his greatneſs, and when he landed at *Loredo* in *Spain*, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground, uttering the moſt edifying expreſſions of humility and affection for that country. At *Valadolid*, to which he was conveyed in a litter, he had an interview with his unfortunate grandſon *Carlos*, prince of *Spain*. From thence he repaired to *Eſtremadura*, where he retired to the cloiſter of *St. Juſtus*, of the order of *St. Jerome*. Here he practiſed all the auſterities of a monaſtic life during two years. He cauſed his obſequies to be celebrated, himſelf aſſiſting at them, lying in the coffin which

His death,

was to receive his body after death; and at laſt died in earneſt, of a gouty fever, in the 58th year of his age. At the time of his death he received the ſacrament in both kinds, a circumſtance which leaves his orthodoxy in the popiſh religion more than queſtionable.

offspring, and

*Charles* married *Iſabella*, daughter of *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, after being betrothed in his nonage to five different princeſſes. By her he had a ſon, *Ferdinand*, who died in his infancy; *Philip* II. his ſucceſſor in the crown of *Spain*; *Mary*, the

the wife of *Maximilian* II. emperor of *Germany*; and *Jane*, who married prince *John* of *Portugal*. His natural children were *Don John* of *Auſtria*, governor of the *Low Countries*; and *Margaret*, who was firſt the wife of *Alexander de Medecis*, duke of *Urbino*; and afterwards of *Octavius Farneſe*, duke of *Parma*. This lady made afterwards a great figure, as governeſs of the *Low Countries*. *Eleanora*, queen dowager of *France*, ſiſter to *Charles*, and his other ſiſter, *Mary*, queen dowager of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, died about the ſame time as *Charles*.

The character of few princes are more hard to be drawn character. than that of *Charles* V. becauſe of the inequalities it contained. Though brave, generous, and politic, his conduct was ſometimes cowardly, mean, and capricious; ſo that he may be ſaid to have been wiſe to no end. He mounted the *Imperial* throne chiefly through his own addreſs and application. While he held his rival, *Francis*, priſoner, he foreſaw and foretold all that afterwards happened, and his behaviour towards him was ſuch as excuſed, if not juſtified, *Francis* in not fulfilling the terms upon which he was ſet at liberty. Had *Charles* treated *Francis* with that noble generoſity which prudence as well as magnanimity dictates, *Francis* muſt have been indefenſible in his conduct towards him. Though it is evident, from various tranſactions of *Charles*'s reign in *Germany*, that he favoured the proteſtants in his heart, yet he was ſo much ſoured by religious altercations, that he attempted to extinguiſh them in the *Low Countries*, by erecting a *Roman* catholic inquiſition there. *Charles* purſued even his moſt upright meaſures by dark and indirect means, and was generally indeciſive in his moſt important concerns, through that diſtruſt which always hung about him. He was ſparing, even to a fault, of expences upon his own perſon; but was liberal towards all his faithful miniſters and able ſervants. His patience under bodily infirmities, and his temperance, were exemplary. He was not unacquainted with the *Latin* language, but ſpoke the *Flemiſh*, *German*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Italian* with fluency. His affection towards his relations was laudable, and he ſupported the cauſe of his aunt *Catherine*, queen of *England*, with great firmneſs and dignity. His punctuality to his word was exemplified in many caſes, eſpecially in his beſtowing the electorate of *Saxony* upon duke *Maurice*, though a declared proteſtant. But even this inſtance of his generoſity was tarniſhed by his meanneſs towards the landgrave of *Heſſe*, which had almoſt coſt him his liberty and empire. *Charles* V. in his perſon, had a pleaſing aſpect; his noſe was aquiline; he wore his hair ſhort, and excepting on days of ceremony, he had nothing about his dreſs that could diſtinguiſh him from a gentleman of midling fortune. That he was a good judge of mankind, appears from his choice of generals and miniſters; and though he is accuſed of a partiality towards the *Spaniards* and the *Flemings*, yet we ought to conſider

ſider, that his ſituations, and the circumſtances of the time were ſuch as rendered it improper, if not dangerous, for him to employ the *Germans*; among whom the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the elector *Maurice* of *Saxony*, were the moſt illuſtrious and moſt capable of ſerving him, had they not been proteſtants.

## CHAP. XLII.

### FERDINAND *the firſt.*

He is ſucceeded by his brother *Ferdinand*.

THIS prince was a native of *Spain*, and his brother is ſaid to have removed him to *Germany* when young, becauſe the *Spaniards* affected him more than they did *Charles* himſelf, who, to them, was a foreigner. At the time of his acceſſion to the empire, he was in his own right poſſeſſed of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and had great experience in government; but we are told, that through the intrigues of the pope, all the public acts paſſed in the name of *Charles*, during the latter's ſhort ſurvivancy of his abdication. When *Ferdinand* was married to *Anne* of *Hungary*, *Charles* very impolitically made over to him all his hereditary dominions in *Germany*, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the pope, he was unanimouſly choſen emperor by the electors at *Franckfort*. He ſent an ambaſſador to *Rome*, who was ordered to inſiſt upon the pope's recognizing his right, and if refuſed, to enter a proteſt and take his leave of *Rome*; but *Pius* IV. ſucceeding to the pontificate, joined with the other princes of *Europe* in acknowledging the validity of *Ferdinand*'s election. His firſt meaſure was to call a diet at *Augſburg* for confirming the peace of the empire, and the pope was in ſome meaſure forced to re-aſſemble the council of *Trent*, that he might quiet the murmurs and remonſtrances of the *Roman* catholic princes all over *Europe*.

State of proteſtantiſm in *Germany*.

When the bull for that purpoſe was publiſhed, the proteſtant princes aſſembled at *Naumburg* in *Saxony*, at which place the pope's nuncios were received with great civility, but were ſoon informed that they diſclaimed all relation to him as his ſons, and all the authority he aſſumed in either convoking or preſiding at a council, which belonged to their ſovereign the emperor of *Rome*. *Ferdinand*, who was far from being pleaſed with the pope, did not oppoſe their reſolutions, but ſummoned a diet at *Franckfort*, where they continued firm to their principles. *Ferdinand* very plauſibly ordered an inſtrument to be drawn up, addreſſed to the pope, for a reformation in the morals and doctrines of eccleſiaſtics, and in this he was joined by the *French* king. His holineſs thought that they carried the matter with too high a hand, and pretending that the reformation belonged ſolely to him, refuſed to give them any ſatisfaction.

satisfaction. *Ferdinand*, by the advice of the soundest *German Roman* catholic divines, importuned the pope to allow the people liberty of taking the sacrament in both kinds, and priests to marry; but neither of those requests were granted. *Ferdinand* having succeeded in procuring his son *Maximilian* to be chosen king of the *Romans* at the diet at *Franckfort*, died of a dropsy the 26th of *July*, 1564, in the 61st year of his age. *Ferdinand's* death, 1564.

This emperor married *Elizabeth Anne*, the heiress of *Ulaissue, and dislaus*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and by her he had issue four sons, *Maximilian* II. who succeeded him in the empire; *Ferdinand* II. *John*, who died in his nonage; and archduke *Charles*; besides eleven daughters, *viz. Elizabeth*, wife of *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*; *Anne*, wife of *Albert*, duke of *Bavaria*; *Magdalen*, a nun; *Catherine*, the wife, first, of *Frederic*, duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards of *Sigismund* II. king of *Poland*; *Margaret*, *Magdalen*, and *Helen*, who had no issue; *Barba*, the wife of *Alphonso* II. duke of *Ferrara*; *Jane*, whose husband was *Francis Medecis*, duke of *Florence*; *Eleanor*, who was married first to *William*, duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards to *Sigismund Augustus*, king of *Poland*; and *Mary*, the wife of *William*, duke of *Juliers*.

*Ferdinand*, in his character, was more amiable than his character. brother *Charles*. He was strictly attached to his word and promise, and though bigotted to the *Roman* catholic religion, he never endeavoured to propagate it by force. When he died he was at peace with the *Turks*, and his last will imported, that if either his own male issue, or that of his brother *Charles*'s should fail, his *Austrian* estates should revert to his second daughter, *Anne*, wife to the elector of *Bavaria*, and her issue. The guarding against that event produced the famous pragmatic sanction, but it happened through the death of *Charles* VI. emperor of *Germany*, in whose person *Ferdinand*'s male issue was extinct. The daughter of *Charles* VI. claimed the succession under the pragmatic sanction, the house of *Bavaria* opposed it under *Ferdinand*'s will, and obtained the empire; but the princes of *Europe* and *Germany*, who were guarantees for that sanction, asserted and made good the rights of *Mary Theresa*, daughter of *Charles* VI, whose husband now fills the *Imperial* throne, and whose eldest son is to inherit that dignity, and all the *Austrian* possessions.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XLIII.

## MAXIMILIAN *the ſecond.*

1565. Accompliſhments of *Maximilian* II.

THE reputation of this prince, before he came to the *Imperial* throne, was very high. He had been unanimouſly elected king of the *Romans*, and had gone through many great offices, both civil and military, with applauſe. He was, at the time of his acceſſion, thirty-ſeven years of age, and his natural talents for government were aſſiſted by his acquaintance with the *Latin*, *German*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *Sclavonian* languages. His diſpoſitions were pacific, and in matters of religion he was moderate. Having compoſed ſome differences between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and his brother *Ulric*, concerning the poſſeſſion of the town of *Roſtock*, which they had lately reduced, he ſent an army, under his general *Lazarus Schuendi*, againſt *Sigiſmund*, prince of *Tranſilvania*, who had uſurped the title of king of *Hungary*, and whom *Schuendi* might have totally ſubdued had he not been under the protection of *Solyman* the *Turkiſh* emperor; who in a manner obliged *Maximilian* to accommodate matters with *Sigiſmund*. Next year a diet was held at *Augſburg* for ſtrengthening the good underſtanding between the proteſtant and *Roman* catholic parties, and for curbing certain ſectaries who were enemies to both, and likewiſe for providing againſt the power of the *Turks*, and for many other civil regulations. After the duke of *Bavaria* had laid thoſe matters before the diet, the elector *Palatine* was pointed out as a ſectary; but he cleared himſelf, by declaring his belief in the bible, and the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, and conſequently that he was a ſound proteſtant. This charge was one of the acts made uſe of by the pope's nuncio, who aſſiſted at the diet, to divide the proteſtants. The *Roman* catholic part of *Germany*, at this time, acknowledged the council of *Trent*, but communicated under both kinds. Pope *Pius* V. could not bear thoſe innovations, as he called them, and he threatened the aſſembly with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if they proceeded upon religious points, and even ventured ſo far as to threaten to excommunicate and depoſe the emperor, if he encouraged them. But the times were now paſt for papal menaces to have any effect with temporal princes.

Ger. Hi. Fa. Chr.

By the accommodation between the emperor *Charles* V. and the old elector of *Saxony*, that prince kept poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of *Gotha*, where he protected one *Grombach*, who had been put to the ban of the empire, for murdering the biſhop of *Wurtzbourg*. The emperor and the diet laid hold of this opportunity, to ſubdue the duke of *Saxony*, who they thought intended to attempt the recovery of his family dominions, and on pretence of his protecting rebels and outlaws.

laws, an army was ſent againſt him, under the elector of *Saxony*, to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions. The elector accordingly beſieged *Gotha*, which he took, and puniſhed *Grombach* and all his accomplices, with various kinds of death; the unfortunate duke *John-Frederic* was ſent a captive to the emperor, who condemned him to perpetual impriſonment, and the fortifications of the place were razed to the ground. and razed to the ground.

During thoſe internal broils of the empire, *Solyman* the *Turkiſh* emperor fell into *Hungary* at the head of 200,000 men, and beſieged *Zighet*, which was bravely defended by the famous count *Serini*. *Maximilian*, by the aſſiſtance he received from the diet, was at the head of 80,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe, a force which, if properly exerted, might have ſubdued the *Turks*; but though *Solyman* died before the place, and the *Turks* were thereby thrown into the greateſt conſternation, he durſt not hazard a battle; ſo that *Serini* was killed in a noble ſally he made, and *Zighet* was taken. The *Turkiſh* vizier ſent *Serini*'s head to *Maximilian* with a meſſage, that the *German* emperor ought to have hazarded his own head to have preſerved that of *Serini*. But though *Maximilian* ſuffered in his military character by this campaign, he fortified the chief towns of *Hungary* in ſuch a manner, that *Selim*, the ſucceeding *Turkiſh* emperor, thought proper to conclude a truce with him for twelve years, each retaining the towns and territories he poſſeſſed. The affairs of the *Low Countries*, through the haughtineſs and cruelty of the *Spaniſh* branch of the houſe of *Auſtria*, were in the utmoſt confuſion, as were likewiſe thoſe of *France*, through the differences between the *Roman* catholics and the *Hugonots*, which laſt were aſſiſted by the elector *Palatine*. *Maximilian* was afraid, that thoſe diſorders might affect the internal peace of the empire, and aſſembled a diet at *Fulda*. There, ſeveral wiſe regulations were made for preſerving the public tranquillity; but the proteſtants of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, demanded the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the confeſſion of *Augſbourg*. The diet gave *Roman* months, or ſubſidies, to *Maximilian*, ſufficient to keep his armies on foot for three years; but he thought fit to indulge the *Auſtrian* and other proteſtants in their demands; and applied himſelf to accommodate matters between the elector and citizens of *Triers*, who differed about the extent of their reſpective privileges. The elector had beſieged the city; but the emperor and the princes interpoſed ſo effectually, that he was admitted into the ſame, and their differences were referred to *Maximilian* and the diet. From the ſame deſire of peace, he ſent his brother *Charles* to perſuade *Philip* II. of *Spain*, to recall the rigorous cruel orders he had given to his miniſters and generals in the *Low Countries*, and foretold what afterwards happened, that great part of his ſubjects there would revolt. It was owing to this moderation and lenity in *Maximilian*, that the *German Roman* catholic princes did not aſſiſt *Charles* IX. of *France*, againſt his pro-

Progreſs of the *Turks*.

Diet of *Fulda*.

teſtant

teſtant ſubjects; and this furniſhed *Charles* with a pretence for not joining with the league againſt the *Turks*, previous to their overthrow at *Lepanto*. As to *Maximilian*, he adhered to the truce, but wiſely availed himſelf of the blow the infidels had received, by fortifying his poſſeſſions in *Hungary*. He, at the ſame time, prevailed upon *Sigiſmund* prince of *Tranſylvania* to renounce the crown of *Hungary*, and concluded a peace with him, which was renewed by *Stephen Bathori*, who, upon *Sigiſmund*'s death, ſucceeded him.

*Maximilian* a candidate for the crown of *Poland*.

A vacancy happening in the crown of *Poland*, *Maximilian* offered his ſecond ſon *Charles*, as a candidate. His family-right to the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, had been by this time acknowledged, and his ſon *Rodolph* had been elected king of the *Romans*; ſo that the *German* branch of the houſe of *Auſtria* was now ſo formidable, that the *Poliſh* election terminated in favour of *Henry de Valois*, brother to the *French* king. It muſt be confeſſed, that at this time, the proteſtants of *Germany* were not ſo moderate as the *Roman* catholics. Notwithſtanding *Maximilian*'s earneſt endeavours to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of the empire, the proteſtants ſtill continued to aſſiſt the *Hugonots*, and *William* prince of *Orange*, the founder of the *Dutch* republic, openly levied ſoldiers in *Germany* to ſupport the revolt in the *Low Countries*, againſt *Philip* of *Spain*, who required *Maximilian* to deliver him up. *Maximilian*, inſtead of complying, remonſtrated with *Philip* upon the barbarity and folly of driving his *Low Country* ſubjects to deſpair; but all was to no purpoſe, and at laſt *Maximilian* referred him to the *Imperial* diet. The ſtate of affairs in the empire, did not a little contribute towards *Maximilian*'s moderate principles. The biſhop of *Magdebourg*, who was of the old houſe of *Saxony*, embraced the reformed religion, as did the biſhop of *Verdun*, the *Brandenburghers*, the *Brunſwickers*, the *Palatines*, with their reſpective maſters, not to mention the *Mecklenburghers*, and many other powerful ſtates, and above all, the proteſtant part of *Maximilian*'s hereditary dominions. In ſhort, they were in a condition to have forced from him the indulgences he granted them, and the doctrine of reſiſtance, and free exerciſe of conſcience, were capital points of their religion. Upon the death of *Charles* IX. the throne of *Poland* became again vacant, by its king mounting that of *France*. *Maximilian* now declared himſelf a candidate, but the *Poles* and the *Turks* eſpouſed the cauſe of *Stephen Bathori*. The vaſt advantage accruing to *Poland* by having at its head a powerful prince like *Maximilian*, capable of reſiſting the *Turks*, prevailed with a majority of the ſenate to chuſe him king, and he was actually proclaimed at *Geſna*. He had been oppoſed by *John Baſilowitz*, the great duke of *Muſcovy*, who offered to give him his intereſt againſt *Bathori*, but the general inclination of the *Poles* being for the latter, they agreed to elect him king, on

Progreſs of proteſtantiſm in the empire.

condition of his marrying *Anne*, ſiſter of the late *Sigiſmund*, and the laſt of the *Jagellon* family.

*Maximilian* notwithſtanding this, prepared to make his pretenſions good, and the great duke of *Muſcovy* to aſſiſt him, in hopes of his recovering *Livonia*, which partly belonged to the king of *Denmark*, and partly to *Maximilian*. The family affairs of the latter were at this time ſettled entirely to his ſatisfaction; and his ſon *Rodolph* had been crowned king of *Bohemia* at *Prague*, and he probably would have ſucceeded in engaging the princes of the empire, to ſupport his election to the crown of *Poland*, had he not died in the 49th year of his age, in the year 1576. *Maximilian*'s wife was *Mary*, daughter to the emperor, *Charles* V. By her he had *Rodolph*, *Erneſt*, *Matthias*, *Maximilian*, *Albert*, who was a cardinal, *Wenceſlaus*, and *Ferdinand*; beſides three ſons who died in his lifetime; together with five daughters, *Anne*, who was married to *Philip* II. of *Spain*; *Elizabeth*, wife of *Charles* IX. of *France*, and three others who died young. *Maximilian*'s death, 1576. iſſue, and character.

By all accounts, *Maximilian* II. was in his temper, affable, juſt and gentle. He diſcouraged immorality and luxury in his court, and he was ſo plain in his dreſs, that he is ſaid never to have bought a jewel for his own perſon. He was punctual to exceſs in the regulation of his time, and was a pattern of paternal and conjugal happineſs, having lived with the utmoſt harmony with his empreſs *Anne*, twenty nine years.

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## CHAP. XLIV.

### RODOLPH *the ſecond.*

Acceſſion of *Rodolph*.

IT is uncertain, whether the ſuperiority of the *Low Countries*, which had now revolted from *Spain*, did not of right belong to the *Germanic* empire; and when *Rodolph* ſucceeded his father, which he did when he was but 24 years of age, many ſerious diſcourſes on that head were held among the princes of the empire. The proteſtants, to a man, hated the pride and tyranny of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, and were diſpoſed to have taken the revolters into their protection. The prince of *Orange* knew how neceſſary it was for them to have at their head a powerful prince, and he and they invited the archduke *Matthias*, who, young as he was, had given great ſpecimens of his capacity, to accept of the government of their provinces, which, by the approbation of the emperor, he did. The jealouſy which the proteſtants in general had of *Rodolph*, and the princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, ſoon removed him from his command, in a manner, which does not fall within this part of our hiſtory to deſcribe. *Rodolph*, in matters of religion, had not the gentleneſs and moderation of his father.

Affairs of the *Low Countries.*

He laboured to abridge such of his hereditary subjects, as were protestants, of their privileges, on pretence of their having outstretched them; and he endeavoured, by his ambassadors, to persuade the revolters in the *Low Countries* again to submit to *Philip*. They, on the other hand, were in hopes of engaging the diet of *Worms* in their favour, and sent thither a deputy, *Philip de Marnix*, who represented the inhuman tyrannies, perfidies and cruelties of the *Spanish* government. But all was to no purpose, the whole weight of the house of *Austria* was against them, as were all the ecclesiastic electors; nor did the protestants chuse to assist the duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* king, who was then at the head of the revolters, and was a rigid *Roman* catholic. *Marnix* failure in his solicitation, laid the foundation of the generous assistance, which *Elizabeth* of *England* at this time gave to those distressed states.

The archbishop of *Cologne* turns protestant.

In a succeeding diet at *Worms*, deputies arrived from the famous *Gebhard Trusches* archbishop and elector of *Cologne*, who had professed himself a protestant, demanding, that liberty of conscience should be extended to his electorate likewise. While the princes of the diet were deliberating upon this request, it was strongly opposed by the magistrates and chapter of *Cologne*, who saw themselves in danger of falling under the power of a protestant elector. This opposition irritated *Trusches* so much, that being favoured by certain protestant princes, he took arms, proclaimed by his own authority liberty of conscience to his subjects, and not only made himself master of the city of *Bonn*, but plundered the ecclesiastical treasury in the castle of *Breulle*. After those exploits, he publicly married the beautiful *Agnes*, canoness of *Gurisbim*, and daughter of *John George* count of *Mansfield*. The court of *Rome* at first employed lenitives to reclaim him; but those failing, he was excommunicated and deposed, and *Ernest*, son to the duke of *Bavaria*, was nominated to succeed him. Though the pope could depose the archbishop, he could not the elector; for the *Imperial* authority must co-operate for that. *Ernest* procured some of his father's troops, and being joined by a body of *Imperialists*, he drove *Trusches*, who seems not to have been vigorously supported by the protestants, into *Holland*; by which *Ernest* obtained the investiture of the archbishopric and electorate.

Diet of the empire.

The *Turkish* emperor at this time, was *Amurath* or *Morad* III. and he had prolonged the truce with *Rodolph* for eight years. Notwithstanding this, a body of 10,000 infidels broke into the *Imperial* hereditary dominions, where they committed great ravages, till they were utterly defeated by *Rodolph*, brother to the archduke *Ernest*. *Maximilian*, another of *Rodolph*'s brothers, upon the death of *Stephen Bathori*, was elected king of *Poland*, by one part of the nobility, while another chose *Sigismund*, son to the king of *Sweden*. Both parties appealing to arms, *Maximilian* was defeated,

feated, and made prisoner by his antagonist, nor did he regain his freedom, till he renounced all claim to the crown of *Poland*. All this while, the *Turks*, regardless of the truce, were ravaging *Hungary* and the *Imperial* territories; but received, as the reader will find in our *Turkish* history, repeated, and sometimes very bloody defeats from the *Germans*. The expence of this war falling heavy upon the emperor's hereditary dominions, he called a diet at *Ratisbon*, where the princes gave him a subsidy of three *Roman* months, and he in requital, consented to many excellent regulations in the courts of justice, and the constitutions of the empire. Great applications were made, by the two parties who were at war in the *Low Countries*, to this diet, but the members declined having any concern in the quarrel, farther than by employing their good offices, for bringing about an accommodation. This resolution was transmitted to archbishop *Ernest*, the governor-general of the *Low Countries*, but that prince's death, which happened next year, prevented its having any effect.

The heads of the *German* and *Ottoman* empires, were now chiefly intent upon *Hungary*, where the war was carried on, as usual, with various success, but in the year 1596, *Mahomet* III. became master of *Agria*. This was followed by a bloody but indecisive battle, between the infidels and the *Imperialists*, to the advantage of the latter, who were commanded by the archduke *Maximilian*. The emperor *Rodolph*, was all this while leading a life of indolence, and amusing himself with studies, that were at once unprincely and unprofitable. The internal affairs of *Germany* thereby grew into great disorder. One part of the *Strasbourghers* had nominated a protestant, *John George* of *Brandenburg*, for their bishop; and the popish part, the cardinal of *Lorrain*. Both had recourse to arms. The cardinal brought 10,000 men into the field, and the protestants were supported by the cantons of *Bern*, *Zurich*, and *Basil*, and a prince of *Anhalt*. After much bloodshed, the cardinal of *Lorrain* purchased the bishopric from *John George*, for 130,000 ducats. It is remarkable that during this dispute, neither party paid any regard to the authority of the emperor, who had issued a commission for his brother, the archduke *Ferdinand*, to end it. The expences of the *Turkish* war at this time were so immoderate, that *Rodolph* was obliged to order begging boxes through all the churches of the empire, while he himself was amassing most exorbitant wealth for his private purposes. The *German* soldiers, though but poorly paid by those casual contributions, served against the infidels with vast courage, but were sometimes so distressed for the necessaries of life, that they plundered their countrymen. About this time, one of the emperor's brothers, cardinal *Albert*, who made little or no figure in the world, was appointed governor of the *Spanish*

1596. Contest about the bishopric of *Strasbourg*.

*Low Countries*, where he acted with great vigour and success against the *French*.

1597. The year 1597, besides the continuance of the *Turkish* war, was distinguished by an insurrection in *Austria*, where the inhabitants were miserably harrassed by the *Imperial* troops. This might have proved fatal to the empire, had not a mutiny among the janizaries prevented the infidels from making any advantage of it. Happily for the empire, *Sigismund Bathori* deserted the *Turkish* interest, for that of the *Imperialists*, and archduke *Maximilian* was made governor of *Transylvania*, which *Sigismund* had ceded for other territories in *Silesia*, and he farther agreed, to do homage to the emperor, to marry one of his neices, and that all his estates, if he should die without male issue, should revert to the house of *Austria*. It was not long before *Bathori* repented of his bargain, and returned to *Transylvania*, where the inhabitants were infinitely more afraid of an *Austrian* than an *Othman* yoke, and received him with joy; so that he retook possession of his dominions, and affected to govern as an independent prince. The *Turks* were all this while carrying on the war, though with great disadvantage to themselves, in *Hungary*, where they were beaten by the duke *de Mercœur*, the *Imperial* general. During those transactions, the inconstant *Stephen Bathori*, made a new cession of his dominions to his cousin, cardinal *Andrew Bathori*, who put himself under the protection of the *Turks*; but he was defeated and killed by the *Imperialists*, while *Stephen* fled to *Poland*. This catastrophe gave an opportunity for a *Hungarian Calvinist* nobleman, one *Stephen Botskay*, with the assistance of the *Turks*, to lay claim to *Transylvania*, and *Bathori*'s *Hungarian* states. His success was so great,

Affairs of *Transylvania*.

1599. that in 1599, the emperor was obliged to set on foot a negotiation with him, and such of the states of *Hungary* as acknowledged him. It was agreed, that *Botskay*, during his life, should remain prince of *Transylvania*, and that the protestants should be tolerated equally with the papists all over *Hungary*; and that though the archduke *Matthias* might be chosen governor of that kingdom, yet all posts of trust and profit should be vested in the natives. This year *Wirtemberg* ceased to be a fief of the *Austrian* estates, but it was stipulated, that if the duke should have no heirs, it should return to the house of *Austria*, and to be still held of the empire.

The three first years of the sixteenth century, were spent in *Germany*, *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, in a vicissitude of wars

1601. and negotiations. In 1601, *Sigismund Bathori*, who was despised by the *Turks*, again entered *Transylvania*, but being beaten by the *Imperialists*, he was forced to surrender himself to the house of *Austria*, and was sent to spend the remainder of his days as a private man, upon the revenues of a small estate in *Bohemia*. Some revolutions which happened at this time in *Constantinople*, gave the *German* empire a respite, and the crown of *France* renewed to the old *Hanse* towns, all

all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed in that country. The city They united in aſſiſting the inhabitants of *Bruſwic*, a free of *Bruſ-* *Imperial* town, to defend themſelves againſt their duke, and *wic* de- while they kept by one another they were too powerful on fends it- the whole, to be intimidated by any one prince of the empire, ſelf againſt or even by the emperor himſelf. Happily for the princes of its duke. the empire, their power on the one hand, the dread of *France* on the other, and above all, the progreſs of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, left *Rodolph* no leiſure, had he ſo intended, to extend 1606. the *Imperial* prerogative. In 1606, a peace which had been ſet on foot with the *Turks* two years before, was concluded for twenty years, on the moſt amicable terms; and the agreement we have already mentioned to have been made with *Botſckay* the prince of *Tranſylvania*, was confirmed. While this peace was in agitation, the *Sophy* of *Perſia* ſent an ambaſſador to diſſuade *Rodolph* from concluding it, but to no purpoſe. After this, the ſtates of *Hungary* aſſembled at *Preſburg*, and choſe the archduke *Matthias* their governor, according to the terms of the *Tranſylvanian* treaty. They were principally induced to this by a jealouſy they entertained, that *Rodolph* and ſome princes of his houſe, whoſe ſucceſſion to the *Hungarian* crown he intended to favour, were too much under the influence of the *Jeſuits*, the moſt deteſted enemies of the proteſtants.

*Matthias* choſen king of *Hungary*.

The *Hungarians* knew their own power, and imagining they had found a patron and protector in *Matthias*, they choſe him king, upon his ſwearing, to confirm them their civil and religious liberties, and above all, the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, which moſt of them had embraced. The proteſtants of *Bohemia*, who likewiſe were very numerous, thought this to be a favourable opportunity, to ſecure to themſelves the ſame indulgences, and they invited *Matthias* to repair to their country, and gave him hopes at the ſame time, that the ſtates would give him their crown; nor were thoſe of *Auſtria* wanting in the ſame intimation. *Rodolph* was then aged, infirm, and ſunk in indolence. He never had been married; there was now no proſpect of his having iſſue, and he had rendered himſelf contemptible in the empire and the neighbouring ſtates. *Matthias* aſſembled his army, and marching ſuddenly into *Auſtria*, he ſeized great part of that province, that he might facilitate his deſign upon *Bohemia*. Mean while, the princes of the empire, perceiving their country on the brink of being involved in a bloody civil war, offered their mediation between the two brothers. After ſome negotiations it was agreed by a treaty, made at *Prague*, that *Matthias* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, and have the reverſion of the crown of *Bohemia*, if *Rodolph* ſhould die without male iſſue. This treaty being concluded, *Matthias* entered *Vienna*, where he exerciſed all acts of ſovereignty, and ratified the peace that had been made with the *Turks*. After this he returned to *Hungary*, where he confirm-

ed to the nobles all the privileges that had been ſtipulated to them by his act of election. Thoſe tranſactions were far from being agreeable to *Rodolph*, who waked from his lethargy juſt at the time he ſaw the *Imperial* ſceptre ready to depart from his hand, into that of his brother *Matthias*. He diſavowed the treaty of *Prague*; he gave up the biſhopric of *Paſſau* to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who ravaged *Bohemia*.

Difference between him and the emperor his brother.

An open breach was now declared, between the two heads of the *German* houſe of *Auſtria*. Each prince endeavoured to get the proteſtants on his ſide; but *Rodolph* was ſo much exaſperated, that he had thoughts of making an *Auſtrian* archduke of *Gratz*, king of the *Romans*. *Matthias* complained bitterly of this, and *Rodolph*, to bring the proteſtants over to his intereſt, iſſued letters patent, by which liberty of conſcience was to be granted to them, and they were allowed to build churches and ſchools upon their own eſtates, even without the allowance of their lords paramount. Thoſe indulgences, however, being confined to the proteſtants of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*, thoſe of other parts of the empire applied for the like. *Rodolph*, who had narrow confined notions, gave them a refuſal, which laid the foundation of that famous proteſtant league, called the *Evangelic Union*. This aſſociation was firſt formed by the elector *Palatine*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, the marquiſſes of *Anſpach*, and *Baden Dourlach*, the prince of *Anhalt*, with almoſt all the other proteſtant ſtates and cities in the empire, and the elector *Palatine* was choſen its head. An alliance like this, naturally produced a counterbalance amongſt the catholic princes; the three eccleſiaſtical electors, the duke of *Bavaria*, who was choſen head of the league, and the princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The biſhop of *Saltzbourg*, with many other princes and prelates, entered into the aſſociation, which obtained the name of the *Catholic League*, and reſerved room for foreign *Roman* catholic princes and ſtates to accede to it.

The catholic league formed.

Thoſe proceedings were greatly influenced by a vacancy of ſucceſſion to the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. Their laſt duke, *John William*, had died without iſſue, and the heirs of his four ſiſters claimed his ſucceſſion. The principal competitors were, *John Sigiſmund* duke of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Neuburg*, both of them proteſtants. The other competitors were, the deſcendants of *John-Frederic* of *Saxony*, the antient elector, the duke of *Deux Ponts*, *Charles* of *Auſtria* marquiſs of *Burgau*, beſides ſeveral others, whoſe claims were too diſtant to be mentioned here. All *Germany* was ſoon filled with their manifeſtoes, and each party propoſed to ſupport his claim by the ſword. Inſtances were not wanting of emperors diſpoſing of *Imperial* fiefs, without regard to the rights of ſucceſſion, when heirs male were wanting, and *Rodolph* publiſhed a laboured manifeſto, to prove that by the conſtitutions of the empire, all the competitors ought to appear in his court, and to wait for his determination;

tion; but in the mean while, he inſiſted upon the fiefs being ſequeſtered. Though this manifeſto was founded on the antient conſtitution of the empire, and though the emperor had given duke *Leopold* of *Auſtria* the commiſſion of ſequeſtration, yet the proteſtant princes reſolved to maintain the rights of deſcent. The marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Neuburg*, applied to the *French* king, who promiſed to give them his protection, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, having offered them his mediation, they took upon themſelves the joint adminiſtration of the dutchy of *Cleves*, to which they were admitted by the ſtates ſitting at *Duſſeldorp*, while *Leopold* of *Auſtria* held poſſeſſion of the countries on this ſide the *Rhine*. The court of *Vienna*, on this occaſion, proceeded in an arbitrary and ſuſpicious manner, and publiſhed edicts inflicting the penalties of treaſon, upon all who ſhould oppoſe the commiſſion of ſequeſtration. Hoſtilities now commencing, *Henry* IV. of *France*, thought that to be a proper juncture for humbling the pride and power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and for carrying into execution the great plan, which he had formed for the partition of power in *Europe*. He raiſed a formidable army; but before he could put it in motion, he was aſſaſſinated by an enthuſiaſt in the heart of his own capital, becauſe it was thought he was going to fight againſt the *Roman* catholic intereſt. After his death, his troops took part with the houſes of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, and drove the duke *Leopold* out of *Juliers*.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion to *Juliers* and

This diſpute was not the only one in *Germany*, in which religion was concerned. The proteſtants of *Donawert* drove the *Roman* catholics out of their city, which was, however, taken by the elector of *Bavaria*. But the *Suabian* proteſtants reſolved to lay their hardſhips and oppreſſions before an aſſembly of the princes of the Evangelical Union at *Hall*, who promiſed them protection and relief. This occaſioned the emperor to convoke a diet at *Wirſburg*, and appearances were ſuch, as if the flames of war would ſoon be communicated to all *Europe*. Another diet was called at *Prague*, where a reconciliation was propoſed, between the emperor and his brother *Matthias*, and that an accommodation ſhould take place in all other diſputes of the empire. The elector of *Bavaria* was injoined to reſtore the people of *Donawert* to their privileges. Among the other competitors for the conteſted dutchies, the elector of *Saxony* now began to make a great figure. He was the deſcendant of the elector *John Frederic*, by *Sibilla* of *Cleves*, the aunt of *John-William* late duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. The emperor propoſed, that thoſe dutchies ſhould be inveſted in him, which they accordingly were. An accommodation was propoſed, and many princes of the empire, with the ambaſſadors of *England* and *France*, met firſt at *Cologne*, and afterwards near *Leipſic*, for that purpoſe. After many debates, a treaty of partition was agreed upon by the two electors, but rejected by the duke of *Neu-*

and between the *German* proteſtants and the *Roman* catholics.

*burg*. Thoſe differences were greatly heightened by the puſillanimity of the emperor. His indolence had thrown him into the moſt deſpicable habits, ſo that he had neither the ſpirit nor power to aſſert his own authority. He had been obliged to reſign the kingdom of *Bohemia* to his brother *Matthias*,
1611. who was crowned at *Prague*, in the year 1611, and who confirmed the *Bohemian* proteſtants in all their privileges. He then called a diet at *Nuremberg*, for the election of the king of the *Romans*. The princes met in very bad humour, and demanded a new regulation of the courts of juſtice, and a total change of the *Imperial* miniſtry. The houſe of *Auſtria*, however, though hated, was dreaded, and the ſtate of the empire with regard to the *Turks* and *France* required a head of that family, and the diet deſired to know from the emperor, the name of the prince he intended for his ſucceſſor.

A diet called at *Nuremberg*.

The electors thought this an invaſion of their rights, and another diet met at *Frankfort*, but in the mean while the emperor died of a ſwelling in his legs, contracted by his ſedentary habits, in the 59th year of his age, and 36th of his reign. He deceived the good opinion mankind had conceived of him, at the time of his acceſſion, and he was much better fitted to be the maſter of a private fortune, than the head of a great empire. Chemiſtry was his great delight, he had a ſtrong turn for the mechanical arts, and if he ventured abroad it was to ſee his ſtud of horſes, of which he was ſo fond, that he is ſaid to have ſtole to his ſtables ſometimes in the habit of a groom. But notwithſtanding his perſonal failings, he kept *Germany* in an uncommon ſtate of tranquillity before he grew contemptible, and ſuffered himſelf to be inſulted by the princes of his houſe. Conſidering his avarice, it is ſurprizing that the *Turks* made no greater progreſs than they did in *Hungary*, but the fourteen millions of crowns which he left in his cabinet, might have driven them out of that kingdom. During his reſidence at *Prague*, the celebrated philoſopher, *Tycho Brache*, took refuge in that city, and became intimate with *Rodolph*. *Tycho* is ſaid to have been fond of judicial aſtrology, and to have infected the emperor with the like weakneſs, which rendered him ſuperſtitious, reſerved and diſtruſtful; ſo that towards the end of his life, he ſeldom left his room, not even to go to church.

Death and character of the emperor.

## CHAP. XLV.

### MATTHIAS.

SOME diſputes concerning the regency of the empire, during the interregnum, being ſettled, the electors met at
1612. *Frankfort*, on the 14th of *May* 1612, to chuſe an emperor. *Matthias*, in the mean time, hearing of his brother's death, ſeized

ſeized his immenſe treaſures, and it is thought, it was to them that the unanimity of the electors was owing, when they raiſed him to the *Imperial* throne. He began to reign with great plauſibility, by aſſuring the aſſembly, that he intended to preſerve the tranquillity of the empire. He ſent an ambaſſador to the *Porte*, to claim the poſſeſſion of *Tranſylvania*, according to the compromiſe with *Botſckay*, who was now dead. The *Othmans* laughed at this demand, and inſtead of complying with it, required *Matthias* to deliver up certain places in *Strigonia*. *Gabriel Bathori*, the waywode of *Tranſylvania*, conſented to admit *German* garriſons into his towns, if he ſhould be attacked by the *Turks*, which he accordingly was at a time when the emperor could give him very little aſſiſtance, and when he himſelf was hated by his people, for his connections with the houſe of *Auſtria*. Finding himſelf thus abandoned on all ſides, he was at his own requeſt ſlain by one of his ſoldiers.

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His diſputes with the *Porte*.

*Matthias*, ſoon after his election, received two extraordinary embaſſies; one from *Perſia*, and another from the ſenate of *Muſcovy*. The *Perſian* complained of the peace that had been made between the *Turks* and the *Imperialiſts*, which *Matthias* apologized for on the principle of neceſſity. The errand of the *Muſcovite*, was of a more honourable nature. That ambaſſador repreſented the diſmal ſtate of his country through the cruelty and tyranny of its late dukes, and in the name of the ſenate, deſired *Matthias* to reſettle their conſtitution, and to nominate a prince proper to govern them, promiſing to receive him as their head. *Matthias* diſmiſſed the ambaſſador with a very ſatisfactory anſwer, though without the required nomination, but ſent along with him, one *Peter Herman*, to inſpect the ſtate of the country. Thoſe audiences being over, *Matthias* turned his attention towards *Hungary* which was threatened by the *Turks*. He repaired to *Preſburg*, where he called an aſſembly, and demanded a revocation of their late order againſt the admiſſion of *German* troops into their kingdom. As many of the *Hungarians* preferred the *Turkiſh* to an *Auſtrian* government, or as one of their nobles expreſſed himſelf, dreaded the *German* wolf, as much as the *Turkiſh* bear, this requeſt met with violent oppoſition. The danger, however, being preſſing, it was agreed, that if *Hungary* was attacked by the *Turks*, *German* ſoldiers might be introduced into it, provided they had at their head two generals, one a *German*, and the other a *Hungarian*. They then made a preſent to the empreſs-conſort, who was *Anne Catharine* of *Inſpruc*, the emperor's own couſin-german, to defray the expence of her coronation, which was performed with great magnificence at *Preſburg*.

He gives audience to the *Perſian* and *Muſcovite* ambaſſadors.

Upon the return of *Matthias* to *Vienna*, he ſummoned a dict to meet at *Ratiſbon*, to reform the numerous abuſes of the empire, eſpecially in law proceedings and the coinage. *Matthias* began now to be ſuſpected by the proteſtants, though

A diet at *Ratiſbon*,

to

to them chiefly he owed his elevation. When his miniſters demanded a five years ſubſidy againſt the *Turks*, and 24,000 men to ſerve in *Hungary*, the proteſtants preſented a memorial, complaining that the emperor's council, though purely civil, had made encroachments in matters of religion, that they were manifeſtly partial againſt the proteſtants, and that it was neceſſary that the judges ſhould be appointed out of both religions, together with a number of other heavy oppreſſions, and demanding immediate redreſs. The emperor and his miniſters inſiſted, that the ſupplies ſhould be firſt granted before complaints were heard, but the proteſtants repeated their remonſtrances, and threatened, that if their requeſts were not complied with, to leave the diet. *Matthias* was in great perplexity how to behave, but threw his difficulties upon the *Roman* catholics, who pretended that the proteſtants were the common diſturbers of the empire, and that they had invaded both the civil and religious rights of the catholics. 'This ſerved only to render the proteſtants more peremptory in their demands, and their deputies, at laſt, actually left the diet, with a proteſt againſt any ſubſidy, which the *Roman* catholics might grant.

which is deſerted by the proteſtants.

Affairs of *Juliers* and *Cleves*.

The elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Neuburg*, ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; but began to differ concerning their partition of power, and at laſt, each took up arms. The duke of *Neuburg*, as being the weakeſt, attached himſelf to the houſe of *Bavaria*, of which he married a princeſs, as the elector did to the States General, who were then a ſovereign power, and offered their mediation, which was rejected by the duke of *Neuburg*, who had now engaged the *Roman* catholic princes of the empire in his intereſt. The elector of *Brandenburg*, upon this, naturally united himſelf with the elector of *Saxony*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*. The duke of *Neuburg* offered to refer his pretenſions to the *Imperial* council, which was objected to by the elector, as being partial and prepoſſeſſed againſt him. While matters were in this untowardly ſituation, the duke of *Neuburg*, the more effectually to ſecure to himſelf the court of *Spain*, and the *Roman* catholic intereſt in the empire, declared himſelf of that religion, but emitted a declaration, that his converſion ſhould make no alteration in his conduct towards the proteſtants of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, whom he would ſtill protect in the exerciſe of their religion. This moderation was not imitated by his competitor, the elector, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the States General, made an impolitic, but faithleſs, attempt, to introduce *Calviniſts* into the conteſted dutchies. In the mean while, the elector by treaty agreed, that the dutchies ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of their High Mightineſſes, till the diſputes concerning them were finiſhed, and their troops actually took poſſeſſion of *Juliers*. The duke of *Neuburg* conſented to this ſtep, and ſurprized *Duſſeldorp*.

The

The archduke, governor of the *Netherlands*, demanded that *Juliers* ſhould be evacuated, which being refuſed, he gave orders to *Spinola*, the *Spaniſh* general, to paſs the *Maeſe*; but inſtead of beſieging *Juliers*, he took poſſeſſion of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was then under the protection of the houſe of *Brandenburgh*. Hoſtilities now commenced on both ſides of the *Rhine*, where the *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* armies under *Spinola* and prince *Maurice* made various conqueſts; but the former beſieged and took *Weſel* and *Duiſbourg*, garriſoned a number of other places, and aſſumed the title of the emperor's commiſſary. At laſt, by the mediation of neutral princes, the town of *Santhen* was choſen as a place proper for accommodating all differences. An aſſembly was accordingly held there, at which deputies aſſiſted from the kings of *England*, *France* and *Spain*, the archduke, the *States General*, the electors of *Cologne* and *Palatine*, with thoſe of many other *German* princes. An accommodation was drawn up and agreed to, by which the property and the adminiſtration of the two dutchies were partitioned between the elector and the duke, and other matters were put on an amicable footing. *Spinola* refuſed to ſtand to this accommodation, or to evacuate *Weſel* without an order from the emperor and the king of *Spain*. As to the emperor, he concerned himſelf but little in the diſpute, being willing to preſerve the tranquillity of the empire, and to oppoſe the *Turks*.

They are compromiſed.

Upon the death of *Bathori*, the *Turkiſh* emperor appointed *Bethlem Gabor*, waivode of *Tranſilvania*, and his authority was ſubmitted to, even by the *Imperial* party there. The *Ottoman* court, not contented with this, demanded from *Matthias* certain *Hungary* fiefs, which, as they pretended, belonged to *Tranſilvania*; but the emperor evading the demand, found himſelf again involved in a war with the *Turks*. He called an aſſembly at *Lintz*, where deputies from his hereditary dominions attended, but he was ſo unpopular among them, that he could obtain nothing, not even a paſſage for his troops to *Tranſilvania* through *Hungary*. This gave an opportunity for *Bethlem Gabor* to make himſelf maſter of *Lippa* by capitulation; the obſervance of which might have embroiled him with the *Turks*, had not the latter been very earneſt for a peace, which was accordingly concluded, greatly to the honour and advantage of *Matthias*. *Agria*, *Caniſa*, *Alba Regalis*, *Peſt*, and *Buda* itſelf was reſtored to him, together with almoſt all that the *Turks* held in *Hungary*; but *Tranſilvania* and *Bethlem Gabor* remained under the *Ottoman* protection. This treaty was to be in force for twenty years, and it rendered *Matthias* the moſt formidable prince of his houſe ſince the days of *Charles* V. During this important negociation, differences again broke out between the duke and citizens of *Brunſwic*. The latter were ſupported by the *Hanſe* towns, whoſe general count *Solmes* bravely defended the town againſt their duke. At laſt, an accommodation, through

Advantageous peace with the *Turks*.

through the interpoſition of the king of *Denmark* and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, took place, the duke confirming the citizens in their privileges, and they doing homage to the duke as their maſter.

*Ferdinand of Gratz* choſen king of *Bohemia.*

Notwithſtanding the late pacification at *Santhen*, the affairs of the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves* remained ſtill unſettled, and the elector of *Saxony* refuſed to join with the proteſtant ſtates, who were aſſembled at *Nuremburg*, in an application to the emperor to confirm the pacification. *Matthias* obſerved a perfect neutrality in the quarrel, but being now freed from the terror of the *Turks*, he began to exert himſelf by oppreſſing the proteſtants of *Bohemia*, who had been ſo long troubleſome and terrible to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Being childleſs himſelf, he threw his eyes upon his couſin *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Gratz*, who had great pretenſions upon the *Auſtrian* ſucceſſion, and who was choſen king of *Bohemia*, but with an expreſs proviſo, that he ſhould not, during the emperor's life, meddle in ſtate affairs without his permiſſion. It is ſaid that the archduke, before he returned to his apartment, was abſolved by the pope's nuncio from this obligation. This election was a kind of a watch word for the further oppreſſion of the *Bohemian* proteſtants. Inſtead of obtaining redreſs of the many religious grievances they complained of, they were treated with rough language, and the archbiſhop of *Prague* demoliſhed or ſhut up their churches. They called an aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom againſt the inclinations of *Ferdinand*, and they named deputies to carry up their grievances to the *Imperial* council. They were treated with the utmoſt inſolence, and ſo much provoked by the abuſe they received from *William Schlabata*, preſident of the chamber, *Jarowſlaw Borſita*, count de *Mortinitz*, and *Philip Fabricius*, ſecretary of the council, that they threw them out of a window two ſtories high, but being favoured by falling into a ditch full of water, they eſcaped unhurt. As to the other counſellors preſent, they were conducted in ſafety to their houſes.

Where the proteſtant deputies throw the *Imperial* commiſſaries out of a window, and arm for their own defence.

Count *de la Tour*, the principal actor in this bold attempt, knew the houſe of *Auſtria* too well to be inſenſible that perſeverance was their only ſafety. He harangued the citizens of *Prague* ſo effectually, that they put themſelves under arms, and were joined by many catholics, who were as much incenſed at their new king for his infractions of their civil, as the proteſtants were for thoſe of their eccleſiaſtical, liberties. Aſſembling in a college, they choſe thirty directors, and bound themſelves to an aſſociation by oath. They ſeized upon the city and fortifications of *Prague*, from whence they expelled all the *Jeſuits* and *Roman* catholics who had not joined them, and emitted a manifeſto in their own defence. *Matthias* was, at this time, broken with infirmities, both of body and ſpirit, and though he had the will, he was deſtitute of the activity requiſite to face a revolt attended with ſuch daring circumſtances.

ces. He publiſhed ſome menacing admonitions, which the *Bohemians* deſpiſed, and they accuſed the turbulent cardinal *Kleſel*, archbiſhop of *Vienna*, and the emperor's chief favourite, as being the author of all the public grievances. At laſt, the inſurgents of *Bohemia* were joined by the *Silſians*, who had the like cauſes of complaint. The houſe of *Auſtria* was, at this time, far from being ſo well united as to make any effectual oppoſition to this formidable confederacy. The emperor and *Philip* III. of *Spain* had renounced their claims upon *Hungary* in favour of *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*; but he found himſelf only nominal king of thoſe two countries, as *Matthias*, or rather his miniſter the cardinal, was poſſeſſed of all the real power. *Ferdinand* was therefore as much exaſperated as the proteſtants were againſt the cardinal, and being joined by the archduke *Maximilian*, *Matthias* was prevailed upon by their remonſtrances to forbid the cardinal his court. No ſooner had he ſpoke the word than his eminence was ſtripped of his robes, and conveyed a cloſe priſoner to a caſtle on the confines of *Stiria*, from whence he was afterwards delivered by the court of *Rome*, and reinſtated in his dignities.

The count *de la Tour* was all this while making diſpoſitions for acting with vigour, and his party rejected all the flattering terms propoſed to them by the emperor, ſo much were they prepoſſeſſed againſt *Auſtrian* faith. *De la Tour* opened the campaign by taking *Crumlaw*, but failed in his deſign upon *Budewitz*, another town of great importance on the frontiers of *Bohemia*. He was aſſiſted by the famous count *Mansfield*, one of the greateſt generals of his age, who reduced moſt of the interior places that held for the emperor in *Bohemia*. They were oppoſed by the count *de Buquoy*, another general of great reputation, who was ſent with a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the emperor by the cardinal archduke. In the mean while *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* had prevailed with the emperor to ſend the count de *Dampier* with an army into *Bohemia*, where he reduced *Biſtritz*, *Pilgram*, and *Polna*; but the valour and activity of *de la Tour* prevented him from making any farther progreſs. By the aſſiſtances which the *Bohemian* proteſtants received from their *German* brethren and the *States General*, their army now amounted to 30,000 men; but they received no aſſiſtance from the elector of *Saxony*, who was ſtill amuſed with the hopes of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. The count *de Buquoy* had now entered *Bohemia* by the way of *Moravia*, and having ſecured ſome of the frontier towns, he advanced to fight the inſurgents, but found their army drawn up in ſuch excellent order on the banks of the *Moldau*, that he retired under the cannon of *Budewitz* till he could be reinforced from *Vienna*. The emperor again offered to open conferences for an accommodation at *Pilſen*, the richeſt and one of the moſt populous towns in *Bohemia*; but its inhabitants were devoted to the houſe of *Auſtria*, even to enthuſiaſm. The proteſtants, therefore, objected to the place of meeting, and *Mansfield* beſieged

Their ſucceſs in *Bohemia*;

where they take and *Pilſen*.

and took it, notwithſtanding the brave defence made by the townſmen. The loſs of *Pilſen* gave a dreadful blow to the *Imperial* intereſt in *Bohemia*, where the proteſtants now daily gained ground, and were in expectation of being joined by thoſe of *Auſtria*; but the latter were not yet ripe for ſuch a declaration.

Death of the emperor.

During this ſituation of affairs in *Germany*, the emperor *Matthias* died at *Vienna* of a conſumptive diſtemper, in the 63d year of his age and the 8th of his reign. He was, before his death, in a ſtate of dejection, through the loſs of his empreſs and his brother *Maximilian*, and the unexpected revolution that had happened in *Bohemia*. He, in a political ſenſe, may be ſaid, in other reſpects, to have been fortunate, on account of his recovery of *Hungary* from the *Turks*, and the ſucceſſes which had attended the arms of *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* againſt them in that country. Upon his death-bed, he is ſaid to have expreſſed to his ſucceſſor ſome remorſe for the rigour of his government.

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# CHAP. XLVI.

## FERDINAND *the ſecond.*

Diſtractions of the empire.

THIS prince, when *Matthias* died, conſidered himſelf as the undoubted poſſeſſor of the *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* crowns; but the ſtate of affairs in the empire obliged him to proceed with great moderation as well as addreſs. He offered terms to the *Bohemians*, but they rejected them, and affirmed that their crown was elective. Even the ſtates of *Auſtria* declined to recognize him, becauſe they were in hopes of entering into an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the *Bohemians*, which might emancipate them from the tyranny of their archdukes. *Ferdinand* offered to the *Bohemians* even more ſecurity than they had required for their civil and religious rights; but they imagined that they diſcovered a duplicity in his proceedings, and the war continued. The proteſtants of *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, *Luſatia*, and *Upper Auſtria*, joined the *Bohemian* confederacy. *De la Tour* invaded *Moravia*, where he took *Iglaw*, *Trebichz*, and *Znaim*. Cardinal de *Ditrichſtein*, the *Auſtrian* governor, endeavoured to amuſe them, but could not compaſs his ends. All that *Ferdinand* oppoſed to this powerful confederacy, conſiſted of manifeſtos and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would grant the inſurgents all they deſired. They diſtruſted him, and *de la Tour* marched into *Auſtria*, penetrating to the very ſuburbs of *Vienna*, where he quartered his troops.

Where *de la Tour* penetrates to *Vienna*,

While he was making preparations for beſieging that great city, in which he had many friends, and which he probably would have carried, count *Buquoy* defeated *Mansfield* in *Bohemia*,

mia, and retiring to *Prague*, the conſternation of the proteſtants was ſo great, that they ſent orders to *de la Tour* to abandon all thoughts of the ſiege of *Vienna*, and to return to the defence of *Prague*. *De la Tour* obeyed, and on his arrival, he found that he could not force *Buquoy*'s intrenchments; but the *Bohemian* confederacy was confirmed anew. All this while the election of an emperor was at a ſtand, but every thing concurred to favour *Ferdinand*'s pretenſions to that dignity. The ultimate end of the proteſtant confederacy was to circumſcribe his power in his hereditary dominions, and to aſcertain to the ſtates of *Bohemia* their right of electing their own king; in which caſe *Ferdinand* muſt have been deprived of his vote as an elector of the empire. *Maximilian*, duke of *Bavaria*, was thought of as a proper perſon to fill the *Imperial* throne by the elector of *Saxony*, the elector *Palatine*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*; but he wiſely rejected the offer on account of the great power and alliances of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and his own inability to ſupport the dignity. He had, however, the addreſs to make a merit of this with *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*, who paid him a viſit. The *Bavarian* was ſenſible that the heart of the elector *Palatine*, the eldeſt branch of his family, was ſet upon the crown of *Bohemia*, which had been offered to him by the proteſtant league. A private compromiſe was entered into between *Ferdinand* and that duke, that if the elector accepted of the offer, his electorate ſhould be given to the *Bavarian* branch of his family, and all his right, as being the eldeſt branch, ſhould be transferred to *Maximilian*. The 28th of *Auguſt* was fixed for the day of electing an emperor, when *Ferdinand* was choſen by the ſuffrages of all the electors, notwithſtanding a proteſt entered againſt him by the deputies of the *Bohemian* ſtates. By this time, the elector *Palatine* had taken the field in favour of the proteſtants, who had obtained ſeveral advantages over their enemies, but they were more than counterbalanced by the count de *Bouquoy* taking *Piſeck* by ſtorm, where he put the garriſon to the ſword and hanged the governor.

but is obliged to return to *Bohemia*.

Capitulation of *Ferdinand*.

The capitulation of *Ferdinand* contained two additional articles. By one he eſtabliſhed the power of the *Imperial* vicars, and by the other he excluded all from being admitted into the aulic council under the degree of a baron, *German* born, and well verſed in the conſtitution of his country. The *Bohemians*, without regarding the *Imperial* dignity, now more obſtinately than ever contended that their crown was elective. They aſſembled and formally choſe *Frederic* V. the elector *Palatine*, to fill their throne. The illegality of this election was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Ferdinand*, who ſaid that he had been proclaimed ſovereign of the kingdom, and that he had been acknowledged in a general aſſembly as ſuch, being the grandſon of the emperor *Ferdinand*, and *Anne* queen of *Bohemia*, by which plea he ſeems to have contended for an hereditary as well as an elective right. The *Bohemians*, on the other hand, denied

The elector *Palatine* choſen and crowned king of *Bohemia*.

denied the validity of his electoral right, which they alledged to be local, becauſe he never had taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which they pretended to be in their diſpoſal.

*Frederic*, the elector *Palatine*, was a young prince of great hopes, and was, at this time, conſidered as the head of the proteſtant intereſt in *Germany*. He had been lately married to the eldeſt princeſs of *England*, daughter to *James* I. and beſides many other great alliances, he had prince *Maurice* and the duke of *Bouillon* for his uncles. Though within himſelf he was bent upon accepting the regal dignity, yet he applied to *James* for his advice, which was entirely againſt his acceptance of it; but all his other relations and the proteſtant princes of the empire were of a different opinion, and he repaired to *Prague*, where he and the electreſs were crowned on the
1619. 4th of *November* 1619, by one of the *Huſſite* miniſters. His title was acknowledged by the republic of *Venice*, and *Bethlem Gabor*, the *Turkiſh* waivode of *Tranſilvania*, who was then making a vaſt progreſs in *Hungary*, and threatened *Vienna* itſelf. The archduke *Leopold* was then governor of that city, and *Buquoy*, who ſtill continued to act with ſucceſs in *Bohe-*

*De la Tour* defeated near *Vienna.*

*mia*, was ordered to march to its defence. Being within two leagues of *Bohemia*, he was attacked by *de la Tour* and the *Moravians* in his intrenchments, but without ſucceſs; for after a deſperate engagement, *de la Tour* was obliged to retire with the loſs of 2000 men. To repair this misfortune, count *Mansfield* gained ſome advantages in *Bohemia*, and *Gabor* making himſelf maſter of *Preſburg* gave liberty of conſcience to all the *Hungarian* proteſtants. An aſſembly of the proteſtants was now met at *Nuremberg*, where the count de *Hohenzollern* acted as deputy for the emperor, but with very little ſucceſs. Though the princes did not diſpute his *Imperial* title, yet they took part with *Frederic* as king of *Bohemia*.

The catholic league revived.

Nothing could be oppoſed to ſo ſtrong an aſſociation but the catholic league, which was revived on this occaſion. The ambaſſadors of the emperor, the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, with many other catholic princes, met at *Wirtzburg*, where they renewed their league, and aſcertained their quotas of men and money with which they were to furniſh the emperor for the ſupport of the *Imperial* authority in *Bohemia* and elſewhere. The pope and ſome of the *Italian* princes followed their example, and his catholic majeſty ordered 11,000 *Spaniſh* veteran foot to march and attack the *Palatinate*. This criſis threatened to determine the fate of popery and proteſtantiſm, not only in *Germany*, but all over *Europe*. Some have imagined, that if the court of *Great Britain* had acted ſtrenuouſly for *Frederic*, the balance muſt have turned in favour of proteſtantiſm; but this is not likely. Beſide the aver-

Politics of *James* I. king of *Great-Britain.*

ſion which *James* had for ſupporting a cauſe which he condemned in his own heart as rebellious, he was not in a condition to furniſh either men or money ſufficient for compleating ſo great an event, and perhaps the diſpoſitions which his people

people shewed in favour of *Frederic*, arose from his unwillingness to support him. Besides motives of conscience, *James*, at this time, had one of interest, arising from his hopes of obtaining the infanta of *Spain* in marriage for his eldest son. The successes of *Bethlem Gabor* in *Hungary* were owing to the assistance he received from the *Turks*; nor is it to be supposed that he could be cordially in the interest of the elector *Palatine*. Add to those considerations, that the house of *Saxony*, formerly the bulwark of protestantism in *Germany*, was in the *Imperial* interest. Upon the whole, therefore, the attempt of *Frederic* to seize the *Bohemian* crown, was that of a young and unexperienced prince, prompted by designing or desperate men, or by enthusiasts who could not form a right judgment. The *French* king, whose father had been so eminently serviceable to the protestant cause, was then a minor; and his mother, who was regent, was contented to offer her mediation between the contending parties.

When the campaign of 1620 opened, the disparity of their power was easily discernable. *Spinola* the ablest general in *Europe*, at the head of 11,000 *Spanish* foot, entered the *Lower Palatinate*; the duke of *Bavaria* overawed the protestants of *Upper Austria* with another army of 25,000 men. The operations of war were for a short time suspended by an assembly of the princes and free towns at *Ulm*, where the *French* ambassador, the duke of *Angoulesme* appeared, and offered to take upon himself the office of mediator; but this cessation was of no long continuance, as the members could not agree among themselves on the best methods for restoring public tranquillity. With regard to the emperor *Ferdinand*, he behaved with unusual moderation; he endeavoured, by his manifestos, to persuade *Frederic* to desist from his pretensions upon *Bohemia*, and offered pardon to all his followers who would lay down their arms; but his advances were rejected. By this time *Frederic* saw the vanity of his expectations of being joined by the *Hungarian* or *Austrian* malecontents. *Bethlem Gabor* had declared himself king of *Hungary*, where he met with such opposition that he could spare none of his party for another quarrel, and the *Upper Austrians* had been obliged to take a new oath of fidelity to the emperor. The *Imperialists* under the duke of *Bavaria* now amounted to 50,000 men, with whom he penetrated into *Bohemia*; and *Spinola*, whose army was now 30,000, was master of the *Palatinate*; while the elector of *Saxony*, with a third army on the frontiers of *Bohemia*, declared and acted vigorously for the emperor.

1620. State of the war in *Bohemia*.

The duke of *Bavaria*, in the emperor's name, again offered pardon to all the *Bohemians* who would lay down their arms, but their obstinacy, rather than any affection for *Frederic*, kept them in the field. They complained loudly of the disappointment of their expectations from *England*, from whence they had received only between 2 and 3,000 auxiliaries; nor were they well satisfied with *Frederic* in other respects. All

*Frederic* entirely defeated near *Prague*.

he could do to avert the impending ſtorm, was to ſend a body of troops by way of diverſion into *Saxony*, while his generals, *de la Tour* and the prince of *Anhalt*, acted upon the defenſive in *Bohemia*. *Henry de Naſſau*, and the marquis of *Anſpach*, commanded for *Frederic* in the *Palatinate*; but a miſunderſtanding happening between the *Engliſh* who ſerved there, and the *Germans*, nothing effectual was done to oppoſe *Spinola*. The duke of *Bavaria* and the count *de Buquoy*, notwithſtanding ſome ſharp attacks made on their rear by count *Mansfield*, were advancing towards *Prague* itſelf. *Frederic*'s army amounted to no more than 30,000 men, with whom he reſolved to keep on the defenſive. They were attacked by the *Imperialiſts* near *Weiſſenberg*, in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, and though the victory at firſt inclined to *Frederic*, part of whoſe troops had been compleatly diſciplined, yet he was entirely defeated, with the loſs of above 5,000 men, beſides thoſe who periſhed in the *Moldau*, his baggage and cannon. *Frederic* ſeeing all loſt, retired to *Prague*, and from thence to *Sileſia*. Next day *Prague* ſurrendered to the elector of *Bavaria*, who impriſoned all the heads of the revolt he could ſeize on.

Negociations for his reſtoration to the *Palatinate*

King *James* hearing of his ſon-in-law's fate, ſent the lord *Digby* as his ambaſſador to *Vienna*, to mediate for *Frederic*, not that the crown of *Bohemia* ſhould be reſtored to him, but that he might again be put in poſſeſſion of the *Palatinate*. *Ferdinand* gave a very ſoothing anſwer to this offer of mediation, and referred the ambaſſador to his confederates. *Manſfield* ſtill kept the field for *Frederic*, and *Sileſia* continued firm to him, by means of the duke of *Jagerndorf*. This reſiſtance, at a time when *Ferdinand* expected nothing but ſubmiſſion, provoked him ſo much, that he laid *Frederic* and the heads of his party under the ban of the empire; upon which the *Sileſians* ſubmitted, and at the interceſſion of the duke of *Saxony*, were pardoned upon their paying 300,000 florins to the emperor. *Frederic* was, at this time, in *Denmark*, where the king made him great profeſſions of friendſhip, but they terminated in embaſſies and negociations which proved ineffectual, for *Ferdinand* roſe every hour in his demands. He inſiſted that *Frederic*, beſides renouncing the crown of *Bohemia*, ſhould reſign the *Upper Palatinate* to the houſe of *Bavaria*, and give him perſonal ſatisfaction, by making his ſubmiſſions at *Vienna*. The bounds of this hiſtory do not admit of our giving a particular detail of all the manifeſtos and warlike operations with which the rejection of thoſe harſh terms were attended. The projects of *Bethlem Gabor*, and the proteſtants of *Hungary*, came to nothing, through the perſeverance of the *Imperialiſts*. *Bohemia* was reduced by the duke of *Bavaria*, *Luſatia* by the elector of *Saxony*, *Moravia* by the count *de Buquoy*, and the emperor, in conſideration of the ſervices done him by the elector of *Saxony*, gave him the inveſtiture of *Luſatia*, while at the ſame time he gave the duke of *Bava-*

ineffectual.

Progreſs of the *Imperialiſts*.

*ria*

*ria* a commiſſion for carrying all the other parts of the *Imperial* ban into execution, and confirmed his promiſe of inveſting him with the electoral dignity, and the dominions that had belonged to the late elector *Palatine*. Nine of the principal *Bohemian* directors, who had managed the affairs of that kingdom before *Frederic*'s election, were beheaded, and thoſe of a ſubordinate order were hanged or ſuffered other deaths.

Progreſs of the *Imperialiſts*.

The active count *Mansfield* was now the only ſupport of *Frederic*'s cauſe in *Germany*. He was ſtill at the head of a flying army of 8 or 9,000 men, with which he performed incredible actions againſt the duke of *Bavaria*, whoſe troops, however, ſurrounded him as he was preparing to penetrate into the *Lower Palatinate*, by the way of *Franconia*. *Mansfield*, in this diſtreſs, had recourſe to ſtratagem. Being known all over *Europe* to be a ſoldier of fortune, he propoſed to the *Bavarian* to enter with his army into the *Imperial* ſervice, and amuſed that duke ſo effectually, that he and his troops found means to eſcape into the *Lower Palatinate*, where their preſence gave freſh vigour to the cauſe of *Frederic*. He arrived there juſt in time to ſave *Frankendal* from being taken by the *Spaniſh* general *Cordova*, whoſe ſuperiority of numbers had obliged *Vere*, the *Engliſh* general who commanded the *Palatine* troops, to retire to *Worms*, while *Frederic* was ſolliciting in *Holland* and elſewhere for ſuccours, but obtained only magnificent promiſes.

*Buquoy* killed in *Hungary*.

*Bethlem Gabor*, at the head of the *Hungarian* malecontents, ſtill ſtood his ground in *Hungary*, where *Buquoy* commanded the *Imperialiſts* and took *Preſburg*. After that he laid ſiege to *Neuhauſe*, but *de la Tour* coming to its relief, intercepted a convoy, in defending which *Buquoy* was killed, and in him the *Imperialiſts* loſt one of their greateſt military ſupports. The ſiege of *Neuhauſe* was then raiſed, and *Gabor*, joined by the duke of *Jagerndorf*, who commanded the proteſtant *Moravians* and *Sileſians*, retook many places, but they were repulſed before *Preſburg*. *Chriſtiern* of *Brunſwic*, a prince of a very extraordinary character, at this time joined the cauſe of *Frederic*. Being poſſeſſed of ſeveral very valuable eccleſiaſtical livings, he was an enemy to prieſts, almoſt to enthuſiaſm, and he wore in his hat one of the electreſs *Palatine*'s gloves, in token of his being her profeſſed champion. He raiſed an army in *Weſtphalia*, and joined *Mansfield*, who had retired to *Alſace*. The prince of *Baden Dourlach* was likewiſe brought over to the ſame cauſe, which now reſumed a ſmiling aſpect. *Chriſtiern* acted with great ſucceſs, but ſome barbarity, in the county of *La Marck*, and attacked the dominions of the landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*; and about the ſame time, the landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, for ſome family reaſons, declared in favour of the elector *Palatine*. *Ferdinand* ordered the duke of *Brunſwic* and the landgrave of *Heſſe* to deſiſt from hoſtilities, and the former was checked by the count of *Anhalt*, who commanded the electoral troops of *Cologne*. The defeat that

*Frederic*'s cauſe revives.

*Chriſtiern* had received, ſeemed to encreaſe his ferocity. Falling back into the countries of *Paderbourn* and *Munſter*, he recruited his army, no man being of ſo profligate a character as not to be received into his ſervice; and he is ſaid to have been guilty of barbarities that diſgraced the cauſe he had eſpouſed.

*Ferdinand* finding the proteſtant cauſe revive, reſolved to decide it by granting advantageous terms to *Bethlem Gabor*, that he might be at liberty to employ his full force againſt the *Palatine* intereſt. A negociation being begun, *Gabor* conſented to renounce the title and kingdom of *Hungary*, in conſideration of his being made a prince of the empire, and receiving the inveſtiture of certain eſtates in *Hungary* and *Sileſia*, with many other advantages. This treaty being concluded, *Ferdinand*, who about the ſame time married *Eleanora*, the ſiſter of the duke of *Mantua*, called a diet, in which he confirmed the proteſtants in their religious privileges. Thoſe compliances were in a great meaſure owing to the vaſt ſucceſſes of *Mansfield* in *Alſace*, where he was oppoſed by count *Tilly*, the *Imperial* general, who became afterwards ſo famous in the hiſtory of *Germany*. The marquis of *Baden Dourlach* was, at this time, in the field at the head of 16,000 well appointed troops, and a large train of artillery, and had begun his march to join *Mansfield*, when he learned that the latter, by one of thoſe military ſtratagems of which he was ſo great a maſter, had gained a conſiderable advantage over *Tilly*. This induced him to change his reſolution, and he advanced towards *Tilly* that he might have the glory of compleating his deſtruction.

He joins *Mansfield*'s army,

*Frederic*, who about that time had arrived at *Mansfield*'s army from *Holland*, through *France*, which he traverſed in diſguiſe, endeavoured to diſſuade the marquis from this march; but it was too late, and *Tilly* having been reinforced by ſome *Spaniſh* regiments, killed 2,000 of his men, took his cannon and baggage, and it was with difficulty that the marquis eſcaped with part of his cavalry to *Mansfield*, who was then beſieging *Ladenburg*, which he took, and put its garriſon to the ſword. That active general then marched againſt the archduke *Leopold*, who was beſieging *Frankendal*. *Mansfield* having cut in pieces a detached part of his army, filled the reſt with ſuch a panic, that they fled with the loſs of all their artillery and magazines, and *Mansfield*'s ſoldiers killed 2,000 of them in the purſuit.

which amounts to 20,000 men,

*Mansfield* then re-croſſed the *Rhine*, and joined *Frederic* and the marquis of *Baden*, by which their army amounted to 20,000 men. If it had been poſſible for ſo ſmall a force to have re-eſtabliſhed *Frederic* in his *Palatinate*, the zeal and abilities of *Mansfield* would have done it. But he was obliged to make war as a partizan: he had no magazines but what he took from his enemies; his troops had no ſubſiſtence but what they raiſed from contributions and plunder, and the ſlighteſt check was ſufficient to interrupt the operations of a

whole campaign. On the other hand, *Tilly* and the *Imperial* generals had at their backs large opulent countries, from which they were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of all kinds. Their troops were regularly paid, and they could eaſily recover any unfortunate blow in the courſe of a campaign. Twenty thouſand men, however, was a very conſiderable army, and it ravaged the biſhopric of *Spire*, plundered the country of the landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, with whom the landgrave of *Heſſe* was at variance, and made himſelf priſoner. *Tilly* was all this while reinforcing his army and watching his opportunity, which he found and improved ſo well, that he attacked or cut off the rear of *Mansfield*'s army, and the main body was obliged in great diſorder and confuſion, being deſtitute of money and proviſions, to fly into the *Palatinate*. The duke of *Brunſwic*'s army was now all the reſource which *Frederic* had. *Chriſtiern* had been very ſucceſsful in his ravages in the countries upon the *Lippe*, and had fixed his head quarters at *Lipſtadt*. The *Imperialiſts*, under the prince of *Anhalt*, having been reinforced with 10,000 men, ſent them from the *Low Countries*, threatened to beſiege him in that city: but he was favoured by a diverſion made by the *Dutch*, which obliged the archdutcheſs, governeſs, to recall her troops. *Chriſtiern*, upon this, began his march to join *Frederic* and *Mansfield* in the *Palatinate*. In his progreſs he was attacked by *Tilly*, who waited for him at *Hanau*, and entirely defeated; his infantry, conſiſting of 6,000 men, were killed, drowned, or made priſoners, and all he himſelf could do, after acting with great bravery, was to join *Mansfield* with five troops of horſe. This defeat of *Chriſtiern* neither diſcouraged him nor *Mansfield*; they ſtuck cloſe by *Frederic*, who thought proper to releaſe the landgrave of *Darmſtadt*, but the marquis of *Baden Dourlach* diſmiſſed his troops, and took refuge in *Hochberg*; while the elector, with the other heads of the party, retired to *Alſace*. In this ſtate of affairs, diſcouraging as it was for the proteſtant cauſe, *Ferdinand* ſtill ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe. His plauſible treatment of all the great powers in *Europe*, *Spain* excepted, who applied in favour of *Frederic*, had hitherto kept them quiet, and none of them proceeded farther than ſollicitations. He plainly ſaw, that if *Great Britain*, *France*, or *Denmark* ſhould enter upon hoſtilities, *Frederic* might ſoon reinſtate himſelf in his *Palatinate*, and his miniſters, at laſt, fairly intimated, that his *Imperial* majeſty could do no effectual ſervice to the *Palatine* unleſs he ſhould apply for it without having arms in his hand. *Frederic* took the hint, diſmiſſed the brave *Mansfield* and *Chriſtiern* from his ſervice, and retired to *Sedan*, juſt about the time that the *Imperialiſts*, under *Tilly*, had compleated the conqueſt of the *Palatinate*, which they cruelly ravaged, and by their reſtoring popery in every place where it was poſſible to introduce it, they plainly diſcovered that the war on their part was religious as well as temporal.

but they are defeated, as is the duke of *Brunſwic*.

*Mansfield* defeated.

*Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunſwic* were at this time at the head of 10,000 foot, and 8,000 horſe, and dreaded or courted by all the powers of *Europe*. They hovered near *Sedan*, as being undetermined what party to embrace; but, at laſt, penetrating into *France* to aſſiſt the *Hugonots* there, and to raiſe the ſiege of *Bergen-op-zoom*, they were defeated, with the loſs of 5,000 killed and wounded, by the duke of *Nevers*, and *Gonzales*, the *Spaniſh* general. In this battle the duke of *Brunſwic* loſt his right arm. *Mansfield*, undiſmayed by this blow, entered into the ſervice of the *States General*, continued his march, and forced *Spinola* to retire from before *Bergen-op-zoom*. *Ferdinand* having thus gained his ends thro' the puſillanimity of the king of *England*, by whoſe advice *Frederic* had diſarmed himſelf, ventured to throw off the maſk by proceeding with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the *Bohemian* proteſtants, and forcing all the towns in his hereditary dominions to receive popiſh magiſtrates. All the proteſtant churches in *Prague* were ſhut up, their miniſters were obliged to leave that city in four hours, and its univerſity was conſigned to the *Jeſuits*. The proteſtant princes complained of this, but *Ferdinand* was now next to abſolute in the empire, and calling a diet at *Ratiſbon*, he, by his *Imperial* power, transferred the electoral dignity of the *Palatinate* to *Maximilian*, duke of *Bavaria*. This deſtination was neither agreeable to the fundamental laws of the empire, nor the inclinations of the *Roman* catholic powers, particularly of *Spain*, which was then earneſtly cultivating friendſhip with *Great Britain*. The electors, and other princes of that communion in the empire were in hopes of coming in for part of the ſpoils, but were diſappointed; and *Ferdinand* truſted to their diviſions for the execution and confirmation of his own award. In a ſubſequent diet, *Ferdinand* ſolemnly inveſted *Maximilian* with the electoral dignity, though half the princes of the empire were ready to take arms againſt him.

The ſpoils of the *Palatinate* divided.

To appeaſe the king of *Spain*, he gave him up a large ſhare of the *Lower Palatinate*, and he gratified the landgrave of *Darmſtadt*, the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and the biſhops of *Worms* and *Spire*, with other portions of the ſame, as they lay moſt convenient for their ſeveral dominions. The emperor, at the ſame time, transferred the landgraviate of *Marpurg* to the houſe of *Darmſtadt*, and found means to make the elector of *Saxony*, the moſt powerful proteſtant prince then in *Germany*, eaſy with regard to the unjuſt arrangements he had made. To manifeſt his power to the utmoſt, *Ferdinand* diſpatched commiſſaries to require the ſtates of *Lower Saxony* to diſmiſs from their frontiers the duke of *Brunſwic*, who was ſtill at the head of a conſiderable army. They were obliged to comply, and the duke in his march to join *Mansfield* was defeated by *Tilly*, with the loſs of 3,000 men. *Mansfield* hearing of this defeat, intrenched his army ſo between *Embden* and *Meppen*, that *Tilly* durſt not attack him; and 6,000 of

of the remains of the *Brunſwic* army, entered into the ſervice of the *States General*, but in the mean while, *Tilly* fell into *Weſtphalia*, where he took *Lipſtadt*. The *States General* had the honour of being, at this period, the only bulwarks of *Europe* againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*; but all that their generals, the princes *Maurice* and *Henry* of *Orange*, could do, was to act upon the defenſive. The emperor's generals defeated *Bethlem Gabor* in *Hungary*, where he was raiſing new commotions, and he was forced to promiſe never again to take part with the enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria*. In ſhort, *Ferdinand*, at this time, acted as the tyrant of *Germany*.

The king of *England* embarks in the *Palatine*'s cauſe.

The cauſe of the elector *Palatine* became every day more and more that of proteſtantiſm, and the king of *England*, at laſt, grew ſenſible of the deluſion he had been laid under by *Spain*. He furniſhed *Mansfield* with money to make a diverſion into the *Spaniſh* dominions, and the princes of the *Lower Saxony* applied to *Chriſtian* king of *Denmark*, who partly through vanity, partly through intereſt, undertook to be their champion, inſtead of the duke of *Brunſwic*, who, at this time, reſigned his command. This was the foundation of the great ſcheme for reducing the power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which was afterwards ſo ſucceſsfully purſued by *Guſtavus Adolphus*; it is but doing juſtice to the memory of king *James*, to own that the original deſign was planned out in his council, and aſſiſted by his money. *Chriſtian* having taken proper meaſures for the tranquillity of his own dominions, was acknowledged to be the head of the princes and ſtates of the circle of *Lower Saxony*. Having declared war againſt the emperor, he took poſt in the neighbourhood of *Bremen*, where *Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunſwic* joined him with the troops, which the *Engliſh* money had enabled them to raiſe. *Tilly* and the famous *Wallenſtein*, now created duke of *Friedland*, oppoſed them, but they were obliged by *Chriſtian* to raiſe the ſiege of *Nienburg*, though it was carried on with the utmoſt fury by *Tilly*, who loſt a great number of men in his retreat. The duke of *Saxony*, by this time, had propoſed a negotiation for peace, but to no purpoſe, and his *Daniſh* majeſty having received conſiderable ſubſidies from his allies, the war recommenced. *Tilly* and *Wallenſtein* obliged *Chriſtian* to abandon *Hamelen* and *Minden*, and to entrench himſelf under the cannon of *Verden*, in expectation of a reinforcement of 12,000 men, promiſed him by the *States General*.

1626. Invaſion of *Germany* by the king of *Denmark*.

*Charles* I. had now ſucceeded to the crown of *Great Britain*. The expences of his marriage, and the backwardneſs of his people to truſt him with money, diſabled him from ſupporting the proteſtants ſo vigorouſly as he undoubtedly intended, and early in the ſpring of the year 1626, the adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg* was defeated by *Wallenſtein*, but in the mean while *Ferdinand* procured the crown of *Hungary* for his eldeſt ſon. Though *Chriſtian* could not be reckoned among the great generals of his age, yet he was hearty and forward

in the cauſe he had eſpouſed, and while he ſuffered himſelf to be adviſed by *Mansfield*, he made head beyond expectation againſt the two *Imperial* generals. Not having a great opinion of his troops, who were but new raiſed, he kept upon the defenſive, and avoided a general battle with ſo much art, that *Tilly* was more than once on the point of retreating, when he became maſter of *Calenberg*, the biſhopric of *Hildeſheim*, and the dutchy of *Brunſwic*, all of them plentiful countries. *Chriſtian* dividing his army into three parts, took ſeveral places in the biſhopric of *Hildeſheim*. The duke of *Weimar*, who acted under him, reduced the biſhopric of *Oſnaburg*, and might have opened his way through *Munſter*, to the *Palatinate*, but, for pecuniary reaſons, he rejoined *Chriſtian* on the banks of the *Elbe*, while *Tilly* took the important city of *Gottingen*. The king, inſtead of making ſome effort in the field, to give the *Imperialiſts* a diverſion, undertook the ſieges of ſome unimportant places; and *Tilly* at laſt, watching his opportunity, forced him to come to a general engagement, in which the latter was defeated, with the loſs of the landgrave of *Heſſe*, many of his beſt general officers, 5000 *Danes* who were killed, and almoſt double the number taken priſoners. This battle was fought on the 28th of *Auguſt*, and the king of *Denmark* was obliged to fly with part of his cavalry to *Holſtein*.

*Mansfeld defeated,*

Neither *Mansfield* nor the duke of *Brunſwic* were concerned in this battle, they being at the head of the other two diviſions of the proteſtant army. *Mansfield* undertook to watch the motions of *Wallenſtein*, and retook the province of *Magdebourg*. Purſuing his march towards *Sileſia*, the *Imperialiſts* took poſſeſſion of a bridge, and while *Mansfield* was endeavouring to force it, that he might penetrate into *Hungary*, having outmarched *Wallenſtein*, the latter came up with him at *Deſſau*, and beat his army, ſo that he was obliged to retire towards *Brandenburg* with a vaſt loſs of infantry, baggage and artillery. *Gabor* was then in arms againſt the *Imperialiſts* in *Hungary*, and favoured by the *Turks*. *Mansfield*'s aim was to join him, and he was ſo far from being diſcouraged by his late defeat, that he took the field again with 25,000 men, and though cloſely followed by *Wallenſtein*, he effected his junction with *Gabor*. But while all *Europe* was in expectation of ſome deciſive blow being given to the houſe of *Auſtria*, from that quarter, the brave *Mansfield* found himſelf betrayed. *Gabor* and the *Hungarian* malecontents were at this time far advanced in a treaty with the houſe of *Auſtria*, and *Mansfield* inſtead of entering upon any important action, ſaw his army daily rotting away, by the diſeaſes which the autumnal rains and the want of proviſions produced. But the diſcovery of *Gabor*'s treachery ſunk deeper into *Mansfield*'s ſpirits than all his illuſtrious defeats had ever done. Finding himſelf attacked by a ſlow fever, which ſome writers pretend was the effect of poiſon, he left the remains of his army to the care of

*Gabor*,

*Gabor*, and set out, attended with some of his officers, for *Venice*; but found himself mortally seized at a village near *Zara* in *Dalmatia*. Perceiving he was near his end, he gave orders that he should be dress in his richest apparel, and he expired standing, supported by two of his domestics, with all the sentiments that became a christian hero and patriot, at his death the age of 45.

This great general was the natural son of the governor of *Luxembourg*, but being legitimated, he had received an excellent education, and served an apprenticeship to war in the *Imperial* and *Spanish* armies. Being disgusted at a repulse he received from the emperor *Rodolph*, he enlisted himself in the protestant cause, which he served with incredible spirit and intrepidity to his latest breath. No general of his time knew, so well as he did, the art of finding resources after a defeat; for he always then appeared greater and more terrible than he did after victory, and he may be said to have been in his own person, for some time, the sole support of the protestant cause in *Germany*. In his private life, he was open, unsuspecting, and generous, beyond example. Having discovered that his principal secretary held a correspondence with his chief rival, and enemy, *Buquoy*, he gave him 300 rix-dollars, and dismissed him, with a letter, recommending him to that count's service. At another time, having discovered that his apothecary had been bribed to poison him, he gave him money, that his necessities might not tempt him to perpetrate such crimes for the future. As he was a soldier of fortune, his bounty and magnificence obliged him to insist upon high terms for his services, which were not always complied with; but they who declined them, always found reason to repent their doing so. The *Dutch* used to observe, that his services were excellent, but his payment extravagant, for which reason they employed him too little. *James* I. knew his merit, and rewarded it nobly; though he never was properly in his service, he not having the courage to employ him. and character.

This year was likewise distinguished by the death of another great protestant general, the duke of *Brunswic*, who died when he was no more than 30 years of age, the fellow labourer of *Mansfield*. That prince had great talents for war, and was sincere and zealous for the cause he espoused; but his violence of temper often hurried him into oversights, and his hatred of priests, sometimes rose to inhumanity. The *Imperialists* having now nothing to fear on the side of *Hungary*, *Tilly* resumed the siege of *Nienburg*, which was reinforced by the king of *Denmark*, whose army, by the auxiliaries he had received from *France* and *Holland*, now amounted to 24,0 o foot, and 15,000 horse. *Tilly* not being able to face this army, amused it with marches and countermarches, during great part of the campaign, till he could be joined by duke *Maximilian* of *Saxony*; but the woeful consequences of the Duke of *Brunswic* died.

deaths

deaths of the two great proteſtant generals, as likewiſe that of the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, which happened about the ſame time, now appeared. The *Auſtrians* took *Brandenburg*, the king of *Denmark* was obliged to intrench himſelf on the banks of the *Weſer*; daily ſkirmiſhes paſſed, to the diſadvantage and diſcouragement of the proteſtants, and, at laſt, the *Imperialiſts*, under the duke of *Lunenburg*, to draw the war out of *Germany*, ſuddenly made an irruption into *Holſtein*, to which the king of *Denmark* was obliged to detach 12,000 of his beſt troops. This movement left *Tilly* at liberty to act as he pleaſed. He took *Northeim*, *Havelberg*, and the fort near *Ardemburg*, with many other places of importance, and was upon the point of conquering *Holſtein*, when its duke propoſed an accommodation. Here the war ſeemed to be at a criſis, and proteſtantiſm to be at its laſt gaſp. *Tilly* preſcribed, inſtead of treating. He demanded that his *Daniſh* majeſty ſhould deliver up to the emperor the fortreſs of *Gluckſtadt*, and reſign all the poſſeſſions and claims he had in *Germany*, beſides paying for the expences of the war, and opening the navigation of the *Sound* to the *Imperialiſts*. Thoſe terms being rejected, *Tilly* proceeded to the conqueſt of *Holſtein*, where he drove the *Daniſh* king and army from poſt to poſt, taking every place that ſtood in his way, till *Chriſtian* was obliged to fly to *Jutland*. Even there, he was followed by the *Imperialiſts*, who either cut in pieces his troops, or obliged them to enliſt in their ſervice.

Haughty demand of the *Imperialiſts* from the *Danes*,

In *Lower Saxony*, *Nienburg* being no longer ſupplied by the *Danes*, was forced to ſurrender. The elector of *Brandenburg*, and the marquis of *Baden Dourlach*, detached themſelves and their ſubjects from the proteſtant league, as did many other princes, who thought that the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* was now uncontroulable, at the very time that the diſtreſſes of the proteſtants were inventing the means of their deliverance. *Ferdinand*, though he had bore his ſucceſſes with great moderation, and never diſcouraged any ſollicitations made in favour of the *Palatine*, yet could not help manifeſting his ambition, where fair profeſſions would no longer ſerve his purpoſes. Beſides *England* and *Holland*, the dukes of *Lorrain* and *Wirtemberg* interceded with ſo much earneſtneſs, that *Ferdinand* was, at laſt, obliged to explain himſelf, by demanding *Frederic* to aſk him pardon, to renounce the crown of *Bohemia*, to eſtabliſh the catholic religion in the *Palatinate*, and to pay for the expences of the war, but the duke of *Bavaria* was ſtill to retain the electoral dignity. Thoſe demands were found too impracticable to be complied with; and, from thenceforth, *Ferdinand* took meaſures, as he now thought himſelf powerful enough to effect it, for rendering himſelf ſuperior to the *Germanic* conſtitution, and independent in the exerciſe of his prerogative, upon all the electors, *Roman* catholic, as well as proteſtant. He gave the biſhopric of *Halberſtadt*, with the abbey of *Hirſchfield*, and the biſhopric

and the elector *Palatine*.

prics

prics of *Straſbourg* and *Paſſau*, to his ſon *William*, and intended to have given him likewiſe, the biſhoprics of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*. His miniſters and generals made no ſecret, that the proteſtants were to be deprived of all the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions they had ſeized or ſecularized, that their religion was to be no longer tolerated in *Germany*, and that the electors would be reduced to a condition not better than that of the titular grandees of *Spain*. That their actions might correſpond with their threatenings, they quartered their troops indifferently, upon the *Roman* catholics and the proteſtants, and even the duke of *Bavaria*, and the elector of *Triers*, began to form ſecret connections with *France*, as the only power who could deliver them from being ſwallowed up by the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Cardinal *Richelieu* was then the firſt miniſter of *France*, and was fully convinced of the neceſſity of checking the *Auſtrian* greatneſs; but he was on the eve of a war with *England*, and doubtful of his ſituation with *Savoy*, and the *Italian* princes. All he could do, was to ſupply the king of *Denmark* with money, to prevent his ſinking under his misfortunes, and to ſend a miniſter to offer his maſter's mediation between the emperor and the proteſtants, and ſecretly to embarraſs the intended election of a king of the *Romans*, which was accordingly delayed; but the crown of *Bohemia* was placed upon the king of *Hungary*'s head. A diet, however, was opened at *Mulhauſen*, where the *French* envoy, *Marcheville*, made many plauſible propoſals for the peace, which he urged ſo artfully, that the *Imperial* miniſters could not conceal from the diet, their maſter's real deſigns upon the liberties of the empire, and of reſuming the eccleſiaſtical territories, poſſeſſed by proteſtant princes, but they found themſelves unable to ſucceed in the laſt mentioned ſcheme. A diet at *Mulhauſen*.

When the affair of the elector *Palatine* came to be debated, the *Roman* catholic electors were willing that he ſhould be reinſtated in his dominions, or the greateſt part of them; but they inſiſted upon his aſking pardon of the emperor, and his renouncing the crown of *Bohemia*, and the electoral dignity, threatening, that if he refuſed to comply, they would take arms on the ſide of the emperor. In the mean while, the king of *Denmark*, with the money he had received from *Richelieu*, equipped a fleet, with which he ravaged the ſea coaſts belonging to the *Imperial* party, but he could not prevent *Staden*, which had in it an *Engliſh* garriſon, commanded by colonel *Morgan*, from being taken by *Tilly*, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and the war in thoſe parts was carried on with great ſucceſs againſt the *Imperialiſts*. *Ferdinand* could not, with indifference, ſee the flouriſhing ſtate of the *Hanſe* towns, and demanded that they ſhould aſſiſt him in eſtabliſhing a new company, to whom the paſſage of the *Sound* ſhould be open for carrying on a trade in the north. They ſaw his drift, refuſed his requeſt, offered to be neutral, but Progreſs of the king of *Denmark*.

but prepared to defend themſelves. A congreſs was held at *Lubec*, where the proteſtant cauſe wore ſo good a face, that the *Daniſh* commiſſioners inſiſted upon the reſtitution of all that had been taken from their maſter, and upon liberty of conſcience being exerciſed over all the *Lower Saxony*, while the *Imperialiſts* inſiſted upon their former terms, with very little abatement, and that all their allies ſhould be comprehended in the treaty.

*Wallenſtein* created duke of *Mecklenburg*.

*Wallenſtein*, by this time, had obtained his favourite point, that of being created duke of *Mecklenburg*, by the emperor, who had put the former dukes under the ban of the empire. He was in hopes of perpetuating that noble dutchy in his family, and as it lay between *Denmark* and the empire, he was afraid, that if the war was renewed, he might loſe poſſeſſion of it. The differences which had been ſtarted at *Lubec*, carried the *Imperial* commiſſaries to him, who they knew enjoyed the emperor's confidence, to aſk for inſtructions, how far they could recede from their demands. To oblige the king of *Denmark*, he mollified the terms; ſo as to be entirely acceptable to his *Daniſh* majeſty, but with an excluſion of the dukes of *Mecklenburg* from their former dominions. The congreſs ſtill continued at *Lubec*, where *Wallenſtein*'s terms were accepted. The electoral rights of the duke of *Bavaria* were confirmed, but thoſe of the *Palatine* rejected. His *Daniſh* majeſty, however, ſtill entertained a warm friendſhip for the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who had been preſcribed for adhering to his intereſt, and a reſentment againſt the duke of *Holſtein*, who had entered into a ſeparate treaty with the emperor, for himſelf, during the late war. In the conferences at *Lubec*, the great *Guſtavus Adolphus* was thought of ſo little conſequence by the emperor, that his ambaſſador had been refuſed a ſeat in the aſſembly. This ſlight, perhaps, would not have determined *Guſtavus* to the part he afterwards ſo illuſtriouſly acted, had he not previouſly concerted with the courts of *England* and *France*, a deep laid plan for the reduction of the *Auſtrian* power. He encouraged his *Daniſh* majeſty in proceeding to hoſtilities againſt *Holſtein*, his *Imperial* majeſty's ally, and the emperor plied *Chriſtian* with repeated monitorial letters to deſiſt. While this quarrel was in dependence, the emperor *Ferdinand* enjoyed an imaginary triumph, and a ſeeming ſtate of ſecurity. He publiſhed an ordonnance at *Vienna*, commanding the proteſtants to reſtore all the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions and effects, that had come into their hands ſince the pacification of *Paſſau*, and he committed the execution of it to *Wallenſtein*.

Scheme laid for reducing the *Imperial* power.

Proceedings of an aſſembly at *Heidelberg*.

The *Roman* catholics eaſily perceived, that the ſame power which then unjuſtly operated againſt the proteſtants, might affect themſelves, and they joined in remonſtrances againſt it, in an aſſembly which was held at *Heidelberg*, where the elector of *Saxony* preſided. That prince was then poſſeſſed of great treaſures, and was in the ſecret of the powerful confederacy,

deracy, that had been formed againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*. The emperor's agents and commiſſaries, being excluded from the meeting, he ventured to lay it before its members, who ſo carefully concealed it, that the emperor, the three eccleſiaſtical electors, and the duke of *Bavaria*, were entirely ignorant of it, when they met at the diet of *Ratiſbon*. The temper of the princes there ſtartled the emperor, who now thought that nothing could ſtand before him. Even the elector of *Bavaria* declared, that the deliberations of the diet could not be free, while *Ferdinand* had 150,000 troops in *Germany*, and joined with the catholic princes, in deſiring he would deſiſt from his edict of revocation of the eccleſiaſtical benefices, and confirm the treaty of *Paſſau* for forty years to come. *Ferdinand* did all he could to ſoften this peremptory oppoſition, in which the princes perſevered ſo ſtrenuouſly, that he was obliged to diſmiſs *Wallenſtein* from his command, and to reduce his army to 40,000 men, but thoſe were veterans.

*Wallenſtein* diſmiſſed from his command,

This diſmiſſion was not ſo cautiouſly managed, as to prevent *Ferdinand* from perceiving that the duke of *Bavaria* was at the bottom of the oppoſition to his meaſures, and aſpired to be king of the *Romans*. The duke was too well ſupported for *Ferdinand* to cruſh him, and it was with difficulty that he evaded his being put at the head of the army, the command of which was given to *Tilly*, who was unexceptionably qualified for the ſame. *Wallenſtein* diſſembled his reſentment and kept up his ſtate; which was far beyond that of the emperor himſelf. At this diet the ambaſſadors of two great crowned heads appeared, one from *Charles* I. of *England*, and the other from the *French* king; but nothing was done effectually for the ſervice of the deprived elector *Palatine*, and the *French* court ſaid, that it would not be debarred from giving aſſiſtance to its ally the king of *Sweden*, who by this time had declared war againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, alledging among other reaſons, foreign to this part of our hiſtory, that *Ferdinand* had arbitrarily deprived the two dukes of *Mecklenburg* of their dominions, and had unjuſtly ſeized upon many eſtates in the *Lower Saxony*, and *Pomerania*, and treated his *Swediſh* majeſty in a manner unbecoming his dignity. Whatever might be in thoſe allegations, it is certain, that *England* and *France* very properly thought, that the *Imperial* power in *Germany* was at this time dangerous to the liberties of *Europe*. The king of *Denmark*'s vanity was touched at ſeeing the preference given to the *Swede*; but he was made eaſy by *France*, and *Guſtavus* rendered himſelf maſter of the iſle of *Rugen*, by which he ſecured to himſelf two important poſts. He then ſurprized *Stetin*; notwithſtanding the reluctance expreſſed by *Bogiſlaus* duke of *Pomerania*, at his becoming maſter of the place; nay, he even obliged that prince to make a temporary reſignation of his ſovereignty into his hands during the war. *Ferdinand* all this time remained wrapt up in a ſecurity, which was dictated by the opinion he entertained of his

which is given to *Tilly*.

King of *Sweden* declares war againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*.

his own greatneſs, the contempt he had for the *Swediſh* power, and the ruined condition of *Denmark*. He had imagined that *Great Britain* would not interfere in the war; but when he ſaw *Charles* I. ſend 8000 troops to the aſſiſtance of *Guſtavus*, he deigned to write a threatening letter, commanding *Guſtavus* to return to his own country, on pain of being driven to it by the whole force of the houſe of *Auſtria*.

He invades *Germany*.

*Guſtavus* treated this meſſage with the contempt it deſerved; and as he was to receive from *France* a ſubſidy of 1,200,000 livres, he agreed to grant the *Roman* catholic princes of the empire, the duke of *Bavaria* eſpecially, a neutrality, if they did not aſſiſt the emperor, and that the *Roman* catholic religion ſhould ſtill be exerciſed in the conquered places. It is amazing that *Guſtavus*, in this expedition, met with more oppoſition from the proteſtants, than he did from the *Roman* catholic princes. The latter gradually embraced a neutrality, but the former were afraid of provoking the emperor, and of being puniſhed before the *Swedes* could aſſiſt them, even if they ſhould but appear to be neutral. An aſſembly was held at *Leipſic*, conſiſting of the electors and princes of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, the duke of *Brunſwic-Lunenburg*, the marquis of *Baden*, with the other heads of the *German* proteſtants, and deputies from four of their great cities, where they had under conſideration, the means of reducing the *Imperial* power, which they propoſed to do, by raiſing and maintaining an army of 40,000 men, but independent of *Guſtavus*. They ſent *Ferdinand* a formal intimation of their intentions, and he condemned them; upon which they began ſeriouſly to reflect on the danger they were in from the auſterity of *Ferdinand*, and to think of ſtrengthening themſelves by favouring *Guſtavus*, whoſe progreſs by this time was incredibly rapid. He had taken *Colberg*, *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and *Dammin*, in the depth of winter. *Tilly* commanded the *Imperial* troops, but perceived that he was not now the firſt general of his age. He was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Magdeburg*, from whence he marched and retook *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, but it was again taken by the king of *Sweden*, who gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, becauſe the inhabitants favoured his enemies.

His progreſs there.

The elector of *Saxony* continued ſtill irreſolute, partly on account of his connections with the emperor, partly becauſe he wiſhed to ſee *Germany* delivered from the *Imperial* tyranny by the league of *Leipſic*, rather than by *Guſtavus*. *Tilly* having left *Frankfort* laid ſiege to *Magdeburg*, and the elector of *Saxony* denied *Guſtavus* a paſſage through his territory to relieve it. *Guſtavus* unwilling to make that elector his declared enemy, beſieged and took *Potſdam* with many other places upon the *Elbe*; but *Tilly* took *Magdeburg*. That unhappy city had been long the object of the *Auſtrian* reſentment, which was now gratified to the full. *Tilly* put 30,000 of the inhabitants to death, and his ſoldiers after plundering it, re-

Cruelties of *Tilly*, who takes *Magdeburg*.

duced it to ashes. This cruelty at once created caution and horror in the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. The army of *Gustavus* did not consist of above 30,000 *Swedes*, besides his *English* auxiliaries, and the emperor having now made peace in *Italy*, had drawn his troops from thence into *Germany*. *Gustavus*, who had relied on the protestant electors and princes, thought that they were rather afraid than unwilling to assist him, and he resolved to give them a plausible pretext for breaking their timid neutrality. He appeared before the gates of *Berlin*, and threatened to lay it in ashes, if they were not opened to his army. The elector of *Brandenburg* obeyed, and not only admitted his troops, but gave him possession of the strong fortress of *Spandau*, during the continuance of the war, and a free passage through all his dominions. This success of *Gustavus*, determined the landgrave of *Hesse*, who had been intimidated by the threats of *Tilly*, to follow the example of the *Brandenburg* elector. He entered into a convention with *Gustavus*, (who promised to reinstate him in all the fiefs, which the rapacity of the *Austrian* house had wrongfully taken from him) to give him admittance into all the strong places of his dominions, which were, however, to be restored to him, upon the determination of the war, and to assist him vigorously with all his forces. This convention was of infinite service to *Gustavus*; and the elector of *Saxony*, who likewise had been threatened by *Tilly*, resolved to follow the landgrave's example, as soon as *Gustavus* passed the *Elbe*.

The German princes join *Gustavus*.

The treaty between those two powers, was pretty much of the same nature as that which *Gustavus* had concluded with the landgrave; but each party obliged himself not to enter into any negotiation with the emperor without the consent of the other. The elector reviewed his army, which consisted of 15,000 men, and a proportionable train of artillery, at *Torgau*, and marched to *Wittinberg*, where the elector met with the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and *Gustavus*. The dilatory measures of the two electors had given *Tilly* some advantages; for he was now master of *Hall* and *Leipsic*, near which his army was encamped. The elector of *Saxony*, grieved at seeing his dominions a prey to two armies, pressed *Gustavus* to hazard a general battle. The king seemed shy, the better to fathom the elector's intention; but perceiving that the latter was resolved to risk every thing, he formed the order of battle. *Tilly*'s opinion, in the *Imperial* council of war was, that he should continue in his trenches, till he received the reinforcements he expected; but in this he was over-ruled by the counts *Pappenheim* and *Furstenberg*, the officers next in command under him, and he was obliged to advance his army into the plain of *Breitenfeld*. *Tilly* saw the *Swedish* army advance with an order and discipline, of which he thought no troops but his own were capable, and which gave him a presage of the event of the day. He fell for some minutes into an absence

who defeats the *Imperialists* at the battle of *Leipsic*.

fence of mind, during which, the other generals made a most injudicious order of battle. When he recovered, he altered it to vast advantage. Each army was about 40,000 strong. *Gustavus* charged the left wing of the *Imperialists*, which, by a false motion, had been detached from their main body, and routed it, while *Tilly* at the head of his cavalry, did the same by the *Saxon* troops, who were raw and unexperienced. *Gustavus* returned in time from the pursuit, and ordering a division of his army, under *Tufeld*, one of his officers, to join him, he fell upon the victorious part of the *Imperial* army, defeated it, took their cannon; and *Tilly*, who was wounded by three musket-shots in his body, was with the utmost difficulty carried off to *Hall* by the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*.

This battle is justly reckoned the first regular engagement, according to the modern art of war, that ever was fought. Each general displayed great judgment in his disposition; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the *Swedes*, when headed by *Gustavus*, who exposed his person as freely as did the meanest subaltern of his army. The battle was fought on the 17th of *September*, 1631, and it cost about 9000 *Austrians* their lives, besides 5000, who were made prisoners, the loss of their baggage, artillery, and trophies of war, while that of the *Swedes* did not amount to above 700 men. *Tilly* removed from *Hall* to *Halberstadt*, and from thence to *Franconia* to join the reinforcement he had expected before the late battle, by which his army again amounted to above 40,000 men. In the mean while, the city of *Leipsic*, and all that part of *Saxony* which had been seized by the *Imperialists*, fell into the elector's hands, and *Gustavus* multiplied his conquests with inconceivable rapidity, and subdued all the tract that lies between the *Elbe* and the *Rhine*, though full of fortifications. *Tilly*, though doubly superior to him in strength, tamely beheld his progress, while he took *Erfort* and *Wurtzbourg*, and beat up the *Imperial* diet at *Frankfort*. Even *Mentz* surrendered to the arms of *Gustavus*, who about this time re-established the dukes of *Mecklenburg* in their dominions, and opened his way into the *Palatinate*, having crossed the *Rhine* in sight of a body of *Spanish* troops, posted upon the bank to dispute his passage. Upon his entering the *Palatinate*, he was joined by the deposed elector *Frederic*; but being under secret engagements with *France*, *Gustavus* would give him no positive assurance of his re-establishment. *Worms*, *Heilbron*, *Spire*, *Germersheim*, *Landau*, and *Weisemburg*, were among the number of the *Swede's* conquests, and even *Strasbourg* in *Alsace* submitted to his arms. In another quarter, about the beginning of *November*, his troops expelled the *Imperialists* from *Rostoc* and *Wismar*; so that he now was possessed of all the country from the *Baltic* to *Lorrain*.

1631. Farther conquests of *Gustavus*,

The vast reinforcements *Gustavus* had received during the course of his victories, had left it in his power to suffer the elector of *Saxony* to command a separate army of his own subjects,

subjects, with which he penetrated into *Bohemia*, and took the city of *Prague*. The true aim of *Gustavus*, and the court of *France*, was to have annihilated the power of the house of *Austria*; but the *Saxon* elector could enter into no such views, being only for reducing it. Upon his taking *Prague*, *Gustavus* pressed him to pursue his conquests, but he now began to be as jealous of the *Swede* and the house of *Bourbon*, as he had been before uneasy under the *Imperial* yoke. He suffered his troops to abandon themselves to luxury and idle habits, while the *Imperial* general, *Galas*, took possession of the strong town of *Pilsen*, and stopt his farther progress. In other places of *Germany* the *Swedish* triumphs were complete. *Bremen*, *Wetteravia*, *Westerwald*, the states of the *Lower Saxony*, and at last, even the *Leipsic* confederacy fell in with the views of *Gustavus*, and became his allies, if not his subjects. The affairs of *Ferdinand* at this time, were equally complicated as distressed. He now plainly perceived that his favourite, the elector of *Bavaria*, held a secret correspondence with the court of *France*, and the inactivity of *Tilly*, who was known to be devoted to the *Bavarian* interest, gave him reason to think that he was betrayed. His *Austrian* ministers would not venture to advise the entire dismission of *Tilly* from his command, because he was strongly supported by *Spain* and *Bavaria*; but they advised him to recal *Wallenstein*, who was then at *Znaim* in *Moravia*, sullenly enjoying the misfortunes of his country, in revenge of his disgrace. *Ferdinand* assented, and *Wallenstein* accepted of the absolute command of the *Imperial* army, without being subject to the controul even of the council of *Vienna*. This independency was contrary to all the rules of sound policy, but dictated equally by the vanity and pride of the house of *Austria*, which had always disdained to put its generals under restrictions from blood and rapine.

who raises the jealousy of the elector of *Saxony*.

The progress and conquests of the *Swede*, at this time, were such, that some warm protestants had immaturely hinted, as if *Gustavus*, not contented with the conquest of *Germany*, would attempt that of *Italy*, and appear before the gates of *Rome*. *Ferdinand* endeavoured to avail himself of those vaunts, by alarming the pope and the *Italian* princes, but all was in vain. They dreaded the power of *Sweden* far less than that of *Austria*, and they sent him neither the men nor money he demanded. The *French*, on their part, were equally active and equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to detach the three ecclesiastical electors from the interests of the emperor. The *Spaniards* held *Coblentz* in the electorate of *Triers*, which *Gustavus* would have subdued, had not that elector obtained the protection of *France*, and given up *Hermanstein* as a pledge of his fidelity. *Gustavus*, at this time, found himself embarrassed by nothing so much, as by the jealousy which his successes had raised among his allies, which having endeavoured to dispel, he entered *Franconia*, where all resistance yielded

The emperor applies to the pope and the *Italian* states.

to his arms, with an intention to pass the *Danube*, that he might penetrate into the *Upper Palatinate*, and from thence into *Bavaria*. *Tilly* continued in that country at the head of a little army, with which he endeavoured to cover *Ingolstadt*, when all of a sudden *Gustavus* took *Donawert*, and laid the greatest part of *Suabia* under contribution. *Tilly* made such dispositions for preventing the *Swedes* passing the *Lech*, that *Horn*, one of the bravest of the *Swedish* generals, thought it highly improper to attack, but *Gustavus*, under favour of his artillery, made good his passage after a most desperate engagement, in which *Tilly* was mortally wounded, and died in a few days after, in the 70th year of his age. Had not *Gustavus Adolphus* appeared, *Tilly* would have died with the reputation of the greatest general in *Europe*, for he had seen more service than *Wallenstein*, who had not yet arrived at the meridian of his glory. *Tilly*, however, stained the laurels he acquired, by the deluges of innocent blood which he shed, but his cruelty was in part owing to the sanguinary complexion of the court he served.

Captivity and death of *Tilly*.

*Gustavus* impolitically discovers his ambition.

The passing the *Lech* was one of the most glorious exploits of *Gustavus*; but he committed an irreparable fault in politics, when upon the reduction of *Augsburg*, he not only established the protestant religion in that city, but obliged its inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to him as their sovereign. This incautious discovery of his ambition disgusted his allies, and he was repulsed by *Tilly*'s son before *Ingolstadt*; but made himself master of *Landshut*, *Merspurg*, and other places in *Bavaria*. His success in that dutchy was greatly owing to the malignant triumph which *Wallenstein* enjoyed, in seeing the distresses of the *Bavarian* elector; but it must be owned, that *Wallenstein* performed many noble services to the emperor, by recovering all *Bohemia* to his allegiance, and obliging the duke of *Saxony* to recall part of his troops for the defence of his own electorate. Notwithstanding this, *Wallenstein* still indulged a secret hatred for those who had occasioned his disgrace, and would have chosen to have fought them rather than the *Swedes*. He sought to force the duke of *Saxony* into a particular treaty with himself. The rapid progress of the *Swedes*, whose army now consisted of 60,000 men, obliged him at last to take the field against them; but he still declined acting offensively, and took up a strong camp, with so much judgment, that *Gustavus* was repulsed in attacking it, and his army must have suffered severely, had it not been gallantly disengaged at the earnest entreaty of *Gustavus*, by *Hepburn*, an old *Scotch* officer, who had but a few hours before thrown up his commission, on a disgust that he had received from that monarch. This was one of the most perilous situations in the life of *Gustavus*, who penetrated into *Bavaria*, that he might support the *Upper Austrians* in a fresh insurrection against the emperor. *Wallenstein*, in the mean while, pressed upon the duke of *Saxony* in *Misnia*, in such a manner, that *Gustavus*

He penetrates into *Bavaria*,

was

was obliged to abandon *Bavaria* to relieve his ally. *Wallenſtein* upon this retired to *Lutzen*, about two leagues from *Leipſic*, being weakened by detaching *Papenheim* with ſix regiments towards *Cologne*.

*Guſtavus* thought that the hour was now come for the deciſive blow to the *Auſtrian* power, and (what was next in his thoughts) for humbling the haughty *Wallenſtein*, whom he directly attacked. Though ill ſerved by his *German* auxiliaries, who gave way, he took, loſt, and retook the *Auſtrian* artillery, but was himſelf killed in reconnoitring a poſt. The battle was bravely maintained by the duke *Bernard de Saxe-Weimar*, and the *Swediſh* generals, who gained the victory, with the irreparable loſs of their king. Few or none of the *Germans* under *Wallenſtein* could have eſcaped being ſlaughtered by the incenſed *Swedes*, had not *Papenheim* brought off the remainder by his cavalry; but he likewiſe was routed, and received a mortal wound of which he died next day. In this battle, it is reported that about 3000 *Swedes*, and 7000 *Imperialiſts* fell. The duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, who had wavered from party to party, and quitted that of *Sweden* ſoon after the death of *Guſtavus*, is ſuſpected of having given him the fatal ſhot, and other ridiculous ſurmiſes have been raiſed concerning his death, as if any thing extraordinary had happened, when a prince, who had always expoſed himſelf as a common ſoldier, met with a common ſoldier's death. Next day his body was found ſtripped and mangled, and the *Germans* bought up at an immoderate rate every bit of his habit, arms, and accoutrements, as ſo many magical relics; for they imagined that no mere man could perform his exploits; and as ſuch they are to this day exhibited in their repoſitories.

but is killed in the battle of *Lutzen*.

It was, with reaſon, thought that *Germany*, by the death of *Guſtavus*, would have been delivered from the *Swediſh* invaſion; but that prince had brought up heroes equal to himſelf. The duke of *Saxe-Weimar* took the command of the *Swediſh* army, and was ſo far from retreating, that he ordered the body of *Guſtavus* to be expoſed in order to animate the ſoldiers to purſue *Wallenſtein*, who had retired towards *Bohemia*, which they accordingly did. The unfortunate elector *Palatine*, who depended entirely upon *Guſtavus* for being reinſtated in his dominions, no ſooner heard of his death, than he relapſed into a fever, from which he had but juſt recovered, and which carried him out of the world. As to the emperor *Ferdinand*, he thought he had gained a complete victory, when he heard of the death of *Guſtavus*, and learned that he was ſucceeded by his daughter *Chriſtina*, a child of no more than ſix years of age. He was, however, amazed and aſtoniſhed, when, before the end of the year, the *Swedes* drove the *Imperialiſts* out of *Saxony*. By the aſſiſtance which he received from the duke of *Bavaria*, and his remittances from *Spain*, he ſtill hoped to retrieve his affairs, and to divide the *Swedes* from their allies, who were now greatly diſconcerted among

The war continued under the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*,

themſelves Though they repoſed great confidence in *Guſtavus*, they did not transfer it to his ſucceſſors in his army, and each proteſtant power having ſeparate views, the confederacy muſt have been torn to pieces, had not cardinal *Richelieu*, from motives that are foreign to this part of our hiſtory, given them aſſurances of ſupport. Every thing in ſhort contributed to induce the *Swedes* not only to keep, but to extend their conqueſts in the empire; and *Oxenſtiern*, the prime miniſter in *Sweden*, one of the greateſt men that age produced, fell in with the ſame ſentiments. He therefore reſolved to continue the war, without making any alteration in the plan laid down by *Guſtavus*, and he brought the proteſtants of the empire into the ſame ſentiments. The elector of *Saxony*, and indeed ſeveral other princes of the confederacy, were inclined to oppoſe *Oxenſtiern*, who they thought was too powerful in the empire, but the elector of *Brandenburg*, ſupported by the *French* ambaſſador, continued firm in the common cauſe, though the landgrave of *Heſſe*, in effect, had deſerted it.

who is ſupported by cardinal *Richelieu*.

The *Swediſh* army was then in *Miſnia*, from whence 14,000 men of the confederacy were detached by *Oxenſtiern* againſt the *Imperialiſts*, who had regained their footing in *Lower Saxony* and *Weſtphalia*. The duke of *Saxe-Weimar* had at the ſame time fallen into *Franconia*, where he joined with *Guſtavus Horn*, and drove the *Imperialiſts* from thence, and from *Suabia*; and they and their allies carried every thing before them in thoſe quarters. The elector of *Saxony* ſtill retained his averſion, at ſeeing the moſt important intereſts of *Germany* in the hands of the *Swedes*; but *Oxenſtiern* gained his point in an aſſembly held at *Heilbron*, though his *Daniſh* majeſty endeavoured to thwart him, and the king of *Poland* ſtruck in as mediator between the two parties. *Oxenſtiern* artfully declined this mediation, but to engage the other proteſtant powers of *Europe* in his cauſe, he reſtored the dignity of elector with great part of his paternal dominions, to *Charles-Lewis*, ſon and heir to the late elector *Palatine*. This he did in conſequence of the power delegated to him by the ſenate of *Sweden*, which was ſo unlimited, that he acted in every reſpect as *Guſtavus* would have done had he been alive. The aſſemblies were held at his houſe, and attended by deputies or miniſters of all the princes of the empire, and the principal powers of *Europe*. He renewed and ſtrengthened the alliance between *France* and *Sweden*, and took every meaſure that could unite *England* and *Holland* in the ſame cauſe. With the like aſſiduity, he endeavoured to reconcile all the proteſtant princes of the empire, to every ſtep he had taken at *Heilbron*, while *Ferdinand* and his miniſters employed every art to countermine him.

His great ſucceſs againſt the *Imperialiſts*.

Wiſe conduct of *Oxenſtiern*, the *Swediſh* miniſter.

Thoſe negociations gave no reſpite to the war which ſtill raged in *Germany*. The duke of *Lunenbourg*, who commanded one diviſion of the *Swediſh* army, took *Hamelen* on the
1633. 8th of *July*, 1633, and gave a bloody defeat to the *Auſtrians*; but

but *Wallenſtein* defeated the *Swedes* in *Sileſia*, and took *Franck-* Proceed-
*fort* on the *Oder*. He might have proceeded farther, but he ings of
hated the *Swedes* leſs than he did the duke of *Feria*, a *Spaniſh Wallen-*
general, who was then upon his march from *Italy* at the head *ſtein.*
of 30,000 men to aſſiſt the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Wallenſtein* is
thought likewiſe to have had, at this time, in his eye the
crown of *Bohemia*. Be that as it will, it is certain that he
did every thing to thwart the duke of *Feria*, and to ruin his
army. Mean while, *Oxenſtiern* endeavoured to ſeize the foreſt
towns belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*, in which he was op-
poſed by the *Swiſs Roman* catholic cantons; but he negoci-
ated ſo artfully, that the *Swiſs*, in general, agreed to obſerve a
neutrality. *Horn*, one of the braveſt of the *Swediſh* generals,
had, at this time, taken *Stein*, and *Conſtance* itſelf would have
undergone the ſame fate, if it had not been gallantly defended
by *Wolfeg* the *Auſtrian* governor. *Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-*
*Weimar*, after this, ſeparated from *Horn*, and, before winter,
took *Ratiſbon* and *Straubingen*, with ſome other places. The
rhinegrave *Otho*, who acted as *Swediſh* governor of the two
circles of the *Rhine*, was obliged, by the duke of *Feria*, to
raiſe the ſiege of *Briſac*, but that duke was ſo effectually per-
plexed by *Aldringham*, the *Imperial* general, who had private
inſtructions for that purpoſe from *Wallenſtein*, that he could
make no farther progreſs, and died of grief, while *Aldringham*
himſelf was killed in marching to relieve *Landſhut*. To coun-
terbalance thoſe ſucceſſes of the *Swedes*, who had driven the
*Imperialiſts* with great ſlaughter back to *Bavaria*, a miſunder-
ſtanding happened between them and the *Saxon* general, which
checked their progreſs in *Sileſia*, and was attended with very
bad conſequences to the proteſtant cauſe. The circles of the
*Upper Germany* were ſecretly diſguſted with the continuance of
the war, and nothing but their fear of the emperor could have
prevented the proteſtant princes themſelves from uniting to
drive both the *French* and *Swedes* out of *Germany*. *Oxenſtiern* was
ſenſible of this, and ſo artfully improved their apprehenſions,
that he kept them firm, at leaſt to appearance, in the com-
mon cauſe.

The proteſtants were now favoured by the greatneſs of *Wal-* who be-
*lenſtein*, which had long overtopped that of the emperor comes
himſelf. He had watched his opportunity, not only to be re- ſupported
venged of his enemies at the court of *Vienna*, but to render him- by the em-
ſelf independent both of the emperor and the empire. He had peror,
prevailed with his officers to take an oath of fidelity to him in
his own name, without mentioning that of the emperor. He
had declared himſelf openly in favour of the proteſtants, and
had entered into ſecret correſpondences with the *French*, whom
he promiſed to join with his army, provided they would aſſiſt
him in his deſigns upon the crown of *Bohemia*. His inſolence,
avarice, and tyranny, defeated his ambition. He had made
the duke of *Bavaria*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Jeſuits* his ene-
mies, and his inactivity during the preceding ſummer, diſpoſed

the emperor to liſten to the moſt malicious inſinuations againſt him, till at laſt he became thoroughly convinced of his treachery and deſigns. It is to this day doubtful, whether *Wallenſtein* originally ſet out with the views aſcribed to him by his enemies, or whether he did not adopt them after he found his ruin reſolved upon at the *Imperial* court. The latter opinion is the more probable, as *Oxenſtiern* and the duke of *Saxe-Wiemar* always diſtruſted him, even after he had offered to join his army with theirs. Upon this, he offered to reſign the command of his army, but was perſuaded to retain it by fifty-two of his principal officers, entering into a ſolemn aſſociation on oath to defend his perſon with their lives and fortunes. This aſſociation was diſcovered to the emperor, who immediately aſſembled an *Imperial* council, and put *Wallenſtein* to the ban of the empire. The execution of this ban was committed to the *Imperial* general *Picolomini*, who marched at the head of an army againſt *Wallenſtein*, while another general, de *Maradas*, ſecured the city of *Prague* in its allegiance to the emperor.

and is aſſaſſinated.

*Wallenſtein* beheld thoſe meaſures taken for his deſtruction with ſo great indifference, that he repaired to *Egra*, which was held by an *Iriſh* or *Scotch* garriſon, which he thought he could truſt, attended only by a few of his officers, among whom were his two favourites, the counts *Tertſki* and *Kinſki*. Here he renewed his intrigues with the proteſtants, ſo openly, that the emperor, or his miniſters, gave a ſecret commiſſion to *Leſley* and *Gordon*, two *Scotch* officers, and one *Butler* an *Iriſhman*, to aſſaſſinate him and his principal followers, which they accordingly did in a moſt infamous manner, and in breach of all the laws of hoſpitality. The only juſtification brought for thoſe murders, was, that *Wallenſtein* and his friends had been put under the ban of the empire, and therefore it was lawful to diſpatch them by any means. Some of the aſſaſſins, *Leſley* in particular, were nobilitated and amply rewarded for this execrable action, while the chief of *Wallenſtein*'s officers, who had not been maſſacred, loſt their heads upon ſcaffolds. *Wallenſtein*, at the time of his death, was but fifty years of age, and yielded in reputation and abilities to no general in *Europe*. That he was a great genius, appears fully from the vaſt height to which he raiſed himſelf, in defiance even of the emperor his maſter, and all his court and allies, who equally dreaded and hated him. His death was attended by ſome commotions in *Sileſia*, which were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and the *Imperialiſts* took their meaſures ſo well, that they drove the *Swedes* out of the *Upper Palatinate*, though they repaired their loſs in ſome degree by the progreſs which their famous general *Guſtavus Horn* made in *Suabia*, and a great battle which the rhinegrave obtained over the *Imperialiſts* and *Lorrainers* in *Upper Alſace*, beſides many advantages which their other generals gained at the ſame time.

The

The troubles of *Germany* encreaſed inſtead of diminiſhing, notwithſtanding the unweared endeavours of the elector of *Saxony* and other proteſtant princes at the *Imperial* court for reſtoring its peace. *Ferdinand* gave ſoothing anſwers to all their applications; but it was plain, that notwithſtanding all his mortifications, he ſtill retained his hatred of proteſtantiſm, and his reſolution to become the abſolute maſter of the *Germanic* liberties, in which he was encouraged by the *Spaniſh* branch of his houſe. The duke of *Saxony*, ſenſible of this, ordered his army, under the duke of *Altemburg*, and his general *Arnheim*, to enter *Luſatia*, where *Bautzen* was reduced to aſhes, and *Arnheim* defeated the *Imperial* general *Coloredo*, who had advanced to raiſe the ſiege of *Sittau*. In this battle the *Imperialiſts* loſt 4,000 men, beſides, 1,400 who were taken priſoners, with their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. After this, *Arnheim* croſſed the *Oder*, where he reduced *Glogaw* and many other places of importance; and *Bannier*, the *Swediſh* general, after taking *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*, and overturning all before him, penetrated through *Sileſia* to *Prague* itſelf, where he was joined by the elector of *Saxony* and *Arnheim*. In *Bavaria*, the emperor's ſon *Ferdinand Erneſt*, king of *Hungary*, and the duke of *Bavaria*, took *Ratiſbon*, after an obſtinate defence made by its *Swediſh* garriſon, while the duke of *Weimar* and *Horn* were advancing to its relief. The *Imperialiſts* had, at this time, received a conſiderable reinforcement from *Spain*, ſo that their army was in a flouriſhing condition, and encamped before *Nordlingen*. Here the *Swediſh* council of war, contrary to the opinion of *Horn*, reſolved to attack them, but they were defeated, though bravely ſupported by the duke of *Saxe-Wiemar*, who brought off the *Swediſh* cavalry to *Wirtemberg*. *Horn*, and four other *Swediſh* generals were taken priſoners. In this battle, which was the moſt conſiderable the *Swedes* ever loſt in *Germany*, 8,000 of them were killed on the ſpot, 9,000 in the purſuit, 4,000 were made priſoners, 80 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition and baggage were taken; while the loſs of the *Imperialiſts* did not amount to above 2,000 men.

The troubles of *Germany* encreaſe.

Succeſſes of the *Swedes*, who loſe the great battle of *Nordlingen*.

It has been obſerved, that the battle of *Nordlingen*, which was fought on the 5th of *September*, and continued for a day and a half, was diſtinguiſhed by the preſence of the greateſt generals of that age. The *Bavarians* were led by their own duke, as the *Lorrainers*, who were about 12,000 in numbers, were by theirs, and both thoſe princes, as well as their troops, performed prodigies of valour. The *Spaniards* were commanded by the cardinal infant, governor of the *Low Countries*; the king of *Hungary* was generaliſſimo of the whole; and under them ſerved *Martin D'Idraques*, *Piccolomini*, and the celebrated *John de Wert*. Notwithſtanding the renown of thoſe generals, *Puffendorf*, who was well inſtructed, ſays, that the battle was gained by the *Croats* and the other irregulars of the *Imperial* army, whoſe impetuoſity was ſuch, that even the

Particulars of the fame.

*Swediſh* veterans could not withſtand them. The conſequences of the battle were, that *Suabia* and *Franconia* were reduced by the *Imperialiſts*, who became maſters of *Heilbron*, *Heidelbourg*, and the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. The proteſtant princes railed againſt the *Swedes*, as being the authors of the misfortunes with which they were threatened, but *Oxenſtiern*, though dejected, did not deſpair of retrieving all. *Bannier*, the rhinegrave, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the duke of *Lunenbourg* were ſtill at the head of victorious armies, and the *Swediſh* cavalry had ſuffered but little in the battle of *Nordlingen*. The greateſt misfortune of the proteſtants was, that they were divided among themſelves, and their jealouſy of the *Swedes* ſtill continued: ſo that the *Auſtrians* having croſſed the *Rhine*, took poſſeſſion of the country about *Mentz*, and prevented the junction of their enemies. The only reſource now which *Oxenſtiern* had, was in the *French* king, who had hitherto aſſiſted the *Swedes* only with money. *Oxenſtiern* offered him the poſſeſſion of *Alſace*, and to engage that the *Swedes* and their allies ſhould make no peace without his conſent; the king accepted of the condition. A freſh treaty was made between *France* and *Sweden*, and the *French* general, marſhal de la *Force*, was ordered to advance with his army to the relief of the *Swedes*.

A new treaty between *France* and *Sweden*, counterbalanced by the treaty of *Prague*.

The execution of this treaty gave a new turn to the face of affairs in *Germany*. The *French* loſt *Philipſbourg*, but retook *Spire* in the depth of the winter 1634. Early next ſpring, the duke of *Lorrain* attempted to take *Straſbourg* and *Rhinefield*, but was by the duke of *Roban* forced to repaſs the *Rhine*. The ſeizure and impriſonment of the elector of *Triers*, by the emperor and the infant *Ferdinand*, in the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, gave the *French* king a handle for declaring war againſt *Spain*; having firſt ſecured in his alliance the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, with thoſe of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, and concluded an offenſive and defenſive treaty with the *States General*. To counterbalance thoſe powerful alliances, the emperor, at laſt, concluded a treaty at *Prague* with the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and other proteſtant princes. By this treaty, the proteſtants were eſtabliſhed in the enjoyment of the eccleſiaſtical benefices they had been poſſeſſed of before the year 1627. The proteſtant as well as the catholic religion was to be permitted in the dominions of the empire, excepting in *Bohemia* and the *Auſtrian* provinces. The elector of *Bavaria* was to pay the jointure of the late elector *Palatine*'s widow, but to keep poſſeſſion of his electorate. All acquiſitions and conqueſts on either ſide made ſince the *Swediſh* invaſion of *Germany*, were to be mutually reſtored. The duke of *Lorrain* was to be reinſtated in his dominions, and a general amneſty was to take place on both ſides.

This treaty was juſtly branded, as being ungenerous and unfair. No proviſion was made for the elector *Palatine*; the fruit

fruit of the *Swediſh* conqueſts were all given away, and the Reflecti-
emperor was in fact reſtored to all the power he had before the ons upon,
*Swediſh* invaſion, the reſtitutions he was obliged to make by and conſe-
the treaty being but very trifling, and ſuch as might have been quences of
forced from him had the war continued. Room was left in the ſame.
the treaty for other princes to accede to it, the emperor pro-
miſing to withdraw his troops from their dominions. Beſides
the duke of *Saxony*, the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Lunenbourg*,
the princes of *Anhalt*, and *William* duke of *Saxe-Weimar*,
with ſeveral cities and other ſtates of the empire, ſigned the
treaty of *Prague*, which, however, was far from anſwering
the views of the contracting parties. The proteſtants, upon
a little reflection, repented of what they had done, eſpecially
as they ſaw the *French* king preparing to make prodigious ef-
forts againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*; and the *Swedes*, by his aſ-
ſiſtance, ſtill keeping their footing in *Germany*. The city of
*Straſbourg* refuſed to be comprehended in the treaty of *Prague*,
and the town of *Colmar* received into it a *French* garriſon.
*Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, younger brother of him who
had ſigned the late treaty, was, at this time, the favourite of
the *French* and the proteſtants who had not reconciled them-
ſelves to the emperor. He was declared general of the *French* Conceſ-
upon the *Rhine*, with an allowance of four millions of francs ſions from
for himſelf and his troops; beſides which, the *French* king re- *France* to
ſigned to him all his pretenſions upon *Alſace*, and promiſed, the duke
that if an accommodation ſhould take place, he ſhould be de- of *Saxe-*
clared landgrave of that noble province. *Weimar*.

This profuſion of favour to *Bernard*, who, though a brave
captain and an honeſt man, was a proteſtant, and a young
prince of no great importance, aſtoniſhed all *Europe*, though
in the event it had no effect. The war between the *French*
and the *Imperialiſts* on the *Rhine* continued with various ſuc-
ceſs; but in the mean while, the duke of *Lorrain*'s brave but
mercenary army, by perpetual fatigues, ſkirmiſhes and marches,
was reduced to 4,000 men. *Galas*, one of the beſt of the *Im-
perial* generals, acted with great vigour againſt the *Swedes*, nor
was duke *Bernard* ſtrong enough to prevent *Kaiſer-Couter*,
where he had depoſited all the effects and riches he had ac-
quired during the courſe of the war, from being taken by
ſtorm by the *Imperialiſts*. In the month of *Auguſt*, cardinal
de *Valette*, the *French* general, joined duke *Bernard* with 18,000
*French*, with whom he relieved *Mentz*, which had been be-
ſieged by the *Imperial* general *Mansfield*, and obliged *Galas* to
raiſe the ſiege of *Deux Ponts*. After this, they encamped
near *Mentz*, but the diſpoſition made by *Galas* for cutting off
their proviſions obliged them to make a moſt precipitate retreat
towards *Lorrain*. Being purſued by the *Imperialiſts*, they re-
pulſed them in a bloody engagement, where the *Imperial* ca-
valry, under *Galas*, was almoſt ruined. The *French* and
*Swedes*, under the cardinal and *Bernard*, were in the ſame
condition,

condition, and left *Galas* at liberty to join the duke of *Lorrain*.

1636. In the ſpring of the year 1636, duke *Bernard* having concerted with cardinal *Richlieu* at *Paris* the operations of the enſuing campaign, rejoined the cardinal de *Valette*, and obtained very conſiderable advantages over the *Imperialiſts* in *Lorrain*, while that duke, with *Galas*, at the head of 40,000 men, prepared for an irruption into *Franche Comte*. Duke *Bernard* and the cardinal harraſſed them ſo effectually, that though they penetrated as far as *Burgundy*, they were obliged to return, with the loſs of 5,000 men, and without making any acquiſition. By this time, the *Swediſh* army under *Bannier* had been joined by 12,000 *Brandenburghers*, and defeated the *Saxon* troops in *Mecklenburg*; upon which that elector was obliged to join *Maracini*, the *Imperial* general in *Pomerania*, where they were reinforced by a freſh ſupply of *Auſtrians*, by whoſe aſſiſtance they took the important city of *Magdebourg*, while *Bannier* took *Havelſburg*. A general battle was then expected, but *Bannier* retired towards *Mecklenburg*; and *Maracini* took *Stargard* by ſtorm. In the country of *Darmſtadt*, the *Swedes*, under general *Leſley*, had, at firſt, the ſuperiority, but were obliged to retire to join the landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and their troops, in conjunction, took *Paderborn*. During thoſe operations *Bannier* defeated the elector of *Saxony* and the *Imperial* general *Hasfield* in the plain of *Wiſlock*, ſo effectually, that of 20,000 *Imperialiſts*, ſcarcely 3,000 eſcaped to *Magdebourg*; the elector himſelf taking refuge at *Leipſic*. This victory, which was gained on the 4th of *October*, not only put the *Swedes* in poſſeſſion of an immenſe booty, but gave ſuch life to their cauſe, that the ſubjects of ſeveral proteſtant princes who had joined in the treaty of *Prague* enliſted in their army, and ſeveral places of importance admitted their garriſons.

His army reinforced,

but obliged to retire.

The emperor's ſon elected king of the *Romans*. While the war was thus raging in the empire with as much fury as ever, the emperor, after holding ſeveral diets, procured his ſon, the king of *Hungary*, to be elected at *Ratiſbon* king of the *Romans*, on the 12th of *December*, and he and his wife, *Mary* of *Spain*, were crowned on the 20th of the ſame month. This election was, by many, held invalid becauſe the elector of *Triers*, though no rebel to the empire, was ſtill detained a priſoner, and the ſon of the elector *Palatine* had not been reinveſted in his electorate. *Charles Lewis*, the young elector *Palatine*, was then at *London*, where he was moſt nobly entertained by king *Charles* I. and he publiſhed, by way of manifeſto, a declaration of his rights, and a proteſt againſt all that was doing in *Germany*, eſpecially in the affair of the king of the *Romans*. The emperor, *Ferdinand* II. did not long ſurvive the advancement of his ſon to that dignity, for he died on the 15th of *February*, 1637, in the 59th year of his age, and the 19th of his reign. He was twice married, firſt to *Anne Maria*, daughter to *William* duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he

1637. Death,

he had four children who ſurvived him; *Ferdinand* III. his ſuc- iſſue,
ceſſor in the empire; *Leopold William*, grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, biſhop of *Paſſau*, *Straſbourg*, *Halberſtadt*, *Olmutz*, and *Breſlaw*, and afterwards the *Spaniſh* governor in the *Low Countries*; *Maria Anna*, who married *Maximilian*, elector of *Bavaria*, and *Cecilia*; *Renee*, wife to *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*. His ſecond wife was *Eleonora*, daughter to the duke of *Mantua*, by whom he had no iſſue.

In *Ferdinand* II. were united all the obſtinacy, pride, bi- and cha-
gotry, and cruelty, which have diſtinguiſhed the princes of racter of
the houſe of *Auſtria*. His perſonal abilities were deſpicable, *Ferdinand*
and ſo early as at the age of 20 years, he made an impious vow II.
before the virgin of *Loretto* to extirminate the proteſtants, which he repeated and endeavoured to execute 20 years after. He muſt have brought the *Germanic* empire to abſolute deſtruction, had he not had the good fortune, which is uncommon to weak princes, to be ſerved by ſome of the ableſt generals in the world. Though *Guſtavus* made the *Imperial* crown totter upon his head, he did not profit by the calamities of the catholics, but ſeemed even to improve in obduracy and ſeverity againſt the protcſtants. This perſeverance, which might have ruined another prince, ſucceeded with *Ferdinand*. It induced the court of *Spain* to ſupply him both with troops and money; it tired out the proteſtants, who, as well as the catholics, were great ſufferers by the war, and it gave his allies and generals an opinion of his firmneſs; ſo that they exerted themſelves with amazing vigour in his ſervice. Though the death of the king of *Sweden* was undoubtedly a favourable circumſtance for *Ferdinand*, yet it is doubtful whether, if that prince had even lived, the proteſtant confederacy would have ſubſiſted, his conduct with regard to the independence of the *Germanic* empire being ſo ambiguous as to give them vaſt umbrage at the time he was killed.

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## CHAP. XLVII.

### FERDINAND *the third.*

THIS prince having before his acceſſion to the *Imperial* Acceſſion
throne, headed the *Imperial* armies in perſon, had a mar- of *Ferdi-*
tial character, which, after he became emperor, he did not *nand* III.
ſupport. During the late reign, conferences between the proteſtants and the papiſts had been opened at *Hamburgh*, but under ſuch reſtrictions from the *Imperial* authority, that they came to nothing, and the war continued to rage. *John de Wert*, at the earneſt entreaties of the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, beſieged and took *Hermanſtein*; but duke *Bernard* defeated the *Imperial* cavalry under *Merci*, in *Franche Comte*, and the blow was repeated by the rhinegrave, which gave *Bernard*

*nard* an opportunity of invading *Alſace*, where he was oppoſed by *de Wert*. The duke of *Lorrain* marched to the aſſiſtance of the latter, and duke *Bernard* was obliged to repaſs the *Rhine* without the *French* troops, whom *de Wert* defeated and compelled to lay down their arms. The proteſtant cauſe, at this time, received an irrecoverable blow by the death of the landgrave of *Heſſe*, who had laid a ſcheme for the re eſtabliſhment of the palatine family. In *January*, 1638, duke *Bernard*, to prevent the proteſtant cauſe from languiſhing by the landgrave's death, croſſed the *Rhine* and fell upon the foreſt towns, many of which ſubmitted to him; but he was obliged to beſiege *Waldſhut*. The *Imperialiſts* under *de Wert* and *Savelli* endeavoured to raiſe the ſiege, but they were defeated, though they retired in good order; *Bernard* purſued his blow, and attacking them again, he entirely ruined them, and ſent their two generals priſoners to *Paris*, but with the loſs of the rhinegrave *Philip*, and the brave duke of *Roban*. After this, *Rhinfeld* ſurrendered, as did ſeveral other ſtrong places; and at laſt, *Bernard* took *Friburg*, the capital of *Briſgau*, as he afterwards did the ſtrong city of *Briſac*, in ſight of the duke of *Lorrain* and the *Imperial* generals. This was a conqueſt ſo important to *France*, that the *French* general, *Guebriant*, by cardinal *Richlieu*'s orders, offered *Bernard* his own terms if he would reſign it, but to no purpoſe, for *Bernard* conſtantly replied that his conqueſts and his honour were the ſame, and he would reſign neither.

and ſtate of the war.

1638.

Succeſſes of the confederates.

*Bannier* was as ſucceſsful in *Pomerania* as duke *Bernard* was in *Alſace*. After reducing the places of greateſt importance there, he cut in pieces two regiments of *Imperial* horſe. The young elector *Palatine* and his brother, afterwards the famous prince *Rupert*, were then making war in *Weſtphalia*, but they had too little experience to withſtand *Hasfeld*, the *Imperial* general, who defeated them near *Minden*, and made prince *Rupert* priſoner. This check did not balance the loſſes which the *Imperialiſts* ſuſtained in other quarters. Duke *Bernard* was now more formidable to the houſe of *Auſtria* than the great *Guſtavus* had ever been, and, for family reaſons, he had declared implacable war with the elector of *Saxony*, which prevented his ever hearkening to the ſecret applications of the emperor to take him off from the *French* intereſt. In the beginning of the year 1639, he beſieged *Thau*, and by an operation then uncommon, that of throwing red hot bullets into the place, he compelled its garriſon to ſurrender. While he was thus in the utmoſt poſſeſſion of reputation and glory, he was attacked by a diſtemper which carried him off in the 35th year of his age, not without ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned by the *French* on account of his obſtinacy in the affair of *Briſac*. He left the command of his army to major general *D'Erlach*, but his ſucceſſion to it was ſtrongly diſputed by the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lawenburg*, and *Lunenburg*, while his brother *William* demanded poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts. As the

1639.

Death of the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*.

the *Weimarian* army, as it was called, though conſiſting of ſoldiers of fortune, was then very formidable, the emperor, the *French* king, and the crown of *Sweden*, made large offers to bring it over; but the plauſibility of *Lewis* the XIIIth's miniſters carried the diſpute in his favour, by granting the officers and ſoldiers the moſt flattering terms, and the duke *de Longueville* was put at its head. In conſequence of this compromiſe, *France* became miſtreſs of the greateſt part of *Alſace* and *Briſgau*, but behaved with great infidelity towards the young elector *Palatine*, whoſe cauſe they had pretended at firſt warmly to eſpouſe.

The conferences at *Hamburgh* proved ineffectual towards re-ſettling the peace of the empire, on account of the jarring intereſts ſubſiſting among the parties concerned. The landgravine of *Heſſe*, who adminiſtered the affairs of that ſtate, was, through the injuſtice of the *Imperial* court, obliged to throw herſelf into the arms of the *French*, who paid her a ſubſidy on condition of her maintaining a body of horſe and foot for their ſervice. All thoſe ſteps were indications that *France*, having now brought over the *Weimarian* army, intended to act for herſelf, without regarding the intereſts of the *Swedes*. *Banier* continued at the head of their army, which conſiſted of about 18,000 men, but without any other means of ſubſiſtence than what they carried on the points of their ſwords. They paſſed the *Elbe* in the beginning of *February*, to open their way towards *Magdebourg* and *Leipſic*. They laid the country under contribution wherever they marched, and they were ſo well ſupplied with all kinds of neceſſaries, that their army ſoon encreaſed to 25,000 men. They quickly reduced *Miſnia*, and laid ſiege to *Friedberg*, which *Maracini*, the *Saxon* general, advanced to relieve. After an obſtinate diſpute the *Saxons* were defeated, and driven to the gates of *Dreſden*, with the loſs of almoſt all their officers and 4,000 men. *Friedberg*, notwithſtanding this, continued to make a moſt gallant defence, and *Maracini* again attempted to relieve it, but was again defeated with very conſiderable loſs, though he had taken his meaſures with admirable precaution and ſagacity. The *Swedes* purſued the laſt blow ſo vigorouſly that ſcarce a man of the *Saxon* army ſurvived the ſlaughter who was not either wounded or a priſoner. All *Thuringia*, *Wetteravia*, *Saxony*, and *Miſnia*, were now reduced by the *Swedes*, beſides large tracts of the neighbouring countries. *Maracini* was taken priſoner, the famous paſs at *Pirna* was ſeized, and the ſiege of *Friedberg* renewed. It was during this campaign that *Torſtenſon*, afterwards the famous *Swediſh* general, firſt ſignalized himſelf.

The landgravine of *Heſſe* joins the *French*.

The *Swedes* again defeat the *Imperialiſts*.

In the mean while the *French* acted a moſt unworthy part by the elector *Palatine*. That prince had very juſt pretenſions to command the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*'s army; and he propoſed, by the aſſiſtance of the money he received from the young king of *England* and his other relations, to put himſelf at its head,

Treachery of the *French* to the elector *Palatine*.

head, and employ it in recovering his dominions. *Charles* I. after the profeſſions of friendſhip towards the *Palatine* made by the *French* miniſtry, could not ſuſpect that they were taking meaſures to diſappoint him. He freely communicated the young prince's deſign to *Richelieu*, and demanded a paſſport for his paſſage through *France*, but the requeſt was evaded; but the *Palatine* purſuing his journey without the neceſſary paſſport, was arreſted at *Moulins*, and ignominiouſly treated in the heart of *France*. It is true he ſoon obtained his liberty, but not before the *French* had ſecured *Alſace* and the *Weimarian* army.

Secret negociation between *Bannier* and the emperor.

We are apt to be ſurprized at the inactivity of the *Auſtrian* power, which had ſuch vaſt reſources at this juncture. *Ferdinand* had expoſed his allies, the *Saxons* particularly, to the ſtorms of the *Swedes*. *Koningſmark*, the *Swediſh* general, lorded it in *Franconia*, as *Axel Cili* did in *Brandenburgh* and *Mecklenburg*. In ſhort, the eſtates of all the parties in the treaty of *Prague* were expoſed to deſtruction, and the *Lower Saxony* declared for a neutrality. *Hasfeld* was the only *Imperial* general who ſeems then to have been in the field, but he was obliged to take refuge with the elector of *Brandenburg*, and both of them retired before *Bannier*, while the latter threatened *Prague* and took *Konigſaal*. The behaviour of the *French*, however, at laſt ſtaggered *Bannier*, and he liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of his wife, who was related to a great perſonage at the *Imperial* court, to enter into a ſecret negociation with *Ferdinand*, who made him moſt magnificent offers. The *French* diſcovered the correſpondence, and prevailed with the regency of *Sweden* to refuſe *Bannier* the full powers he ſolicited. It appeared that by this negociation the *Imperialiſts* ſought only to gain time, for *Picolomini* was ſoon ſeen at the head of 17,000 men from the *Low Countries*, in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, which left the duke of *Longueville*, who commanded the *Weimarian* army, at liberty to take up his winter quarters in *Wetteravia* and *High Heſſe*, without ſeeming to reflect upon *Bannier*'s danger.

The *French* join *Bannier*.

In reality, had that general not received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Thuringia*, his army, which had been weakened by detachments, and garriſoning the places he had taken, muſt have been ruined, *Picolomini* having likewiſe received a ſtrong reinforcement of *Imperialiſts* and *Bavarians*. *Bannier* acquainted the duke of *Longueville* with this circumſtance, and threatened that if he did not join him, he would conſult his own ſafety and make a ſeparate peace. In the mean while, *Bannier* obliged the dukes of *Brunſwic* and *Lunenbourg* to renounce the league of *Prague*, and to join the *Swediſh* army with 3,000 foot and 500 horſe; and at laſt, the duke of *Longueville*, finding he could trifle no longer, joined *Bannier* likewiſe, as did the *Heſſian* troops in the *French* pay, and all together advanced to fight *Picolomini*. Finding him too ſtrongly intrenched to be attacked, they fell into the country of *Heſſe*,

to which they were followed by *Picolomini*, who ſeems to have had a peculiar art in chuſing ſtrong encampments, and to have been in all other reſpects, though not a great hero, a very able general. By marches and counter-marches he ſtraitened and harraſſed the confederates ſo much, that they were forced to move from place to place, to the great diminution of their numbers, and at laſt, to evacuate *Bohemia*, *Franconia*, and all the hereditary dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The ſtate of the empire required the electors to aſſemble at *Nuremberg*, where ſo many complaints were brought againſt the *Imperial* court, that the treaty of *Prague* was in danger of being aboliſhed. After many debates, it was agreed that deputies from the *French* ſhould be invited to the city of *Cologne*, and thoſe from *Sweden* to *Lubec*, there to treat of peace with the *Imperial* miniſters. Thoſe points being ſettled, the *Imperial* troops were diſmiſſed into winter quarters, after the circles of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria* had voted to the emperor a ſubſidy of 150 *Roman* crowns, and the other circles, who had been more harraſſed by the war, 60.

*Picolomini* obliges the confederates to retire.

*Lutzow*, an *Imperial* miniſter, treated with thoſe of *France* and *Sweden*, but all they concluded upon, was, that a congreſs for a general peace ſhould be held at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, the inhabitants of which places were to be releaſed from their oaths. The emperor refuſed to ratify this agreement, and the war recommenced. This obſtinacy of the emperor was owing to his having gained over the diet of *Ratiſbon* to conſider the war with *France* and *Sweden* as a war of the empire. The marſhal *Guebriant* then commanded the *French* in *Germany*, and having joined with *Bannier*, they made a ſudden motion towards *Ratiſbon*, where the emperor ſtill reſided with the diet, croſſed the *Danube* upon the ice, ſurprized the *Imperial* advanced guards, conſiſting of 1,500 horſe, took the emperor's hunting equipage, and was very near ſeizing his perſon. The country about *Ratiſbon*, and that city itſelf, preſented a moſt diſtreſsful ſcene upon this occaſion; but the allies employed in the expedition, being apprehenſive of a thaw, repaſſed the river, and joined the main army under *Guebriant* and *Bannier*, who were advanced within three leagues of *Ratiſbon*, on the 26th of *February*. Marching forward, they diſcharged 500 ſhot upon the city, an inſult which drove *Ferdinand* from his uſual gravity and moderation. This expedition had no farther conſequences than that of exaſperating the emperor and the princes of the diet, and rendering the *French* and *Swedes* more formidable than ever. Soon after, the *French* marched to *Bamberg*, and *Bannier* into *Miſnia*, underſtanding that the *Imperialiſts* were aſſembling on all hands to ſurround them with an army of 80,000 men. Part of this army purſued *Bannier*, who was obliged to retreat into *Bohemia*, with ſo much reſolution, that their cavalry ſwam acroſs the river *Pleiſs*, and incloſed it between that and the *Moldau* ſo effectually, that *Bannier* muſt have ſurrendered his army,

1641. A negociation ſet on foot, but proves ineffectual.

Amazing retreat of *Bannier*.

army, or have ſeen it cut in pieces, had he not diſengaged himſelf by one of the moſt reſolute and beſt managed retreats that is recorded in hiſtory. While all *Europe* thought him inevitably ruined, he appeared near *Neumarck*, where he joined *Guebriant*.

*Picolomini* and *Gleen*, the other *Imperial* general, accuſed each other on the ſubject of this amazing eſcape, and both of them repaired to *Ratiſbon*, where it appeared that neither of them were to blame, but that it was entirely owing to *Bannier*'s ſuperior genius and good fortune. The fatigue he ſuffered proved, however, fatal to that great general, for he ſickened and died at *Halberſtadt* on the 20th of *May* following, in the full career of glory, and the 41ſt year of his age. His reputation for humanity was as great as his fame in war, and it is almoſt incredible, that he could ſupport and keep together an army ſo long as he did, merely upon the contributions which he impoſed equally on friends and foes, yet his ſoldiers ſerved under him with the utmoſt ſpirit and chearfulneſs. Another great man in the proteſtant intereſt died about the ſame time, *George* duke of *Brunſwic Lunenbourg*, but his ſon, by the advice of his mother, remained attached to the cauſe of the allies. It was extremely remarkable, that though the native ſoldiers of *Sweden* were now almoſt extinct in *Germany*, and conſequently *Bannier*'s army was made up of *German* recruits, and though they had very tempting offers from the emperor and his allies, and were themſelves at this time even without a head, yet they continued immoveably attached to the intereſt of *Sweden*, and offered to accept of any general whom that court ſhould nominate. The elector of *Saxony* took advantage of *Bannier*'s death to recover *Zuickau*, the garriſon of which he obliged to inliſt among his own troops. In *Saxony*, the *Swedes* and *French* defeated the *Imperialiſts* under the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, and after this, both armies went into winter quarters.

His death and character.

The elector of *Saxony* takes *Zuickau*.

*Torſtenſon* ſucceeds *Bannier* in the command of the *Swedes*.

There is ſcarcely an example in hiſtory of ſuch a ſucceſſion of great generals, as thoſe that headed the *Swediſh* army after the death of *Guſtavus*. *Torſtenſon* was by the ſenate of *Sweden* appointed to ſucceed *Bannier*, and, about the time of the battle of *Wolfenbuttel*, he had ſet out from *Sweden* at the head of 8000 *Swedes*, and taking upon him the command of their army in *Germany*, he penetrated as early as the ſeaſon would permit into *Bohemia*. The politics of *France* did not ſuffer him to be aſſiſted by *Guebriant*; but *France* at this time gave the *Swedes* an additional ſubſidy of 200,000 livres. This ſubſidy renewed the vigour of the *Swedes*, and conſequently the waſte of war. To prevent its progreſs, new propoſitions were made for peace, by the mediation of *Charles* I. who had greatly at heart the intereſt of his nephew, the elector *Palatine*. The war had raged ſo long, that all property was now confounded, and it was extremely difficult to aſcertain it. The duke of *Bavaria* demanded the payment of 13,000,000 of francs, before

fore he would reſign the *Palatinate* to its true heir. The *Spaniards* made a difficulty of evacuating the *Lower Palatinate*, great part of which was claimed by the archduke *Leopold*. The elector of *Brandenburg* entered into connections with *France* and *Sweden*, in hopes of recovering the dutchy of *Jagerndorf* in *Sileſia*. The duke of *Lorrain* abandoned the party of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and threw himſelf into the arms of *France*, and the treaties were renewed between *France* and *Sweden* on the one part, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, the duke of *Brunſwic*, and other princes of the empire, on the other.

Behaviour of the emperor.

The emperor, all this time, appeared unconcerned at the deſolation of his country. His enemies had never carried the war into *Auſtria*, or any of his hereditary dominions, excepting *Bohemia*; ſo that he was ſecure of immenſe reſources, and the more the *German* princes weakened one another, the nearer he was in his approach to arbitrary power, the great aim of his family. At laſt, however, perceiving that *France* and *Sweden* were in earneſt to humble him, he ſought to break the confederacy, by offering the *Palatinate* to its count, but it was upon terms that he could not accept of with honour. *Ferdinand* had no better ſucceſs with the dukes of *Lunenburg*, with whom he had treated ſeparately, and the *Swiſs* cantons refuſed to call their troops from the ſervice of *France* at his deſire; but all his untowardly ſituation, was owing to his own pride and narrowneſs of ſpirit, which he had ſoon reaſon to repent of.

1642.

Conqueſts and progreſs of the *French* and *Swedes*.

In *January* 1642, *Guebriant*, the *French* general, made a great progreſs on the *Rhine*, where he completely defeated the *Imperial* generals *Hasfeld* and *Lamboy*, the conſequence of which victory was, that the *French* became maſters of almoſt the whole electorate of *Cologne*. *Torſtenſon* was ſtill upon the borders of *Bohemia*, and his motions were obſerved by the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, ſo that the *Imperialiſts* under the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg* reduced all that part of *Sileſia*, which was in poſſeſſion of the *Swedes*. The duke afterwards joining the two *Imperial* generals, *Torſtenſon* entered *Sileſia*, which brought the duke back with a ſtrong body of *Auſtrians*. A battle followed, in which 3000 *Auſtrians* were killed on the ſpot; almoſt all their officers were taken, and the duke himſelf was mortally wounded. The main body of the *Imperial* army then advanced againſt *Torſtenſon*, who formed the ſiege of *Leipſic*; but hearing that his enemies approached the *Elbe*, he turned it into a blockade, and retired for ſome miles with his main body. The *Imperialiſts* advanced upon him in the plain of *Breitenfeld*, where a moſt bloody battle was fought, in which the *Swedes* obtained a complete victory, and cut in pieces 8000 of the *Auſtrian* beſt troops, beſides making a vaſt number of priſoners, and taking the military cheſt of the archduke and *Picolomini*, 46 pieces of cannon, and 6000 waggons. In this battle, which was fought the 2d of *November*,

The latter gain the great battle of *Breitenfeld*.

*ember*, the *Swedes* did not loſe above 1000, and ſo ſecure were the *Auſtrians* of victory, that their generals had brought to the field, a magnificent train of equipages, all which, beſides the booty already mentioned, fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. *Torſtenſon* then renewed the ſiege of *Leipſic*, which he took after an obſtinate reſiſtance, on the 15th of *December*. So many repeated defeats and loſſes made but little impreſſion on *Ferdinand*, but filled his court with diſmay, and the utmoſt efforts were made to cover his hereditary dominions, which, in that advanced ſeaſon of the year, could not be attacked.

In an interview, which *Torſtenſon* had with *Guebriant*, towards the beginning of the year 1643, each general plainly perceived that the other had a ſeparate view. This did not hinder them from proceeding amicably. *Torſtenſon* marched towards *Frieberg* upon the *Elbe*, and *Guebriant* towards the *Neckar*. *Picolomini* marched to cover *Frieberg*, which obliged *Torſtenſon* to fall back into *Luſatia*, till he could be joined by the reinforcements he expected. During the winter, conferences for a general peace were held at *Hamburgh*; but thro' the pride and obſtinacy of the *Imperialiſts*, the time allotted for them was ſpent in adjuſting the ceremonial, and the miniſters adjourned their meetings to *July*, but the death of cardinal *Richelieu*, and of *Lewis* XIII. of *France*, now gave a different face to the affairs of *Europe*. *Ferdinand* endeavoured to detach the *Swedes* from their alliance with *France*, but to no purpoſe; for though the *Swedes* were at firſt doubtful with regard to the new *French* government, they were ſoon reaſſured by a great victory obtained by the latter over the *Spaniards*, and by the *French* court renewing their engagements with *Sweden*. The war continuing, the *Swedes* carried all before them in *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, where it is ſaid they made an immenſe booty in ready money, while *Koningſmark*, another *Swediſh* general, drove the *Imperialiſts* out of *Pomerania*. *Guebriant*, on his leaving the electorate of *Cologne*, had marched into *Franconia*, the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and the marquiſate of *Baden*, having ſtill the advantage over the *Imperialiſts*, though they preſſed him with numerous armies on every ſide. *Ferdinand* at this time loſt *Picolomini*, who, diſguſted with his court and miniſtry, entered into the ſervice of *Spain*, but he regained the duke of *Lorrain*, who abandoned that of *France*, and took upon him the command of the *Bavarians*.

Deaths of cardinal *Richelieu* and *Lewis* XIII.

The great defeat which the duke of *Enguien* had given the *Spaniards* at *Rocroy*, and the conſequences of that battle, had enabled him to ſend a reinforcement to *Guebriant*, who had beſieged *Rotweil*, but was hard preſſed by the *Imperialiſts*. This helped *Guebriant* to beat his enemies, and to take the town, though it coſt him his life. His death relaxed the diſcipline of the *French* army ſo much, that *Merci*, the *Bavarian* general, with eaſe defeated the count *de Rantzau*, who had ſucceeded *Guebriant* in his command, and made him priſoner with

and of the *French* general *de Guebriant*.

with 4000 of his men; but the famous *French* general *Turenne*, collected the remains. During thoſe operations, a war broke out between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which gave the interior parts of *Germany* ſome reſpite.

The miſeries of *Germany* had, ſome months before this, obliged *Ferdinand* to agree to the propoſals of the proteſtants, which have been already mentioned, for opening conferences for a general pacification, at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*. His chief plenipotentiaries there, were *Henry* of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, the count *d'Averſperg*, and the baron *de Krane*. The count *d'Avaux* was firſt plenipotentiary for *France*, and the marquis *de Caſtile Roderigo* for *Spain*. The ultimate view of *France* was to reduce the power of *Auſtria* in *Germany*, and *d'Avaux* engaged the princes of the diet at *Frankfort*, to inſiſt upon ſharing the rights of peace and war with the emperor and electors, who had engroſſed them to themſelves. The princes being aſſured of ſupport from *France*, (whoſe victory at *Rocroy* had now rendered her very powerful) thwarted the *Imperial* party in all their propoſals for obliging the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, to renounce their alliance with *France* and *Sweden*, and they even inſiſted on being repreſented at the conferences for peace. Thoſe demands ſtartled the emperor and the electors, who were upon the point of abandoning the conferences, had they not been deterred by the prevailing arms of *France*; but the conferences were, for ſome time, at a ſtand; and the emperor applied himſelf to foment the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark*. *Torſtenſon* had penetrated into *Jutland*, and *Galas*, who had ſucceeded *Piccolomini* in his command, was ſent by the emperor to aſſiſt the *Danes*, which he did in ſo ineffectual a manner, that the *Danes* received no benefit from his army.

Conferences at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*.

The circles of *Weſtphalia* and *Franconia* would have formed an aſſociation, for defending themſelves againſt the *Auſtrians* and the *Swedes*, but they were diverted from it by the *French* miniſter, who repreſented, that they could not defend themſelves againſt the tyranny of the houſe of *Auſtria*, but by employing foreign troops. The *French* were as zealous for compoſing, as the emperor was for fomenting, the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and at laſt prevailed with them to enter into a treaty, which entirely detached *Denmark* from the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Turenne* now commanded the *French* army in *Germany*, and paſſing the *Rhine*, he beat count *Merci*. The latter being ſoon reinforced, beſieged and took *Frieberg*, and would have deſtroyed *Turenne*'s army, had he not been joined by *d'Enguien*; and the two *French* generals, in four days time, engaged and beat the *Auſtrians* in three bloody battles; but *Merci* ſaved about half of his army by a maſterly retreat, but all the towns between the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*, from *Mentz* to *Landau*, were reduced by the *French*. *Ragotſki*, waywode of *Tranſylvania*, would not loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of diſtreſſing the houſe of *Auſtria*, and took

*Ragotſki* takes arms in *Hungary*.

*Caſſovia*, pretending that he carried arms for the defence of the *Hungarian* liberties, which had been ruined by the emperor. *Ragotſki* was then at the head of 60,000 men, but they were raw and unexperienced, and oppoſed by the *Imperial* general *Goeutz*, who, with an inferior army, obtained great advantages over them. *Ragotſki* had depended upon a reinforcement from *Torſtenſon*, but being diſappointed, he retreated to *Tranſylvania*. *Goeutz* endeavoured to retake *Caſſovia*, but ruined his army in the attempt, while *Ragotſki*, being ſupplied with *French* money, renewed the war againſt the emperor in other parts of *Hungary*.

Succeſs of *Torſtenſon* in Germany.

During the abſence of *Torſtenſon*, the *Imperialiſts* had retaken ſome places in *Sileſia* and *Moravia*; but upon the return of that general, *Galas* was obliged to retire before him and *Koningſmark*. His army, at laſt, was ſhut up near *Magdebourg* in ſuch a manner, that great numbers were cut off, many died of famine, and many inliſted in the ſervice of the *Swedes*. At laſt, *Galas* broke, ſword in hand, through the *Swediſh* army, and eſcaped to *Lentmeritz*. *Torſtenſon* thought the time was now come to favour his long meditated deſign, of penetrating into *Bohemia*. Leaving the command of part of his army with *Koningſmark*, he ſeized the paſs of *Preſnitz*, and, with amazing rapidity, appeared before *Prague*, where the emperor and the archduke *Leopald* then reſided. But *Torſtenſon*'s march, notwithſtanding all his precautions, being diſcovered, he found himſelf oppoſed by a ſtrong army under the beſt of the *Imperial* generals. Pretending to retire, he drew the *Auſtrians* from their advantageous ſituation, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them, with the loſs of 10,000 men, killed or taken priſoners. *Ferdinand* had retired to *Vienna*, which *Torſtenſon* now threatened, and probably would have attempted, had it not been covered by the remains of the *Imperialiſts* under *Galas*, and 4000 *Bavarians*. He conquered, however, all the towns on the *Moravian* ſide of the *Danube*, and, at laſt, laid ſiege to *Brinn*, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Imperial* court, that the emperor fled to *Ratiſbon*, and the empreſs to *Gratz*. The deſign of *Torſtenſon* in beſieging *Brinn*, was, that he might open his way for joining *Ragotſki*, in *Hungary*, for he had at that time no intention of beſieging *Vienna*. The emperor collected his forces under the archduke *Leopold*, and the garriſon of *Brinn* made a vigorous defence, which checked the progreſs of *Torſtenſon*, and ſoon after that great general found himſelf ſo preſſed by the gout, that he was obliged to reſign his command.

*Torſtenſon*'s conqueſts in *Moravia*.

*Turenne* is beaten in *Bavaria*.

The war ſtill continued to rage in *Bavaria*, and the *Upper Palatinate*, where *Turenne* commanded the *French*, and *Merci* the *Imperialiſts*. *Turenne* had taken *Mariendal*, where he was ſurprized and defeated by *Merci*, while *Turenne* was obliged to croſs the *Maine*, and retire to *Heſſe*, where he collected the remains of his army. He was ſpeedily reinforced by 8000 troops under the duke *d' Enguien*, which determined the

*French* generals to act offenſively. This reſolution, after many marches and countermarches, brought on the battle of *Nordlingen*, between them and the *Bavarians*, which, at firſt, inclined to the latter, till *Merci* being killed, the *French* obtained the victory, but not without loſing 4000 of their beſt troops. This battle was ſucceeded by the ſurrender of *Nordlingen* and ſome other places to the *French*; but the archduke *Leopold*, marching to the aſſiſtance of the *Bavarians*, obliged *Turenne* to fortify himſelf under the cannon of *Philipſbourg*; and all of a ſudden, the fortune of the war appeared to be reverſed. The *French* loſt all the towns they held between the *Neckar* and the *Danube*; but the emperor, at laſt, being taught moderation by experience, delivered the elector of *Triers*, upon certain conditions, from his captivity of ten years, and he was ſuffered to ſend a plenipotentiary to the congreſs at *Munſter*. It is plain, from the viciſſitudes of the war, that the houſe of *Auſtria* at this time might have been ruined, had the *Swedes* and the *French* been cordially united; but their views were different, and the *French* were intent upon their conqueſts on the *Rhine*, while they ought to have joined *Torſtenſon* in forming the ſiege of *Vienna*, which the *Swedes* not being able to do of themſelves, obliged *Ragotſki* to make a ſeparate peace with *Ferdinand*.

Different views of the *French* and *Swedes*.

All this while *Koningſmark* was making ſo great a progreſs in *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, that he obliged the elector of *Saxony* to conclude a truce with him for ſix months, which left him at liberty to penetrate into *Bohemia*, where general *Wrangel* commanded the *Swediſh* army. While *Koningſmark* was on his march, the *Imperialiſts* obliged *Wrangel* to retire to *Upper Heſſe*, where he was joined by *Koningſmark*; and they expected to be joined by *Turenne*, which, at laſt, after great difficulties, they were. The *Imperialiſts* now retired in their turn, and the elector of *Bavaria* might have been entirely defeated, had not *Turenne* been ſecretly inſtructed by his court to venture upon no ſtroke that might render the *Swedes* too independent upon the *French*. Thus the remainder of the campaign of 1646, was employed in a petty war of taking and retaking poſts and and places, without any thing deciſive happening. The *Swedes* ſtill kept a ſuperiority in *Sileſia*, but the emperor found means to procure the crowns of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* for his ſon *Ferdinand*. Notwithſtanding this, the *Auſtrian* greatneſs was now tottering on the brink of ruin. *Turenne* obliged the duke of *Bavaria* to make a ſeparate peace with *France*, and to reſign to the *French* ſeveral places of importance. The elector of *Saxony*, the archbiſhops of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt*, were neceſſitated to follow the *Bavarian*'s example. The *Swedes* gave law in *Weſtphalia* and *Upper Saxony*. *Wrangel* took *Egra* in *Bohemia*, and the catholic officers in the *Auſtrian* army refuſed to be commanded by their general, *Aelander*,

The emperor deſerted by his allies.

1646.

because he was a proteſtant; upon which *Ferdinand* was obliged to take upon himſelf the command of his army, which was again beaten by the *Swedes*.

The elector of *Bavaria* rejoins him.

The elector of *Bavaria*, upon frivolous pretences, renounced his late treaty with *France*, and joining with the *Imperialiſts*, turned the fortune of the war in favour of *Ferdinand*, ſo that *Wrangel* was obliged to retire from *Bohemia* through *Saxony*, into the dutchy of *Brunſwic*, where he put his troops into winter quarters. *Melander* was now reinſtated in the command of the *Imperial* army, and while he was purſuing *Wrangel*, laid waſte the landgraviate of *Heſſe*; but the *French* obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Bavarians*. *Wran-*

1648. *gel*, early in the year 1648, having been reinforced by the troops under *Koningſmark*, and the *Heſſians*, joined *Turenne*, who had with him no more than 7 or 8000 men, and they directed their march toward the *Danube*, which they croſſed at *Lawingen*. The *Imperialiſts* under *Melander*, were obliged to retire towards the *Neckar*, but were defeated near *Augſbourgh* with great ſlaughter, and the remains of their army were with great difficulty, carried off by the famous *Montecuculi* and the duke of *Wirtemberg*. The allies then laid *Bavaria* under contribution, and obliged its duke to retire to the archbiſhopric of *Saltzbourg*. The *Heſſians*, in the dutchy of *Juliers*, beat the *Imperial* general, *Lamboy*; the *Swediſh* general, *Wittemberg*, took *Thabor*, as *Koningſmark* did the new city of *Prague* in *Bohemia*; and the prince *Palatine*, *Charles-Guſtavus*, having been declared generaliſſimo of the *Swediſh* armies, arrived before *Prague* about the end of *September*, and immediately inveſted the old town.

The treaty of *Munſter* or *Weſtphalia* concluded.

The emperor now found it high time to act, at once, with ſincerity and deciſion, eſpecially, after hearing that the garriſon of *Prague*, notwithſtanding the glorious defence they made, muſt at laſt ſubmit to the *Swedes*. The conferences were ſtill going on at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, and had been greatly influenced by the events of the war. They had now continued for above ſix years, the greateſt part of which had been ſpent in idle diſputes, concerning precedency and titles. As the peace which enſued, is the moſt memorable that ever had been concluded in the empire, where it is revered as a fundamental, and perpetual law, and is to this day the baſis of moſt of the *European* negociations, it is neceſſary for the reader's better underſtanding it, that we give him ſome idea of its principal articles.

The chief of its contents.

It ſtipulated a perpetual peace between the emperor, the houſe of *Auſtria*, the ſtates and princes of the empire, on one ſide, and his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and all his allies, eſpecially the crown of *Sweden*, on the other. The diſputes concerning *Lorrain* were referred to arbitration. The electors, princes, and ſtates, were to be reſtored to the poſſeſſions they held before the war. The electoral dignity, formerly belonging to the electors *Palatine*, with all the *Upper Palatinate*, was

to

to remain in *Maximilian*, count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, duke of *Bavaria*, and the male iſſue of his family. The *Lower Palatinate* was reſtored to *Charles-Lewis*, count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and his family, for whom an eighth electorate was erected. The confeſſion of *Augſbourg*, and liberty of conſcience, were eſtabliſhed all over *Germany*. The *Sileſian* proteſtants were allowed to build churches, and proteſtants were to be admitted into the *Aulic* council. The electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, were entitled to the right of voting in all its affairs, eſpecially thoſe concerning war, tributes, levies of troops, and treaties of peace. The biſhoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* were ceded to *France*, but the metropolitan right was to belong to the archbiſhop of *Triers*. The emperor and the empire ceded to the *French* king and the kingdom of *France*, the town of *Briſac*, the landgraviate of *Upper* and *Lower Alſace*, the *Suntgau*, and the provincial prefecture of the ten towns ſituated in *Alſace*, namely, *Haguenau*, *Sceleſtat*, *Weiſenburg*, *Colmar*, *Lindau*, *Oberenheim*, *Roſheim*, *Munſter*, *Val St. Gregoire*, *Kaiſerberg*, and *Turingheim*. The *French* king was to keep *Philipſburg* under his protection, but the property of the place, and all its revenues, were to belong to the biſhop and chapter of *Spire*.

His moſt chriſtian majeſty was to reſtore to the houſe of *Auſtria* the four foreſt-towns, namely, *Rhinfeld*, *Sockingen*, *Lauffemburg*, and *Waldſhut*, with the county of *Haverſteim*, the *Black Foreſt*, all the *Upper* and *Lower Briſgau*, and the towns therein ſituated, antiently belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*, namely, *Neuburg*, *Friburg*, *Endingen*, *Kenſingen*, *Waltrick*, *Willingen*, and *Braulingen*, with ſeveral other towns, ſtates, and juriſdictions. Some other regulations of leſs moment, were made between *France* and the empire.

The archbiſhopric of *Bremen* and *Verden* was given up to *Sweden*, ſaving the rights and liberties of the town and biſhopric of *Verden*, but its effects were to be ſecularized, and *Sweden* was to hold the fiefs of the benefices ſo ſecularized of the empire, with a vote in the diet. The crown of *Sweden* was likewiſe to be put in poſſeſſion of the town and port of *Weimar* in *Mecklenburg*, with *Stetin* and all the *Upper Pomerania*. The elector of *Brandenburg* was to poſſeſs the *Lower Pomerania*, and after the death of the adminiſtrator, *Auguſtus* duke of *Saxony*, he was to enjoy the biſhopric of *Halberſtadt*, the principality of *Minden*, the biſhopric of *Magdeburg*, with ſome other ſecularized benefices. In caſe of the failure of the male line of the houſe of *Brandenburg*, all *Pomerania* was to revert to the crown of *Sweden*; but the biſhoprics of *Schwerin* and *Ratzburg*, with two commanderies of the order of St. *John*, were to be given by way of indemnification to the duke of *Mecklenburg*. In compenſation for the coadjutorſhips of *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, and *Halberſtadt*, which the dukes of *Brunſwic* and *Lunenburg* had ceded, their

family was entitled to the alternate ſucceſſion with the catholics to the biſhopric of *Oſnaburg*; but without any violence being offered to the ſtate of religion on either ſide. The chief regulation with regard to the affairs of religion, was, that the adminiſtration of juſtice in the *Imperial* and *Aulic* council, ſhould be veſted in an equal number of catholics and proteſtants.

Proteſted againſt by the king of *Spain*.

Such were the chief regulations of this great treaty, which was branched out into an incredible variety of inferior articles, it being thought that no fewer than 140,000 reſtitutions were appointed by it, ſo careful were the contracting parties for the future tranquillity of the empire. The miniſters for the county of *Burgundy*, in the name of their maſter, the king of *Spain*, proteſted againſt this treaty, which however was proclaimed in the two cities of *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, where it was made, and meſſengers were diſpatched to ſtop hoſtilities on all ſides. The weakneſs and irreſolution of *Ferdinand* had almoſt overthrown the peace of *Munſter* as ſoon as it was concluded. The pope publiſhed a bull annulling all the articles of it relating to religion, and prohibiting the erection of an eighth electorate. *Ferdinand* employed all his intereſt to procure the *Lower Palatinate* for his catholic majeſty, to indemnify him for his vaſt expences during the war; but the princes paid no regard to his repreſentations, and after a few difficulties were paſſed over, the ratifications were exchanged and the treaty was executed.

No ſooner was peace reſtored to *Germany* than the emperor convoked a diet at *Dreſden*, to terminate the differences that ſtill ſubſiſted between the houſes of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Neuburg*, concerning the ſucceſſion to the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*. Though thoſe differences were not terminated at that time, yet the tranquillity of *Germany* was effectually reſtored, but the emperor was obliged to poſtpone a diet he had ſummoned at *Ratiſbon*, till certain differences were ſettled between the queen of *Sweden* and the elector of *Brandenburg*, concerning her right of ſending deputies to the diet, before the elector was put in poſſeſſion of all he could claim, under the treaty of *Munſter*, or as the northern powers choſe to call it, of *Oſnaburg*, becauſe in that city their concerns were diſcuſſed and ſettled. From this time, *Germany* may be ſaid to date the ſtability of her conſtitution. In the year

1649. 1649, the *Swedes* evacuated *Bohemia*, after the emperor had agreed to pay them 42,000 florins, and all remaining differences between them, the emperor, and *France*, were ſettled in the months of *June* and *July* 1650. That ſame year the em-

1650. peror conveened a diet a *Ratiſbon*, conſiſting of the electors of *Mentz*, *Colegne*, *Treves*, the elector *Palatine*, with the ambaſſadors of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*. The deſign of this diet, was to chuſe a king of the *Romans*, *Ferdinand* ardently wiſhing that the election might fall upon his eldeſt ſon. The ſtates of the empire inſiſted upon the ambaſſador of

A diet at *Ratiſbon*.

*Sweden*,

*Sweden*, in right of the places ceded to that crown, having a ſeat in the diet, and the diſputes upon this, grew ſo high, that *Ferdinand* was obliged to adjourn the aſſembly, and to call an electoral diet, to be held at *Augſbourg*, *May* 31ſt, 1653. 1653.
At that time and place, *Ferdinand*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, was choſen king of the *Romans*, and beſides the uſual ceremonies, he ſwore to the obſervance of the treaties of *Munſter*, *Oſnaburg*, and *Nuremberg*. Notwithſtanding all thoſe promiſing appearances of peace, the duke of *Lorrain* was ſtill diſſatisfied, and that too with juſtice, as by the treaty of *Munſter*, *Ferdinand* had promiſed to remove his troops out of the empire; but it now appeared that he intended to do it without paying them their arrears. The duke indemnified himſelf, by ravaging *Alſace* and *Weſtphalia*; but none of the electors or free towns would conſent to pay him the ſum he demanded, the payment of which they threw entirely upon the emperor. *Ferdinand*, unable or unwilling to ſatisfy him, was mean enough to apply to the crown of *Spain*, in whoſe ſervice the duke was, to have him arreſted, and the archduke *Leopold*, governor of the *Low Countries*, decoyed him to *Bruſſels*, from whence he was ſent priſoner to *Toledo* in *Spain*. The duke of *Lorrain* arreſted.

The duke, when he was arreſted, ſent the following note to his lieutenant-general, the count *de Ligneville*: "Separate "yourſelf inſtantly from the *Spaniards*, kill and burn what-"ever is in your way, and remember *Charles* of *Lorrain*." His troops however continued in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, and his brother *Francis*, who ſucceeded to the command of them, upon being paid 100,000 crowns, evacuated the places the duke held in *Germany*. Before the diet of *Ratiſbon* roſe, great numbers of complaints from the ſubjects of the ceded countries, came before them againſt the *French* and the *Swedes*, who pretended, that ſince the treaty they had no right to their antient privileges. *Bremen* bravely defended her's by force of arms, and maintained them likewiſe by the interpoſition of the circles of *Weſtphalia* and *Lower Saxony*, as well as of the *Dutch* and the *Hanſe* towns. From thoſe encroachments, the diet concluded, that it would be proper for the princes and ſtates of each religion, to chuſe a head to ſerve as a gaurantee for the obſervance of the treaty. The elector of *Saxony* was choſen the chief for the proteſtants, and the elector of *Bavaria* for the catholics. It was regulated that the elector of *Bavaria* ſhould retain the title of Arch Steward of the holy *Roman* empire, and the elector *Palatine* that of Arch Treaſurer, and that no princes ſhould have ſeats in the diet, unleſs they had fiefs immediately holding of the empire. Differences with the *Swedes*.

Upon the breaking up of the diet, the *Imperial* court returned to *Vienna*, where the young king of the *Romans* died of the ſmall-pox, and his brother *Leopold* was crowned king of *Hungary*. *Ferdinand* then applied himſelf to the affairs of *Italy* and *Spain*, which are foreign to this part of our hiſtory, while the proteſtants and *Roman* catholics were equally buſy Death of the king of the *Romans*.

in

in aſcertaining the ſeveral rights they had acquired by the treaty of *Weſtphalia*. Mean time the elector of *Brandenburg* was on very bad terms with *Charles-Guſtavus*, to whom *Chriſtina* had reſigned the crown of *Sweden*, and *Ferdinand* laid hold of that opportunity to gratify his reſentment againſt the *Swedes*, by forming a general confederacy for humbling them, conſiſting of the kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the *Crim Tartars*, but while he was meditating thoſe mighty ſchemes, he died at *Vienna* in the 49th year of his age, and the 20th of his reign, juſt as *Germany* began to breathe from the miſeries of war. *Ferdinand* was firſt married to *Mary* of *Auſtria*, ſiſter to *Philip* IV. king of *Spain*, by whom he left *Leopold*, who ſucceeded him, and *Mary* of *Spain*. By his ſecond nuptials with *Leopoldine*, daughter to *Leopold* archduke of *Inſpruck*, he had the archduke *Charles-Joſeph*, who died at the age of 13, *January* 7, 1664; and by his laſt, with *Eleonora de Gonzague* of *Mantua*, he had the archduke *Ferdinand-Charles*, who died in 1659, and the archduchefs *Eleonora* and *Mary-Anne*.

The emperor's great deſigns.

His death,

iſſue,

and character.

We have little to add to the character of this prince, different from what we have ſaid of his predeceſſors. The fortitude, or rather ſtoiciſm, with which he bore the ſtorms of fortune, that ſo long had beat upon him, would have been highly commendable, had they not proceeded from a pride and obſtinacy that no calamity could ſubdue. In ſhort, he had all his family failings and virtues, but he is ſaid to have been more liberal than moſt of his predeceſſors, though that liberality was ill placed. Being attached to worthleſs favourites, he often made a wrong choice of his generals, and diſguſted thoſe who were moſt deſerving. In his own perſon he was brave; but after his acceſſion to the empire, he ſeldom headed his armies in perſon. He was well ſerved by the houſes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*; the former from a principle of patriotiſm, and the latter from that of gratitude. The *Germans* who had invited in the *Swedes*, found reaſon to repent their connections with them; and *Ferdinand* could not relax ſo far from his natural ſeverity, as to open a door for uniting his whole empire, by publiſhing an act of amneſty, or taking ſuch meaſures as might drive thoſe unwelcome viſitors out of his dominions.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

### LEOPOLD.

State of the empire.

THOUGH the treaty of *Munſter* pacified the internal troubles of *Germany*, yet it ſeemed to encreaſe thoſe of *Europe*. The late emperor had taken part in the war between the *Poles* and the *Swedes*. The *Turks* were in poſſeſſion of *Buda*, and threatened *Germany* itſelf; the *Swedes* had acquired

quired *Pomerania* and the dutchy of *Bremen*; an army of *Germans* was in *Italy* to overawe the houſe of *Savoy*, another was in *Poland*, where, in contravention of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, the *Imperialiſts* had taken *Cracow*, and above all, the *French*, the natural and avowed enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria*, were in poſſeſſion of *Alſace*. *Leopold*, the late emperor's ſon, was indeed king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, but was not quite ſeventeen years of age; his conſtitution was weakly, and the management of his affairs was in the hands of his uncle, the archduke *Leopold*. The neceſſity of the juncture called aloud upon the electors to give a head to the empire; and *France* as earneſtly endeavoured to retard or embroil the election. Her miniſters firſt offered to befriend the archduke *Leopold*, if he would ſtand for the *Imperial* dignity; but he declined it. They then encouraged the duke of *Neuburg*, but were earneſt with the duke of *Bavaria*, who refuſed it likewiſe. Their aim was to diſunite the empire from *Spain*, and to obtain a favourable conſtruction of the treaty of *Munſter*, particularly with regard to the diſputes concerning *Lorrain*. Having, as they thought, ſecured the laſt mentioned point, *Leopold* arriving at his 18th year, the age of majority required by the golden Bull, was choſen emperor, and ſigned a capitulation confirming the rights of the empire, and promiſing not to enter into the war between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, nor to make foreign alliances without the conſent of the electors.

*Leopold* choſen emperor.

To ſtrengthen the quiet of *Germany*, the electors of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Cologne*, the *Palatine*, the king of *Sweden*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the duke of *Lunenburg*, entered with *France* into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, which was called *the League of the Rhine*, and was formed for maintaining the peace of *Weſtphalia*, and to prevent *German* troops from marching to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*. It was not long before *Leopold*, who of all mankind, in his own perſon, was the leaſt fitted for war, ſhewed an inclination to become a party in all the wars of *Europe*. He befriended the *Danes* againſt the *Swedes*, but he was obliged by the latter to raiſe the ſiege of *Stetin*, and the princes of the empire exclaimed againſt his violating the peace of *Weſtphalia*, by ordering his troops to march into *Pomerania*. *Leopold* wanted to transfer the diet from *Frankfort* to *Ratiſbon*; but the princes refuſed to obey him; and the *French*, who were then about concluding the *Pyrenean* treaty with *Spain*, procured the city of *Juliers* for their friend the duke of *Neuburg*, who appeared at the head of the oppoſition to *Leopold*. The *French* and *Engliſh* endeavoured to mediate between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and *Charles-Guſtavus* dying, a treaty was made, to which *Leopold* and the marquiſs of *Brandenburg* acceded.

Intrigues of the *French*.

1659.

The pacification of the north, left *Leopold* at liberty to attend the affairs of *Tranſylvania*, where young *Ragotſki*, with various fortune, had for ſome years maintained a war againſt the *Turks*,

Affairs of *Tranſylvania*.

*Turks*, but was unfortunately killed in an action near *Hermanſtadt*, when he was on the point of obtaining a complete victory. *Leopold* had given *Ragotſki* juſt as much aſſiſtance as ſerved to exaſperate the *Turks* againſt him, and ſaw them ready to pour into *Hungary*. He had raiſed one *Janos* to be a candidate for the waywodeſhip of *Tranſylvania*, and the *Turks* had given their intereſt to count *Botſkay*, whom *Janos* defeated and killed. *Leopold* upon this, ſent two armies into *Tranſylvania* to take poſſeſſion of the two fiefs of *Zathmar* and *Zambolic*; but the *Tranſylvanians* and *Hungarians* hated the houſe of *Auſtria* ſo much, that they gave up *Waradin* to the *Turks*, rather than conſent to admit an *Auſtrian* garriſon. In the mean while the *Turks* nominated one *Michael Abaffi* to be waywode of *Tranſylvania*, and the ſultan ordered 60,000 men to reinforce the baſha of *Buda*, who was to command in the war againſt the *Germans*. Count *Staremberg*, *Montecuculi*, and baron *de Souches*, all of them great generals, commanded for *Leopold* in *Hungary* and *Tranſylvania*, and even the *French* king had ſent him a body of 8000 troops to aſſiſt him againſt the infidels. It was plain, by the ſevere and cruel procedure of *Leopold*'s miniſters in *Hungary*, that he wanted to ſubdue the proteſtants there, rather than to oppoſe the *Turks*. In every town where they became maſters, nothing but gibbets and ſcaffolds were ſeen for the execution of the proteſtants, who were every where treated as rebels, for remonſtrating againſt the loſs of their liberties; but at laſt, the ſpirit of diſcontent aroſe to ſuch a height among the *Hungarians*, that the *Germans* under *Montecuculi*, were obliged to evacuate *Upper Hungary*, and take quarters in the *Lower*; but the *Auſtrian* tyranny and oppreſſion were ſo intolerable, that the *Hungarian* peaſants cut off numbers of the *Germans* in their march. The latter made repriſals till all the country became a ſcene of bloodſhed.

1663. War with the *Turks*

In the year 1663, a diet was held at *Ratiſbon*, to deliberate upon the means of executing the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, and reſiſting the *Turks*, who had, by this time, taken *Newhauſel*, and made good their winter-quarters in *Upper Hungary*, where they were more welcome than the *Germans*. From thence they advanced towards *Friuli*, but a large detachment of them were cut in pieces by the brave count *Serini*, who, next campaign, drove the *Turks* from many places which they poſſeſſed, between the *Drave* and the *Danube*, and *Souches* at the ſame time obtained vaſt advantges over the infidels; but all of them were ineffectual for driving them out of *Hungary*. So far from that, they formed a deſign of marching to *Vienna* itſelf, under the grand vizir, but they were defeated near St. *Godard*, by *Montecuculi*, with the loſs of 16,000 men and their train of artillery. This defeat diſpoſed the infidels towards a peace, and the negotiations were opened next day, and concluded at *Temeſwar*, the 10th of *Auguſt* 1664. The reader, in the preceding part of this work, will meet with the terms of the treaty

See Vol. VIII. p. 218.

1664.

treaty which was then concluded. The *Hungarians* complained that they were ſacrificed by that peace, and threatened a univerſal revolt. They even intercepted the meſſenger which was carrying the treaty to *Vienna*, and it was with difficulty that *Leopold*, who was at this time intent upon his marriage with an infanta of *Spain*, cajoled them into an approbation of the treaty. When they returned to their own country, they actually revolted, and endeavoured to decoy *Leopold* to *Preſburg*, where they intended to have ſeized his perſon, but he avoided the ſnare.

1666. *Leopold* married.

In 1666, *Leopold* married *Margaret Tereſa* the infanta of *Spain*, but *Lewis* XIV. in virtue of his marriage with another infanta, claimed poſſeſſion of the *Low Countries*, and made a great progreſs in conquering the *Spaniſh Flanders* and *Franche Comte*. This province then forming a circle of the empire, his catholic majeſty's miniſters endeavoured to make the diet at *Ratiſbon* parties in the quarrel, but to no purpoſe, the diet having the internal peace of the empire more at heart. The elector *Palatine*, endeavouring to repeople his country, drew great numbers of inhabitants from *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Lorrain*, for which the elector of *Mentz* declared war againſt him, and making a great progreſs in his dominions, the *Palatine* ſheltered himſelf under the caſtle of *Frankendal*, where he was defeated, which obliged him to ſue for peace, and a ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly agreed to. Mean while, in the year 1668, *Lewis* XIV. declared war againſt the emperor, and took *Beſançon* and *Salins*, and at laſt, all the *Franche Comte*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* offered their mediation, and a congreſs was opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, but to no purpoſe. The *French* king was then in the meridian of his glory, and forced the *Spaniards* to deliver up to him all that is now called *French Flanders*, with *Courtray*, *Bergues*, and *Furnes*, upon his evacuating *Franche Comte*. A diet had been convoked at *Preſburg* in *Hungary*, where ſome regulations were made in favour of the proteſtants, who ſhewed great diſpoſitions to rebel, but ſuch was their inteſtine diviſions, that they remained in peace for that year. The empire, however, continued as much embroiled as ever, and the elector *Palatine* was defeated by the duke of *Lorrain*, but through the mediation of the *French* king, an accommodation took place, by which the duke of *Lorrain* was made general of the *Auſtrian* horſe, that were to march into *Hungary*, where every thing was again in diſorder.

1668. The *French* king declares war againſt him.

The *Auſtrian* encroachments in that kingdom were ſo intolerable that the counts *Serini* and *Tattembach* entered into an aſſociation againſt the court of *Vienna*, and even applied for aſſiſtance to the *Turks*. This was a circumſtance extremely favourable for the emperor, as it gave the *Germans* and the *Roman* catholic powers very bad impreſſions of the *Hungarian* malcontents. *Tattembach* was arreſted by the emperor, and the confederacy between him and *Serini* was diſcovered. The

Trials and executions of the *Hungarian*

*Hungarian* malcontents, however, ſtill continued very powerful, and the emperor was obliged to apply for aſſiſtance to the diet of the empire; but *Leopold* being well ſerved by his generals, the brave *Serini*, and his brother-in-law count *Frangipani*, were taken and ſent priſoners to *Vienna*, upon which *Ragotſki* laid down his arms, but by his mother's mediation he preſerved his eſtates. It ſoon appeared, that the confederacy which had been formed againſt the emperor, was far ſpread, and that his chief general *Nadaſti* was involved in it. The principal conſpirators were tried; and *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and *Frangipani* had their hands and heads cut off. *Leopold* then treated *Hungary* as a conquered country, and obliged the malcontents to defray the expence he was at in making and keeping them ſlaves. *Lewis* XIV. by this time, had broken the triple league formed againſt him by the *Engliſh*, *Swedes*, and *Dutch*, and he invaded the latter. The emperor and the elector of *Brandenburgh* endeavoured to ſtop his progreſs, but *Lewis*, intoxicated with his ſucceſs, loſt all the magnificent conqueſts he made upon his firſt irruption, and in 1674, he carried the war into the empire. *Leopold*

1674. Succeſs of the *French*

ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Palatine*, the landgrave of *Heſſe* and the duke of *Brunſwic*; and this confederacy overawed the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, who were in the intereſts of *France*.

in *Franche Comte*.

The *French* arms made a moſt rapid progreſs in *Franche Comte*, where they took *Beſançon* and other places of great importance, while the *Germans* were excluded from entering *Alſace*, and obliged to retire to a camp between *Hiedelberg* and *Philipſbourg*, from whence they were driven by the *French* general, *Turenne*, who made himſelf maſter of all the *Palatinate*, and gave it up as a prey to his ſoldiers; ſo that it became ſoon a ſcene of ſolitude and miſery. The princes of the empire, alarmed at the thoughts of taking a *French* yoke, joined the *Imperial* army between *Mentz* and *Franckfort*; upon which *Turenne* repaſſed the *Rhine*, and the *Imperial* army marching to take up winter quarters in *Upper Alſace*, *Turenne* again defeated it, and forced the *Germans* to take refuge under the cannon of *Straſbourg*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* joining the *Imperialiſts*, *Turenne* was again obliged to retire, but watched his time ſo well, that he defeated 6,000 of their cavalry at *Mulhauſen*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* bravely declared againſt the *French*, who for that reaſon prevailed with the *Swedes* to invade his dominions. The elector complained to the diet of this hoſtility, and the king of *Sweden* was declared to be an enemy to the empire. The elector, by an amazing march, ſurprized the *Swedes*, who lay diſperſed through the marches of *Brandenburgh*, and after defeating them at *Therbellin*, drove them into *Mecklenburg*. *Montecuculi* was by the emperor appointed to oppoſe *Turenne*, and the war was carried on between thoſe great generals in a

manner that left it hard to decide to whom the palm of victory ought to be assigned. *Turenne* happening to be killed as he was viewing his batteries, left *Montecuculi* master of the field, and the *French* army, as if it had lost its soul and spirit, repassed the *Rhine* with some loss, being pursued by *Montecuculi*. After this, the *Imperialists* besieged *Triers* by way of diversion to the *French*, and the latter were defeated in endeavouring to relieve the place, which surrendered the 20th day after the trenches were opened. *Montecuculi* opposes *Turenne*. Death of *Turenne*.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the house of *Austria* must have sunk under that of *Bourbon* had it not been bravely supported by the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the other protestant princes, who prevailed with the *Danes* and the *Dutch* to attack *Sweden*. The bishop of *Munster* took *Bremen* and claimed to hold it, being supported by the emperor; but the dispute between him and the protestant princes on that account was settled by commissaries from the emperor. Mean while the *French* carried all before them in the *Low Countries*, but *Montecuculi*'s age and infirmities obliging him to resign the command of the army, he was succeeded by the brave duke of *Lorrain*, who defeated the *French* in *Alsace*, and besieged and took *Philipsbourg*, which capitulated on the 10th of *September*. After this, he forced the duke of *Luxembourg*, the *French* general, to repass the *Rhine*. The duke of *Saxe Eisenach* was, the same campaign, obliged by the *French* marshal *Crequi*, to lay down his arms, and to promise not to resume them against *France*, during the remainder of that campaign. The elector of *Brandenburgh* and his allies, in the mean while, took *Stetin* from the *Swedes*, together with the isle of *Rugen*, and the city of *Stralsund*, and drove them out of *Pomerania*. While the elector was preparing to follow those blows, the *French* over-ran *Juliers*, and took *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The duke of *Lorrain*, after the duke of *Saxe Eisenach*'s disaster, passed the *Rhine*, and obtained some advantages over the *French*; but having orders to put his troops into winter quarters, the *French* took that opportunity to besiege and take *Friburg* and some other places, and both armies going into winter quarters, the duke of *Lorrain* went to *Vienna*, where he espoused the emperor's sister, the princess *Eleonora*. This winter, the marquis of *Brandenburgh* compleated the conquest of *Pomerania* by taking *Gripswald*. In *May* 1678, the duke of *Lorrain* sought to bring the *French* to an engagement near *Brisac*, and obliged them to retire into *Alsace*, after failing in a design they had upon *Strasbourg*. The true intention of the duke of *Lorrain* was to have besieged *Friburg*, but that brave prince was this year most scandalously supported by the court of *Vienna* and its allies. The marquis of *Brandenburgh* and his *Danish* majesty were intent upon making conquests upon the *Swedes*, and settling them. The *Dutch* wished for a peace, and the other *German* princes were tired of war; but above all, the emperor's finances were in most wretched order, and he minded

1676. The duke of *Lorrain* made general of the *Imperialists*.

1678.

nothing

nothing ſo much as to tyrannize over and enſlave the *Hungarians*, ſo that the duke of *Lorrain* was, this campaign, deſtitute both of money and magazines.

*Tekeli* choſen head of the *Hungarians.*

The oppreſſions of the *Hungarians* were ſo great, that they at laſt took arms, but the emperor ſent 10,000 men to ſupport his general *Spankau* in that kingdom. *Leopold*, about the ſame time, ſuppreſſed the office of palatine of *Hungary*, as being too independent, and appointed a viceroy to govern that kingdom. The *Turkiſh* baſhaws and governors ſupported and encouraged the malcontents, of which *Leopold* complained at *Conſtantinople*, but received very little ſatisfaction. At laſt, *Leopold* ordered ſome of the chief malcontents to repair to *Vienna*, where the office of *Palatine* was reſtored, but not the power; and the *Imperial* miniſters made ſuch demands that the *Hungarians* ſaw their ruin was reſolved upon. *Abaffi*, the waiwode of *Tranſylvania*, ſent the malcontents ſome troops, under the command of *Emeric*, count *Tekeli*, one of the richeſt of the *Hungarian* nobleman, but he dying, his ſon, who was but 15 years of age, to avoid the implacable reſentment of the court of *Vienna*, fled to *Poland*, where finding no protection, he returned to *Tranſylvania*; where, by his great capacity and ſervices, young as he was, he became *Abaffi*'s general and chief miniſter. *Tekeli* being now at the head of 12,000 men, entered *Upper Hungary*, and declared himſelf prince and protector of that kingdom, and obliged the *Imperial* army to retire under the cannon of *Eperies*. *Tekeli* then publiſhed manifeſtos, inviting the *Hungarians* to join him in his endeavours to recover their antient rights; and his army encreaſing to 20,000 men, he took *Eperies*, defeated count *Leſley* the *Imperial* general, ravaged all the *Auſtrian* dominions in that neighbourhood, and cut off ſeveral bodies of the *Imperialiſts*, to whom he gave no quarter. This humbled the court of *Vienna* ſo much, that they employed the biſhop of *Strigonia*, who was primate of *Hungary*, to receive the demands of the malcontents. Theſe were, that they ſhould be reinſtated in their religion and privileges, and that their diet ſhould have the power of chuſing their palatine. They threatened, at the ſame time, if their demands were not granted, to put the *Turks* in poſſeſſion of their cities on the mountains. *Leopold* was obliged to temporize till his armies being reinforced, the malcontents thought proper to conclude a truce.

Peace of *Nimeguen* concluded.

*Charles* II. king of *England*, at this time, offered his mediation to the *European* powers who were at war, and it being accepted of by the *Dutch*, *Nimeguen* was appointed for the place of negociation. The plenipotentiaries accordingly met there. The *French* king demanded that *Franche Comte* ſhould be annexed to his dominions for ever, together with part of the *Spaniſh Flanders* and *Friburg*, but offered to return *Philipſbourg* and its dependencies to the emperor, and to reſtore, but upon very inadmiſſable terms, *Lorrain* to its duke. The emperor made a ſtrong oppoſition to thoſe terms, but all was

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in vain. The *Engliſh* mediators were partial in favour of the *French*; the *Dutch* had actually ſigned their own peace, and *Lewis* was preparing to unite his whole force againſt the empire, ſo that *Leopold* was obliged to give way, and his plenipotentiaries ſigned likewiſe. The elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had acted ſo generous a part againſt the common enemy, was obliged to reſtore the conqueſts he had made upon the *Swedes*, and to accept of 300,000 crowns by way of indemnification. He complained loudly of his treatment, and exclaimed againſt the *States General* for having given him up as a prey to *France*, but they pleaded their inability to ſave him.

During the treaty of *Nimeguen*, *Van Gale*, the turbulent and warlike biſhop of *Munſter*, died, and his ſucceſſor was obliged to reſtore all his part of *Bremen* and *Verden* which he had taken from the *Swedes*. *Leopold* concluded a peace at the ſame time with the crown of *Sweden*, though the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the king of *Denmark* proteſted againſt the treaty, as being entered into on the part of the emperor in breach of his engagements with them. Sixteen thouſand *Swedes* under *Horn* invaded *Pruſſia*, great part of which they ravaged with fire and ſword. But though it was then the dead of winter, the elector put himſelf at the head of 9000 men, and drove the *Swedes* out of his dominions with ſuch ſlaughter, that ſcarcely 3000 of them returned home. The *French* king reſented this ſo greatly, that he was preparing to fall upon the elector with a very ſuperior force, and had even entered upon hoſtilities, when he thought proper to conclude a peace on the terms preſcribed by the *French*, and his example was followed by the king of *Denmark*. It was now evident that the *French* king had concluded the peace of *Nimeguen* with a moſt wicked intention. He ordered chambers of re-union, as they were called, to be erected at *Briſac* and *Metz*, by which he propoſed to annex to his crown, the whole frontier of the empire in that quarter, as belonging to the cities and ſtates which had been ceded to him by the treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*, and many of the poſſeſſors of thoſe fiefs fearing to loſe them, actually performed homage to him, as holding of his ſovereign court of *Briſac*. This was followed by a vaſt train of other oppreſſions and uſurpations, and it was thought by ſome, that he intended, as king of *France*, to claim the empire in right of *Charles* the Great, though he never explicitly owned his intention. The king of *Sweden* and the elector *Palatine* refuſed to pay him homage for the eſtates they held in *Aliſace*, for which they were adjudged to be forfeited. The affair was carried before the diet at *Ratiſbon*, where the king's and elector's complaints met with a cold reception, ſo afraid were the princes of reviving the war. A negociation, however, followed at *Franckfort*, but both parties employed the intermediate time in preparing for war.

Biſhop of *Munſter* reſtores *Bremen*.

Inſolence of the *French*.

who seize *Strasburg*.

*Lewis* XIV. pretended that *Strasbourg* was part of *Alsace*, and most perfidiously seized it, but suffered the protestants to retain the exercise of their religion. The ambitious views of *France* could now be no longer concealed, and a powerful confederacy was formed against *Lewis*, consisting of the circles of *Franconia* and the *Upper Rhine*, the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and the dukes of *Lunenburg*, within the empire; and the crown of *Spain* and the *States General* without. The elector of *Brandenburgh* had his reasons, arising from the conjunction between the emperor and *Sweden*, for opposing this *German* confederacy; and he pretended, that without the consent of the *Germanic* body, the emperor could not make the empire a party in the war. He was joined by the king of *Denmark* and the bishop of *Munster*, and they formed a league for preserving the tranquillity of the empire. The emperor was soon obliged to wink at the encroachments of *France*, that he might oppose the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, an account of which the reader will meet with in a former part of this work. When the

See Vol. VIII. p. 372.

success of *Tekeli* was such that it was evident the infidels intended to besiege *Vienna*, *Leopold* applied for assistance to *Sobieski*, king of *Poland*, who generously overlooked all his differences with the house of *Austria*, and promised to assist him if his capital was attacked. Mean while, *Tekeli* was, by the *Porte*, declared king of *Upper Hungary*, and the sultan published a manifesto, taxing the emperor with his perfidious treatment of the *Hungarians*, who were protected by the *Porte*. *Leopold* now forgot his quarrel with *France*, and the opposing the *Turks* became the common cause of the empire, if not of *Christendom*. The duke of *Lorrain* was called from his government of the *Tirolese* to take upon him the command of the *Imperial* troops at *Presburg*. He immediately laid siege to *Neuhausel*, but the *Turks* were in motion in so many different quarters, that he raised the siege and passed the *Raab*, that he might cover the frontiers of *Moravia*.

Affairs of *Hungary*.

Ibid. 240.

The duke of *Lorrain* retires before the *Turks*.

The *Turks* employed their *Tartars* in cutting off the supplies from the *Imperialists*, but the latter obtained many advantages over them while they were marching through the mountains of *Raab*. Their numbers, however, were so great, that the duke of *Lorrain*, who had not above 24,000 men under his command, was forced to retire under the cannon of *Vienna*, from whence the emperor retired to *Lintz* on the 13th of *July*. The reader, in the place referred to, will meet with a full account of the siege of *Vienna* by the *Turks*, which proved so glorious to all the Christian powers who were concerned in raising it. It is sufficient to observe here, that while that siege was forming, the duke of *Lorrain*, being cut off from all communication with *Vienna*, retook the town of *Presburg*, and beat *Tekeli* in several encounters. The defence made by *Staremberg* and the garrison of *Vienna* was very glorious; but it is uncertain how much longer they could have held

Ibid.

held out, had not the infidels been attacked at the very time they were, by the king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorrain*, and forced to a precipitate retreat, but without great loſs on either ſide, though it undoubtedly was more than a victory to the *Imperialiſts*. After the danger was over, *Leopold* returned to *Vienna*, and next day had an interview with his deliverer, the king of *Poland*; but it paſſed, without warmth of acknowledgment or gratitude, in a ſtupid formal ceremonial, nor would *Leopold* relax one punctilio, notwithſtanding the infinite obligations that *Sobieſki* had laid him under. The latter magnanimouſly overlooked all this, and in a few days he joined the duke of *Lorrain* and the elector of *Bavaria* in compleatly defeating the *Turks*, who loſt 10,000 of their beſt troops in the plains of *Mohatz*. *Leopold*, inſtead of improving the conſternation of the infidels, as he might have done by marching his victorious army to the very walls of *Conſtantinople*, conſulted how to be revenged upon the *Hungarians*, by again reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery. He had taken *Gran*, and was maſter of both ſides of the *Danube* as far as that place, and *Sobieſki* was earneſt for his coming to an accommodation with the *Hungarian* malcontents. The duke of *Lorrain* was of the ſame opinion, and the heads of them were invited to a conference in the duke's tent. The malcontents relaxed nothing of their former demands, but rather roſe upon them, and *Leopold* ſeemed to be uneaſy till he ſhould get quit of his allies, that he might have no check upon the full gratification of his revenge. The elector of *Bavaria*, the marquis of *Baden Dourlach*, and many other princes, had already marched home with their armies, and their example was, at laſt, followed by *Sobieſki*, who was diſguſted with the gloomy ſevere behaviour of *Leopold*.

Siege of *Vienna* raiſed by the king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorrain*.

In 1684, a long truce with *France*, which had been formerly propoſed, was in agitation, and the emperor transferred the conferences from *Ratiſbon* to the *Hague*, which diſſatisfied the electoral college ſo much, that they accepted of the terms offered by *France*. *Leopold* ſtill holding out, the *French* general, *Crequi*, watched his opportunity and took *Luxembourg* and *Triers*. *Leopold* was then obliged to agree to the truce with *France* for 20 years, and to leave *Lewis* in poſſeſſion of *Straſbourg*, *Fort Kehl*, and all the poſts on the *Rhine* towards that important frontier, the proteſtants ſtill being allowed the exerciſe of their religion in the places annexed to the *French* crown. *Leopold* might have prevented thoſe loſſes and mortifications had he been leſs intent on his revenge upon the *Hungarians*. The duke of *Lorrain* had taken *Vicegrade* and *Vatz*, defeated the grand vizier's army, paſſed the *Danube*, and beſieged *Buda*. The vizier endeavoured to relieve it, but was again defeated, and the city probably muſt have been taken, had not the duke of *Lorrain* ſickened; and an infectious kind of a diſtemper, occaſioned by great rains, attacked the *Imperialiſts*, which obliged them to go into winter quarters.

1684: A truce concluded with *France*.

ibid. p. 249.

1685. Early in the year 1685, *Leopold* prevailed with the ſtates of the empire to promiſe to furniſh him with 35,000 men. The pope was to give him money, and the duke of *Lorrain* was to command the army. The death of the elector *Palatine* at this time created great diſturbances in *Germany*. *Lewis* XIV. took part with the elector's ſiſter, the dutcheſs of *Orleans*, who claimed the allodial poſſeſſions and his perſonal eſtate; but the allodial poſſeſſions were, by virtue of the late elector's will, ſeized by the duke of *Neuburg*, as being the chief of the palatine branch, which he was admitted to be by the *French* king, the affair being referred to the arbitration of the pope, and the duke of *Neuburg* put in poſſeſſion of the electorate. The duke of *Lorrain*, at this time, was beſieging *Neuhauſel* in *Hungary*, but the *Turks* having burnt the lower town of *Vicegrade*, had laid ſiege to *Gran* or *Strigonia*. The duke advanced to raiſe the ſiege, and drawing the *Turks* from their intrenchments, defeated them; upon which he took *Neuhauſel* by ſtorm, and put all within it to the ſword without exception. *Novigrade*, and *Lower Vicegrade* next fell into the hands of the *Imperialiſts*, and the *Turks* applied to the duke for a ceſſation of arms. He referred them to the emperor, but in the mean time continued his hoſtilities againſt the infidels, whom he drove acroſs the *Danube*. By thoſe ſucceſſes, and by the coldneſs of the *Turks*, who are greatly determined by events, the *Hungarian* malcontents were left in a manner to the mercy of their enemies; and the *Imperial* generals, *Schultz* and *Caprara*, made a great progreſs in reducing their country to the emperor, who by offering them an amneſty, took off great numbers from *Tekeli*. That unhappy prince had been unfortunate, and therefore in the eyes of the *Turks* he was criminal. Being ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence not only with the *Poles* but the *Auſtrians*, the baſhaw of *Waradin* had orders to put him in irons, which were executed; and his lieutenant general *Patrozzi*, ſubmitting to the emperor, his generals had no farther difficulty in reducing *Upper Hungary*.

Diviſions in *Germany*.

The *Hungarians* diſtreſſed.

1686. In 1686, the campaign there was opened by the elector of *Bavaria* taking *Alba Regalis*, which gave ſo much ſpirit to the *Imperialiſts*, that without waiting for the reinforcements they expected, they again laid ſiege to *Buda*. The place was obſtinately attacked and defended, but a breach being made, a moſt dreadful carnage enſued. The duke, underſtanding that the grand vizier was advancing, redoubled his fire, and though he had already loſt 3,000 men in the ſtorm, on appearance of the infidels van guard, he gave orders for a freſh aſſault, which was carried on with ſo much reſolution, that the place was taken ſword in hand, and no quarters given during the firſt fury of the aſſailants, either to the garriſon or the inhabitants. The duke of *Lorrain* next took *Segeden* and *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and the enemy retiring precipitately over the *Drave*, he became maſter of both ſides of the *Danube* as far as that river.

The *Imperialiſts* take *Buda*.

The

The infidels then offered peace, but *Leopold* demanded ſix millions of ducats, to indemnify him for the expence of the war, that the *Turks* ſhould evacuate *Hungary*, and give ſatisfaction to all his allies. The *Porte* rejected thoſe conditions, which *Leopold* offered to mitigate, that he might be at leiſure to oppoſe the *French* on the ſide of *Alſace*. To effect this purpoſe, the electors of *Brandenburg*, *Palatine*, *Bavaria*, and *Saxony*, the kings of *Sweden* and *Spain*, the circles of *Franconia*, and the *Upper Rhine*, entered into a confederacy with *Leopold*, to oblige *France* to ſtand by her engagements. This did not alter the diſpoſitions of the *French*, for invading the empire, by fortifying *Hunningen*, and building a bridge over the *Rhine*, under pretence that the late treaty which had been concluded at *Augsbourg*, had rendered thoſe meaſures neceſſary for their ſafety.

A confederacy againſt *France*.

The campaign ſtill continued in *Hungary* between the *Turks* and the *Imperialiſts*, who were commanded by the duke of *Lorrain* and the elector of *Bavaria*, tho' entirely to the diſadvantage of the infidels; but every advantage gained over them by the *Imperialiſts* added to the chains of *Hungary*. The emperor *Leopold* convoked the ſtates at *Preſburg*, to which he and his court had repaired with great pomp, and required them to declare his ſon *Joſeph*, a boy of nine years of age, their king, and that the ſucceſſion to the throne was hereditary in the houſe of *Auſtria*. The *Hungarians* objected to the latter condition, and ſought redreſs of their grievances, but were obliged to comply, by giving up all their former privileges, and declaring their crown hereditary, on condition, that if the heirs male of the two houſes of *Auſtria* ſhould fail, they might be at liberty to chuſe their own ſovereign. All the favour they obtained from the emperor, was, that the criminal chamber of *Eperies* ſhould be ſuppreſſed, after it had put to death almoſt every man in *Hungary*, who had dared to ſtand up for the liberties of his country. The elector of *Bavaria* was then prevailed upon to take upon him the chief command of the army againſt the infidels, during the duke of *Lorrain*'s indiſpoſition, and the reader may in another part of this work be informed of the great ſucceſſes that attended the chriſtian arms this year in *Hungary*, and of their taking *Belgrade*, after a vaſt ſlaughter of the infidels.

Vol. VIII. p. 255. and 256.

The *Turks* defeated.

The archduke *Joſeph* declared king of *Hungary*.

Vol. VIII. p. 264.

The prince of *Furſtenberg* had, by the intrigues of the *French*, been choſen elector of *Cologne*, but wanting the neceſſary qualifications, the pope preferred to him prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*; and the ducheſs of *Orleans* had not yet been ſatisfied in her claims upon the *Palatine* eſtate. Thoſe two points gave *France* at this time a handle for breaking the truce, and recommencing hoſtilities upon the *Rhine*. The dauphin was ſent at the head of an army towards *Cologne*, and took *Philipſbourg*; but *Lewis* offered peace to *Germany*, if the election of the prince of *Furſtemberg* was declared valid, and if all the poſſeſſions ceded to himſelf, by the treaties of *Weſtphalia*

Campaign in *Germany*.

1688.

*phalia* and *Nimeguen*, were ſecured to him by a perpetual peace. But this was in effect, according to his interpretation of thoſe two treaties, demanding the ſixth part of the empire in fee, and the conditions being rejected, the *French* troops fell into the *Palatinate*, and became maſters of *Mentz*, *Manheim*, *Frankendal*, *Triers*, *Spire*, and *Worms*. All *Europe* now thought that *Lewis* XIV. aimed at univerſal monarchy, and proteſtants and catholics were equally concerned in putting a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms. The prince of *Orange*, *William* III. who was then upon the throne of *England*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Zell*, all of them princes of great abilities and firmneſs, had formed a plan for a general confederacy againſt *France*. This project was too much in favour of the emperor for him not to accede to it. The elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, the duke of *Hanover*, and many other princes of the empire did the ſame; the ſtates of *Holland* became capital parties in the alliance; *England*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, became ſo likewiſe, and every contracting party took his ſhare in the war. The troops of *Saxony*, *Heſſe*, and *Hanover*, covered *Frankfort*, an army of *Imperialiſts* marched to the *Rhine*, the *Brandenburghers* to *Weſel*, and about 3000 men were thrown into *Cologne*, while the ſtates of *Holland* ſent troops into *Juliers*, and endeavoured to ſecure ſuch places in the electorate of *Mentz*, as the *French* had not yet ſeized on, and the ſafety of the other parts of the empire, were in the like manner provided for, while the diet at *Ratiſbon* declared *Lewis* to be an enemy to the empire.

The grand confederacy againſt *France* formed.

Three great armies were formed, beſides that in *Hungary*, which was commanded by prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. Thirty thouſand men were to act under the elector of *Brandenburg* on the *Lower Rhine*; 30,000 were to aſſemble under the elector of *Bavaria* at *Heilbron* on the *Upper Rhine*, and 40,000 under the duke of *Lorrain* aſſembled at *Frankfort*. The execution of thoſe mighty enterprizes was wretched. The avarice and indifference of the *Imperial* court had ſuffered all the neceſſaries of war to run to ruin; no care had been taken to provide boats and materials for bridges, the magazines were deſtitute of proviſions, and the fortifications of artillery, while the *French* were provided with every requiſite that could render war ſucceſsful. This difference exhibited to the world a melancholy but ſtriking proof of the vaſt ſuperiority which a ſingle and abſolute direction gives in war, compared to the diſunited efforts of different heads, ſome of them, perhaps, diſagreeing upon the moſt important points of conduct, if not of intereſt.

State of the *Imperial* and *French* forces.

The *French* threw into *Mentz* a garriſon of 12,000 men, the allies reinforced that of *Coblentz*, and their princes aſſembling, inſtead of proceeding directly to action, ſpent their time in ſettling idle ceremonials; but at laſt they reſolved to beſiege *Mentz*, where the *French* marſhal *D' Uxelles* commanded.

This fatiguing ſiege laſted ſeven weeks, and the place ſurrendered on the 8th of *December*; the garriſon marched out with the honours of war, as did that of *Bonn*, which was about the ſame time beſieged by the elector of *Brandenburg*; and after this their army went into winter quarters. In *Hungary*, the prince of *Baden* defeated the *Turks* in three engagements, and took *Niſſa* and *Widin*. *Mentz* taken by the *Germans*.

In 1690, an electoral diet was held at *Augſburg*, for chuſing *Joſeph*, king of *Hungary*, king of the *Romans*, which he was on the 24th of *January*; the electors agreeing to the meaſure, rather from the neceſſity of the juncture, than any affection they had for the houſe of *Auſtria*, which they now conſidered as endeavouring to render the empire hereditary in itſelf. The ſucceſſes of the *Auſtrians* in *Hungary*, this year, gave great ſpirit to the confederacy, the princes of which met at the *Hague*, with king *William* at their head, and formed one of the moſt auguſt aſſemblies that *Europe* ever beheld. The brave duke of *Lorrain* was now dead; he was ſucceeded in his command by the elector of *Bavaria*, who was to act upon the *Rhine*, while the elector of *Brandenburg* was to head another army, in the neighbourhood of *Cologne*. The *French* army was equal in number, and commanded by the dauphin; ſo that it was expected the fate of *Europe* would depend upon the enſuing campaign. The duke of *Savoy* about this time was ſo exaſperated at the inſolence of the *French*, that he acceded to the grand alliance. He was a brave and a uſeful ally, but the unfortunate events which happened to the emperor in *Hungary* this year, forced *Leopold* to withdraw his troops from the *Rhine*, and the *French* were ſo active, that to the inexpreſſible loſs of the common cauſe, they became this year maſters of the greateſt part of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*: At laſt the duke of *Schomberg*, and the famous prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, having overcome all the difficulties which the corruption and ſlowneſs of the *Imperialiſts* had thrown in their way, preſerved to the duke the remaining part of his dominions. On the *Rhine*, the allies, who continued there to be very weak, were beat by the duke *de Lorges*, who took the duke of *Wirtemberg* priſoner, laid his country under contribution, and obliged the landgrave of *Heſſe* to repaſs the *Rhine*. Had the *French* at this time purſued their conqueſts in *Germany*, that body muſt have been brought to the brink of deſtruction. But the vanity of *Lewis* XIV. impelled him to form the ſiege of *Namur*, which was covered by marſhal *Luxembourg* with 70,000 men. The allies under king *William*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, being reinforced by 12,000 *Hanoverians*, unexpectedly attacked the *French* at *Steinkirk*, but, after an obſtinate diſpute, they were defeated and forced to retire. Campaign in *Italy*.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the horrid barbarities committed all this time by the *French* armies in *Germany*, eſpecially in the *Palatinate*, which from one end to the other was a continued blaze, and preſented ſcenes of butchery and miſery; but an event

now happened of the greateſt conſequence to the internal concerns of *Germany*.

A ninth electorate erected in favour of the houſe of *Hanover*.

The houſe of *Lunenburg* had been of infinite ſervice to the empire, and *George-William* duke of *Zell*, one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of that age, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to *France*, eſpecially in the year 1675 and 1676. We have already mentioned him as one of the glorious triumvirate, who formed that grand confederacy againſt *Lewis*, and king *William* paid him two viſits in perſon, to conſult him upon his expedition againſt *England*. Dying without any male iſſue, his daughter was married to his nephew *George-Lewis*, afterwards king of *Great Britain*, and ſon to *Erneſt* duke of *Hanover*. *Erneſt-Auguſtus*, by his œconomy and large poſſeſſions, was one of the moſt powerful princes in the empire. He kept up a ſtanding army of 10,000 foot and 5000 horſe in his own dominions, beſides whom, he had conſiderable bodies of troops acting in *Hungary*, and the *Morea*, againſt the infidels, and on the *Rhine* and in the *Netherlands* againſt the *French*. The vaſt eminence of the duke of *Zell*, in the empire, had cauſed his houſe to be men-
1689. tioned in the electoral diet in 1689, as proper to be erected into a ninth electorate; but he being then old, and having no male iſſue, he transferred all his intereſt to his brother *Erneſt*. The relation of the latter to the royal family of *England*, by marrying the neareſt proteſtant heireſs of the crown, engaged king *William* ſo ſtrongly in his favour, that he repreſented to *Leopold* the neceſſity of attaching to the grand confederacy the family of *Lunenburg*. *Lewis* XIV. equally ſenſible of his importance, made great offers to *George-Lewis*, which he rejected, and continued to diſtinguiſh himſelf at the head of his father's troops, either againſt the *Turks* or the
1692. *French*, and in the year 1692, the emperor agreed that his father ſhould be created the ninth elector of the empire. He was ſeconded by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, but oppoſed by the other electors, and the college of the cities. *Leopold*, on the 19th of *December*, without regarding the oppoſition, gave him the inveſtiture of the electorate; but it was pronounced to be null by the diet of *Ratiſbon*, as being contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire. The new elector, as an acknowledgment for the honour done him, engaged to furniſh 6000 troops to ſerve againſt the *Turks*, and 3000 againſt the *French*, and from the time of his receiving his inveſtiture, he was looked upon as an elector.

State of the war with the *Turks* and the *French*. 1693.

The *French* and *Turks* were all this while gaining ground, chiefly through the ſloth and dilatorineſs of the court of *Vienna*. The former had rejected a propoſal of peace, ſent them by *Leopold*, in the beginning of the year 1693, and ſoon after the *French* paſſed the *Rhine* and took *Heidelberg*, which ſurrendered on the 24th of *May*. Their general *de Lorges* was then upon the *Neckar*, and was reinforced by the dauphin himſelf. Their intention was to have forced the prince of *Baden's*

*Baden*'s intrenchments near *Otmarſheim*; but after two attempts, in which they were repulſed with loſs, they retreated, part of their army marching to *Piedmont*, and part to *Flanders*, while a few remained in the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, from whence, however, they were ſoon driven by the *Germans*. In *Flanders*, *Luxembourg* took *Huy*, and beat the allies at *Landen*; and in *Piedmont*, the *French* general, *Catinat*, beat the duke of *Savoy*, who attacked him againſt the opinion of the great prince *Eugene*. In *Hungary*, the duke of *Croy* commanded the *Imperialiſts*, and attempted to retake *Belgrade*, which had again fallen into the hands of the *Turks*; but he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, while king *William* laboured, but in vain, to make peace between the *Othmans* and the *Germans*. In the winter, the duke of *Croy* having cloſed the campaign, repaired to *Vienna*, where he laid before the emperor, the neceſſity of acting with greater vigour againſt the infidels, but all the effect his remonſtrances produced, was to load the hereditary dominions with new taxes, which were ſunk in the pockets of thoſe who levied them, without contributing to the public ſervice. In ſhort, the *Imperial* finances were at this time in ſo miſerable a condition in *Hungary*, that the troops and garriſons were in danger of revolting or mutinying. In *Germany* the princes were diſſatisfied upon many accounts; but complained chiefly of the duke of *Hanover*'s inveſtiture; and it coſt *England* and *Holland* immenſe ſums to maintain the credit of the *Imperialiſts* in *Italy* and *Flanders*. But if *Leopold* was thus diſtreſſed, *Lewis* was far from being at eaſe. The prodigious armies he was obliged to keep on foot, and the badneſs of the late harveſt, had laid his kingdom under vaſt miſery, and he laboured hard to bring about either a general or a ſeparate peace with the confederates; but he ſtill ſtuck to terms which they rejected. A diſpute about the ſucceſſion to the biſhopric of *Liege*, gave the *French* a freſh handle for embroiling the affairs of the empire, but the diſpute was determined in favour of the elector of *Cologne*.

Vol. VIII. p. 294, &c.

Diſcontents prevail in *Germany*.

In *Flanders*, the allies attempted to penetrate by *Pont d'Eſpieres* into *French Flanders*, but were prevented by the vigilance of the dauphin, and marſhal *Bouflers*, while king *William* took *Dixmuyd* and *Huy*, by which they loſt all their footing in the biſhopric of *Liege*. Upon the *Rhine*, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* made ſo good a figure, though with an inferiour army, that the marſhal *de Lorges* thought proper to retire, after ruining the neighbouring country. Upon this the confederates made a ſudden irruption into *Alſace*, where they laid the *French* acquiſitions under heavy contributions, and finding that the *French* were preparing to ſurround them, they recroſſed the *Rhine*. The ſucceſs of the houſe of *Hanover* ſeems, about this time, to have encouraged the elector of *Brandenburg* to apply to the emperor likewiſe, for an augmentation to his dignity. Many diſputes of a long ſtanding had

had ſubſiſted between his houſe and that of *Auſtria*, concerning certain fiefs in *Sileſia* and *Bohemia*; but thoſe differences were now ſettled. The elector gave up to *Leopold* the circle of *Schwiebus*, and in return received the title of *King of Pruſſia*, the reverſion of the principality of *Eaſt Frieſland*, the barony of *Limburg*, and a promiſe of being paid 250,000 florins, and that a new proteſtant deputy ſhould be admitted into the *Aulic* council. In the winter of the year 1695, a faint attempt for a general peace was made under the mediation of *Sweden*; but that blowing over, king *William* beſieged and took *Namur* in ſight of the *French* army, and ordered marſhal *Bouflers* who commanded in it to be arreſted, by way of reprizal, for the detention of the garriſons of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyd*. Upon the *Rhine*, the campaign this year was almoſt entirely paſſive, both armies lying on the defenſive, and nothing happening but a few ſkirmiſhes. In *Hungary*, the *Imperialiſts* had built ſome veſſels upon the *Danube*, but they were uſeleſs for want of money to pay men for working them; nor could the court of *Vienna* prevail upon its officers to take the field, till they had ſecurity for their pay; and it was the beginning of *Auguſt* before their army there could be put in motion. In the mean while, the *Turks* attacked and defeated *Veterani*, the *Imperial* general, upon the frontiers of *Tranſylvania*, but the elector of *Saxony* advancing againſt them, they thought proper to repaſs the *Danube*.

The elector of *Brandenburg* made king of *Pruſſia*. 1695.

The emperor complained heavily, to the ſtates of the empire, of his being ſo ill ſupported in *Hungary*; but received little or no ſatisfaction. In *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*, the campaign was ſpent, without any remarkable action between the *French* and the confederates, in marches and countermarches, the particulars of which can be of no benefit to the reader. The *Germans* cloſed the campaign by a new irruption which they made into *Alſace*, where they laid the country under contribution. This indeciſive ſtate of the war tired out the duke of *Savoy*, who concluded a ſecret treaty with the *French*, which he afterwards called the neutrality of *Italy*, and he made it no ſecret, that if the emperor did not evacuate *Italy*, he was reſolved to join his arms with thoſe of the *French* king, and to force him. The treaty, which was in the main very advantageous to the duke, was ſtrengthened by a match between the duke of *Burgundy* and princeſs *Mary Adelaide* of *Savoy*. The *Imperialiſts* retired towards the *Milaneſe*, and the duke of *Savoy*, who, that ſame campaign, had commanded them againſt the *French*, now commanded the *French* againſt them, and obliged the *Germans* to accept of a neutrality for *Italy*, upon their being paid 300,000 crowns, in lieu of winter quarters. In *Hungary* the *Imperialiſts*, under the elector of *Saxony*, were defeated by the *Turks*. After this, the *Imperialiſts* going into winter quarters, the elector returned to *Dreſden*, and agreed to renounce the proteſtant religion, that he might be qualified to be a candidate for ſucceeding the great *Sobieſki*, in the crown of *Poland*, and

Duke of *Savoy* makes a peace with the *French*.

The *Turks* beat the *Imperialiſts* in *Hungary*.

and at the ſame time he marched his army towards *Warſaw* to ſupport his pretenſions. Great advances were now made by all parties towards a general peace, but without relaxing in their preparations for war. The *French* and confederate armies faced each other upon the *Rhine*, but without coming to any general engagement, tho' prince *Lewis* took *Eberenburg*. Vol. VIII. p. 306, and 307.

In the north of *Germany*, a difference aroſe between the two branches of the houſe of *Mecklenburg*, that of *Schwerin*, and that of *Strelitz*, concerning the ſucceſſion to the dutchy of *Guſtrow*. The emperor ordered that dutchy to be put under ſequeſtration till he ſhould determine the right of ſucceſſion. The duke of *Strelitz* had no objection to that meaſure, but having put the *Swedes* in poſſeſſion of the town of *Guſtrow*, they for ſome time refuſed to evacuate it, though the emperor had pronounced his ſentence in favour of the duke of *Mecklenburg-Schwerin*. Some of the directors of the *Lower Saxony* pretended, that *Leopold*'s determination violated the modes of ſucceſſion obſerved in that country; but the duke of *Strelitz* receiving an addition to his revenue out of that dutchy, the matter was compromiſed, and the *Swedes* retired. Diſputes in *Mecklenburg*.

By this time, the conferences for a general peace were pretty far advanced at *Ryſwick*; but it was thought that the emperor acted a very diſingenuous part through the whole of this negotiation. He was unwilling to ſee the grand confederacy diſſolved by any accommodation, before he got his ſecond ſon, the archduke *Charles*, advanced to the throne of *Spain*, which was now on the point of being vacant, by the declining ſtate of his catholic majeſty's health. The *French* king, on the other hand, having the ſame ſucceſſion in his eye for the duke of *Anjou*, ſecond ſon to the dauphin, offered very advantageous terms to the allies, and proved himſelf a better politician than the emperor or his miniſters; for the *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh*, and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries ſigned the treaty at *Ryſwick*, and at laſt the *Imperialiſts* were obliged likewiſe to acquieſce in a ceſſation of arms, which terminated in a peace. *France* gave up *Philipsbourg*, *Friburg*, and *Briſac*, with ſome other places, but retained *Strasbourg*. The re-unions made by the chambers of enquiry at *Mentz*, and other places, were declared void, and the duke of *Neuburg* was re-eſtabliſhed in the *Palatinate*; but the claims which the dutcheſs of *Orleans* had upon it, were referred to the pope. This treaty paſſed, and was concluded, without any ſtipulation made in favour of the reformed religion; the emperor not preſſing it, *France* paid little or no attention to the repreſentations made by the proteſtant princes on that head. Treaty of *Ryſwick*.

We have nothing to add to the accounts we have already given of prince *Eugene*'s campaign againſt the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and the glorious victories he then obtained over them; but in fact the houſe of *Auſtria* was now ſo much exhauſted, that it was unable to carry on even a ſucceſsful war, and the famous peace of *Carlowitz* was, chiefly by the mediation of lord *Paget*, Vol. VIII. p. 311, &c.

the

the *English* minister, concluded on the 15th of *January*, 1696. In this peace, or rather truce for 25 years, *Transylvania* was secured to the emperor, together with his *Hungarian* conquests; and the *Venetians*, *Poles*, and *Muscovites*, were included as parties. In the mean while, the discontents of the protestants, at the peace of *Ryswick*, still grew; but all the answer that the protestant princes obtained to their representations, was, that the religious articles of that peace were conformable to the treaty of *Westphalia*.

The duke of *Hanover* made an elector.

*Ernest* duke of *Hanover* died in the middle of this year, without having been admitted into the electoral college, and the same opposition continued against his son, who likewise received the investiture from the emperor. The other electors pretended, that this investiture was a breach of the Golden Bull, and appealed to the kings of *France* and *Sweden*, as guarantees to the peace of *Westphalia*. But those applications gave very little concern to the emperor, whose chief dependence was upon the friendship of the *English* and the *Dutch*.

Succession to the crown of *Spain* disputed.

Upon the death of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, whom the king of *Spain*, who had no hopes of having heirs of his own, had nominated for his successor, the treaty of partition was concluded, by which the house of *Bourbon* was to have *Naples* and *Sicily*, the dutchy of *Lorrain*, the marquisate of *Final*, and the province of *Guipuscoa*; the duke of *Lorrain*, *Milan*; and all the rest of the *Spanish* monarchy was to descend to the archduke, as being the issue of that infanta of *Spain*, who had not, as her elder sister the queen of *France* had done, renounced all right of succession to the throne of *Spain*. The emperor still insisted upon his being heir to the whole, and refused to agree to the treaty of partition, but soon heard of the king of *Spain*'s death, and that by his will, he had left his succession to the duke of *Anjou*, the dauphin's second son. He immediately declared his second son, archduke *Charles*, king of *Spain*; but the *French* had filled that kingdom with their fleets and armies. The emperor claimed the *Milanese* as a fief of the empire, but the duke of *Anjou* had already been recognized as duke of *Milan*. A war was now inevitable. The emperor filled all *Europe* with his manifestos, but the kings of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland* refused to declare against the *French*. The parliament of *England* was out of humour with king *William*, for concluding the partition treaty, and the *Dutch* depended on the resolutions of the *English*, which were soon known to be favourable to the emperor. While matters were thus undecided, the elector of *Brandenburg* offered, upon the emperor acknowledging him to be king of *Prussia*, to maintain 10,000 troops in his service; and the elector of *Hanover* stipulated to continue his contingency.

Prince *Eugene*, who had behaved so gloriously against the *Turks*, was by the emperor appointed to command in *Italy*, where the *French* were very strong; he defeated them at *Carpi*, and

and repulſed them, with the loſs of 5000 men, at *Chiara*, and Prince towards the end of the campaign, he laid great part of *Mantua* *Eugene* under contribution, and made good his winter quarters upon com- the *Oglio*. The electors of *Bavaria*, *Cologn*, and *Mentz*, mands in with the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, reſolved upon a *Italy*. neutrality, but with a ſecret view of favouring *France*, the two former being brothers and uncles to the duke of *Anjou*. The *French* king likewiſe engaged in his intereſt, the dukes of *Wolfenbuttel* and *Saxe-Gotha*, and the biſhop of *Munſter*; and the duke of *Saxony* would have followed their example had the ſituation of his affairs admitted of it. No ſooner did the dukes of *Hanover* and *Zell* hear of the diſpoſitions of *England*, than they entered with great ſpirit into the views of the confederacy againſt *France*. They obliged the duke of *Wolfenbuttel* to break off his connections with her, and transfer his troops into the ſervice of the confederates. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* about the ſame time concluded a triple alliance with the emperor, on the 7th of *September*, and left the *French*, who were now garriſoning all the *Spaniſh Flanders*, no more than two months time, for giving ſatisfaction to the allies; and if it was denied, they were to proceed offenſively with all their forces. Upon the death of king *William*, queen *Anne* proſecuted his ſchemes; and both *England* and *Holland* declared war againſt *France*. The *Dutch*, underſtanding that the elector of *Cologn* had invited *French* troops into his country, ſeized ſeveral of his towns, and aſſiſted the *Imperial* general, the prince of *Naſſau-Saurburg*, in beſieging *Kaiſerwert*, which they took after a ſiege of almoſt two months. The duke of *Burgundy* arrived at the *French* army on the 10th of *June*, and the *French* marſhal *Bouflers* was baffled in an attempt he made to make himſelf maſter of *Nimeguen*, where the great duke of *Marlborough* took upon himſelf the command of the allied army. He advanced directly towards *Brabant*, with a view of fighting the enemy; but, at the requeſt of the *Dutch* deputies, he contented himſelf with taking *Venlo*, *Maſeick*, *Stevenſwert*, and *Ruremond*, with ſeveral other places of leſs importance; but highly beneficial to the *Dutch* to have them wreſted out of the hands of *France*. *Bouflers*, upon this, fell back upon *Tongres* in order to guard *Liege*; but the allies reduced it likewiſe, and ſtormed the citadel.

General confederacy againſt *France*.

So promiſing an opening of the war, encouraged the *Ger-* Progreſs *man* proteſtants to ſhake off their neutrality, and a powerful of the army of the empire being formed, the command of it was allies. given to prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, under the king of the *Romans*, who took *Landau* on the 12th of *September*. The *Imperialiſts* then would have attacked the *French* marſhal, *Catinat*, but finding him too ſtrongly intrenched, the king of the *Romans* returned to *Vienna*, and left the command of the army of the empire to the prince of *Baden*. The elector of *Bavaria* had by this time declared himſelf in favour of *France*, and had ſeized upon *Ulm* and ſeveral other places, by the *Imperial*

army

army being weakened through the detachments it was obliged to ſend off to protect the inferior princes of their party. The diet was then ſitting at *Ratiſbon*, and upon the elector of *Bavaria*'s deſertion to the *French*, war was declared againſt *Lewis*, and he was put to the ban of the empire; but the *French* army was ſo numerous on the *Rhine*, that it obtained ſeveral advantages over that of the prince of *Baden*. It was commanded by *de Villars*, who attacked the prince upon his retreat, but with loſs to himſelf. The *French*, after an obſtinate engagement, were repulſed; but *Villars*, by his perſonal bravery, regained the day. This battle was fought at *Friedlingen*, and the prince of *Baden*, having received reinforcements, inſulted the *French* army, which repaſſed the *Rhine*, but before the end of the campaign they took *Triers* and *Traerbach*, while the *Bavarians* beat count *Palfi* and became maſters of *Kempten* and *Weiſſenberg*.

Succeſs of the war in *Italy*,

In the mean while the war in *Italy* was carried on between *Villeroy* the *French* general and prince *Eugene*, who was very ill ſupported by the *Imperial* court, with various ſucceſs. The prince had formed a deſign for ſurpriſing *Cremona*, but when he had almoſt effected it, he was obliged to retreat, tho' he carried off *Villeroy*, who had been made a priſoner in the town. The *French* after this, becoming greatly ſuperior in numbers, the prince was obliged to act upon the defenſive; till a battle was fought at *Luzzara*, in which both ſides claimed the victory, but the conſequences were in favour of the *French*, who made themſelves maſters of *Luzzara* and *Guaſtalla*. In the
1703. year 1703, the duke of *Savoy*, being afraid of the *French* progreſs in *Italy*, made an advantageous treaty with the emperor *Leopold*, and declaring for the confederates, the *Imperial* general *Staremberg*, after one of the moſt amazing marches recorded in hiſtory, joined him with 15,000 men. In *Germany*, the *Imperial* generals, the counts *Stirum* and *Schlick*, attacked *Bavaria* in different quarters, to execute the ban of the empire againſt its elector, who defeated the two *Imperial* generals, and afterwards got poſſeſſion of *Ratiſbon*, upon which the diet
and *Alſace*. tranſported itſelf to *Lintz*. *Villars*, who commanded the *French* upon the *Rhine*, took *Fort Kehl*, with ſeveral other ſtrong places, but was defeated in attempting to force the *German* lines under the prince of *Baden* to join the elector. That junction was not formed till the 19th of *September*, and the two generals then defeated count *Stirum*, near *Donawert*, in his march to join the prince of *Baden*. The *French*, at this time, had an army of 40,000 men upon the *Rhine*, under the duke of *Burgundy*, who took *Briſac*.

Duke of *Marlborough* takes *Bonn*.

On the *Lower Rhine*, the duke of *Marlborough* inveſted *Bonn*, and took it after a ſiege of 14 days, and then joined the reſt of the confederate army, who had been by the *French* obliged to retreat under the cannon of *Maeſtricht*. Being now ſuperior to the *French*, the allies, at laſt, took *Limburg* and *Huy*, and, on the 17th of *December*, *Guelders* itſelf ſurrendered

dered to the *Pruſſians*. On the *Upper Rhine*, marſhal *Villars* having joined the elector of *Bavaria*, the latter took *Inſpruck*, the capital of the *Tirol*; but the vigilance of count *Staremberg*, and an inſurrection of the *Tiroleſe* peaſants, obliged him to deſiſt from his deſign, to join the duke of *Vendoſme*, and to evacuate that province. In the mean while, the marſhal *Tallard*, to whom the duke of *Burgundy* had reſigned the command of his army, prepared to beſiege *Landau*, which the prince of *Heſſe* marched from the *Netherlands* to relieve. *Tallard*, having received a reinforcement of 10,000 men, marched out of his lines to fight him, and an engagement followed near *Spierbach*, in which the confederates were defeated, with the loſs of 3,000 men, and the marſhal returning to the ſiege, *Landau* ſurrendered on the 16th of *November*, and on the 6th of *December* following, the elector of *Bavaria* inveſted and took *Augſburg*.

Towards the end of the year 1703, the emperor *Leopold* found means to bring over the king of *Portugal* to the grand alliance, and his ſon, the archduke *Charles*, who continued to take upon himſelf the title of king of *Spain*, paid a viſit to *England*, where he was received in a magnificent manner by the queen and court, and ſailed to *Portugal* with a fleet, attended by tranſports carrying about 9,000 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* troops, who were to aſſiſt in placing him on the throne of *Spain*. War now raged all over *Europe*, but we are to confine ourſelves to *Germany* and its neighbourhood. About three years before, the famous *Ragotſki*, who ſet up as the champion of *Hungarian* liberty, was arreſted by the court of *Vienna*, but making his eſcape into *Hungary*, he formed a new party of malecontents, who ravaged the *Auſtrian* dominions to the very gates of *Vienna*. As a diverſion of this kind was of the utmoſt prejudice to the common cauſe of the confederates, they offered their mediation; but the terms the *Hungarians* demanded, though perhaps reaſonable, were thought by the court of *Vienna* to amount to an independency of the *Hungarians* upon the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Ragotſki* and the *Hungarian* noblemen of his party, were at the head of above 60,000 fighting men, ſupported by the court of *France*. The *French* and *Bavarians* were maſters of all the poſts upon the *Neckar* and *Danube*; an army of 30,000 *French* under count *Marſin* threatened *Vienna* on one ſide of the *Danube*, while the *Hungarians* inſulted it on the other. In ſhort, partly by the obſtinacy of the court of *Vienna*, and partly by the power and ſtrength of its enemies, all *Europe* now thought the houſe of *Auſtria* upon the brink of ruin. Marſhal *Tallard* ſought to effect a junction with the elector of *Bavaria*, but prince *Lewis* of *Baden* lay between them, intrenched within the lines of *Stolhoffen*, *Kinchel* and *Bebel*. Marſhal *Tallard*, by a feint which he made towards part of *Swiſſerland*, artfully amuſed the allies, till he penetrated through the *Black Foreſt*, and effected the junction.

1703. The king of *Portugal* accedes to the grand alliance.

Progreſs of the war.

Count

Negociations at *London* for relieving the empire.

Count *Wratiſlau* was then the *Imperial* miniſter at *London*; and *Leopold*, by prince *Eugene*'s advice, inſtructed him to repreſent to queen *Anne*, that nothing but the aſſiſtance of *England* could now ſave the empire from perdition; and that it was far more agreeable to the ſpirit of the triple alliance to aſſiſt the houſe of *Auſtria* in its extremity of diſtreſs, than for their armies to lie on the frontiers of *Holland*, which were in no danger. The duke of *Marlborough* was then in *England*, and in conſequence of *Wratiſlau*'s memorial, he had orders to ſet out for *Holland*, where he conquered all oppoſition among the ſtates againſt marching to the *Moſelle* at the head of a powerful army. The *French*, at firſt, imagined that he intended to penetrate into *France* by the *Moſelle*, and endeavoured to ſtop his progreſs by pretending to undertake the ſiege of *Huy*, which the duke knew to be in no danger. He advanced by rapid marches, and on the road received an account that the elector of *Bavaria* and *Tallard* intended to march directly to *Vienna*, and that a large army of *French*, under *Villeroy*, was aſſembling on the *Moſelle*; ſo incapable were the *French* of entering into the idea of the mighty deſign the *Engliſh* general had formed. *Marlborough* arrived at *Coblentz* on the 25th of *May*, and on the 3d of *June* he acquainted the *States General*, by a letter, that his miſtreſs had ordered him to march directly to the relief of the empire, deſiring that their troops might accompany him in the expedition, which was agreed to. *Villeroy*, ſtill imagining that the duke intended to march to the *Upper Rhine*, took his poſts accordingly; and prince *Eugene*, who was to command a ſeparate army on the *Rhine*, had an interview with the duke of *Marlborough*, where every thing was ſettled with regard to the joint command of the latter with prince *Lewis*.

Rapid progreſs of the duke of *Marlborough*.

On the 2d of *July*, the duke of *Marlborough* had advanced with ſuch rapid marches, that he arrived at *Schellenburg*, where he beat the *French* and *Bavarians* out of their intrenchments, but with very conſiderable ſlaughter on both ſides. The enemy retreated to *Donawert* on the *Danube*, and their loſs in the engagement and their flight was computed at above 6,000 men. The confederates advanced towards *Donawert*, near which they paſſed the *Danube* on the 5th of *July*. The marſhals *Villeroy* and *Tallard* had, by this time, paſſed the *Rhine* at *Fort Kehl*, to the aſſiſtance of the elector of *Bavaria*, who was in his turn in a deſperate ſituation. The confederates had made him the moſt flattering offers to detach him from his connections with *France*, but all was to no purpoſe, though he was now in danger of being cut off, even from his own electorate, which the confederates ravaged in a moſt unmerciful manner. Though ſome have praiſed the firmneſs of the duke of *Bavaria* on this occaſion, yet the duke of *Marlborough* complained that he had amuſed him with a negociation, only that he might get time for the *French* to join him. Neither the tears nor ſufferings of his ſubjects could move him to accept of the

terms offered him by the allies; and notwithſtanding the vigilance of prince *Eugene*, he was joined by *Tallard* at *Biberach* near *Ulm*, with 22,000 men. The duke of *Marlborough* lay then with his army at *Friburg*, but immediately moved his camp, and advanced againſt the enemy, whom he found advantageouſly encamped near *Hochſtet*, their right flank being covered by the *Danube* and the village of *Blenheim*, and their left by that of *Lutzengen*. Some days before, the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* had contrived to detach prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to undertake the ſiege of *Ingolſtadt*, as they were afraid that he was too cautious to agree to the deſperate ſervice they were about. Many reaſons determined them to loſe no time in bringing on a general engagement, though the general officers under them repreſented it as impracticable without the ruin of the army. The action began about nine in the morning of the 13th of *Auguſt*, and after ſome canonading, the duke of *Marlborough* ordered the moraſs in the front of the *French* to be paſſed, in order to begin a general attack. This was performed with ſo much intrepidity by the *Engliſh*, and ſome *Heſſian* battalions, that though part of the *Engliſh* infantry at firſt received a check in attacking the village of *Blenheim*, yet the cavalry, whom the *French* did not endeavour to obſtruct, having paſſed the moraſs, the battle became general. The *Engliſh* carried all before them wherever they attacked, and at laſt, in a manner, ſhut up the flower of the *French* army in the village of *Blenheim*. *Tallard* wanted to diſengage them, but they were ſo hardly preſſed by the confederates, that they no longer obſerved any order of battle, but ran towards a bridge upon the *Danube*, into which great numbers of them were puſhed, and periſhed. In their rout, marſhal *Tallard*, and many of the general officers under him, were made priſoners. Prince *Eugene*, who was engaged againſt the elector of *Bavaria*, had been ſeveral times repulſed, but returning always undauntedly to the charge, the elector hearing that the *French* were defeated, retreated, juſt at the time the *German* troops had reſolved to deſiſt from any more attacks.

who wins the battle of *Flenheim*.

This was one of the moſt important, as well as deciſive, battles, that had been fought for ſome ages in *Europe*, and it is certain, that the victory gained by the allies was owing principally to that ſound judgment and cool intrepidity which always diſtinguiſhed the duke of *Marlborough*, and gave him a ſuperiority even over his illuſtrious friend, prince *Eugene*; though it cannot be denied, that the *French* generals before the battle, had been guilty of a continued ſeries of miſconduct. The duke of *Marlborough* ſaw the error they had committed in thinning their center, and preſſed upon that, by which he cut off all communication between the body commanded by *Tallard*, and that which was ſhut up in the village of *Blenheim*; and to this circumſtance the confederates owed their victory, all the troops who remained in the village of *Blenheim* being

obliged to lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. It is difficult to fix, with any preciſion, the number of troops on both ſides; but it is certain, that that of the confederates was inferior to the *French*. Ten thouſand of the latter lay dead on the field of battle, 13,000 were made priſoners, and beſides vaſt numbers of the infantry, the greater part of thirty ſquadrons periſhed in the *Danube*. The confederates took above 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 ſtandards, 17 pair of kettle drums, 3600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 laden mules, 2 bridges of boats, 15 pontons, 24 barrels and 8 caſks of ſilver. The loſs of the confederates amounted to 4485 men killed, 7525 wounded, and 273 loſt or made priſoners.

Loſs of the *French*.

Conſequences of the battle.

The battle of *Blenheim*, which we have dwelt the longer upon becauſe we cannot have ſo proper an opportunity of introducing it in another part of our hiſtory, delivered the empire from immediate deſtruction, but did not ſecure it from future danger. The duke of *Marlborough* ſent an expreſs, deſiring prince *Lewis* to leave the ſiege of *Ingolſtadt*, and rejoin him with his army. *Augſburg* opened its gates to the confederates, and prince *Lewis* beſieged *Landau*, which after a moſt glorious defence, was ſurrendered to the allies. In ſhort, during the courſe of this campaign *Bavaria* was ſubdued; *Ratiſbon*, *Augſburg*, *Ulm*, and *Meningen* were recovered, and the duke of *Marlborough* turned his victorious arms from the *Danube* to the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*, where beſides *Lindau*, *Treves* and *Traerbach* were taken. The vaſt ſucceſs of the confederates under the duke of *Marlborough*, ſerved only to raiſe the pride and obſtinacy of the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Leopold* indeed rewarded the duke of *Marlborough*, who was by no means indifferent with regard to his own intereſt, with the principality of *Mindelheim*, becauſe he expected ſtill more important ſervices from him, but he ſuffered prince *Lewis* in a manner to force the duke to the ſiege of *Landau*, which coſt the allies near 10000 men in killed and wounded. The king of the *Romans* appeared in the confederate camp attended by prieſts and *Jeſuits*, and obſerved a gloomy, ſullen, reſerve towards his beſt friends if they were proteſtants, and was always ſure to occupy the poſt of honour when no danger attended it, while the *Roman* catholic part of the allies behaved in a manner that ſhewed them deeply mortified at being obliged to proteſtants for their deliverance.

*Landau* beſieged and taken.

Indolence and diſcontent of the *German* princes.

Nothing could, however, abate the duke of *Marlborough*'s ardour for the common cauſe. He repaired to the court of *Pruſſia*, to prevail with that monarch to ſupply the ſcandalous neglect which the court of *Vienna* ſhewed towards the brave prince *Eugene* in *Italy*, where, under infinite diſadvantages, he had been beaten by the *French* and the duke of *Vendoſme* at *Caſal*. Even the *German* princes in confederacy with *Leopold*, looked on the ſucceſs of the allies with an evil eye, as thinking that they ſerved only to entail upon them the miſeries

ſeries of war. The leading men of the republic of *Holland* were diſſatisfied with the vaſt load impoſed upon them by the grand alliance, and complained that the glorious campaign of 1704, which had coſt them ſo much, had contributed nothing to their ſecurity. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who was a bigoted *Roman* catholic, took every opportunity to mortify the *Dutch* officers, and the circle of *Suabia* complained that it was unable to furniſh its contingent to the common cauſe, through the ravages it had ſuffered both by friends and foes. After the battle of *Blenheim*, the emperor ventured to order the miniſters of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to leave *Ratiſbon*, which on that account they threatened with a bombardment, and the emperor propoſed to transfer the diet to *Egra*. Such was the confuſed gloomy ſtate of affairs in *Germany*, even after it was delivered by the glorious battle of *Blenheim*, when the emperor *Leopold* died at *Vienna* on the 3d of *May*, 1705, after reigning 46 years. 1705. Death,

In 1666 he married *Maria Tereſa*, daughter to *Philip* IV. king of *Spain*, and the archduke *Charles* claimed that throne. Upon her death, he married *Claudia*, daughter to his couſin the archduke *Ferdinand*, and upon her death, he married *Eleanora*, daughter to the elector *Palatine*. His firſt wife left behind her only one daughter, *Maria Antonietta*, who in 1685 was married to *Maximilian Maria*, elector of *Bavaria*; it was their ſon who died young, who was deſtined to the crown of *Spain*. *Leopold*, by his ſecond wife, had no iſſue who ſurvived her, and by his third, he left two ſons, *Joſeph* and *Charles*, and three archdutcheſſes, one of whom was married to the king of *Portugal*. iſſue,

The character of *Leopold* is of a moſt unamiable kind. His perſon was forbidding and diſagreeable, his manners were haughty and reſerved, and his behaviour ſuch as proved that he thought all mankind created only for him and for the ſupport of the houſe of *Auſtria*. He was perpetually ſurrounded by *Jeſuits*, and he had nothing dignified either in his way of thinking or living. His external appearance as to dreſs was mean and contemptible, and through the religious gloom his mind had contracted, he loved to live in low dark chambers, naſty and meanly furniſhed. His great delight lay in hunting and muſic, in which laſt he is ſaid to have been a compoſer, and he was the firſt who ever ſet *German* words to opera tunes. With all thoſe defects of mind and perſon, *Leopold* underſtood the *Germanic* conſtitution, and by balancing parties in the empire, he maintained an aſcendency in the diet. The crown was twice fixed when it was tottering on his head, not by his own addreſs or courage, but through the alarm which the other powers of *Europe* took at the greatneſs of his enemies. Had *Vienna* been taken by the *Turks*, all *Germany* and *Poland* muſt have followed its fate, and for that reaſon they ſtepped in to its deliverance. Had the *French* broken the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* in 1704, their empire on the continent muſt have and character of the emperor *Leopold*.

have been more formidable than any ſince the days of *Charles the Great*, as they could have given law in *Germany*, and muſt have been in poſſeſſion of *Spain* and *Italy*. *England* and *Holland* ſaw their own danger, and in delivering the houſe of *Auſtria*, they delivered themſelves from the yoke of that of *Bourbon*.

## CHAP. XLIX.

### JOSEPH.

Succeeded by *Joſeph*.

THE emperor *Joſeph* mounted the *Imperial* throne with flattering omens. He ſet on foot a negociation with the *Hungarians*, and to give it the greater effect, he diſplaced the miniſters who were ſaid to be under the influence of the *Jeſuits*, whom the *Hungarians* conſidered as the ſources of all their ſufferings in the late reigns. *Joſeph* offered to call a diet, where the *Hungarian* claims ſhould be candidly examined; to publiſh a general amneſty; to give them the moſt ample ſatisfaction with regard to all their claims upon the *Jeſuits*, who they ſaid had amaſſed prodigious riches by plundering them; and to confirm all their antient privileges. *Ragotſki* aſſembled the heads of his party, who concluded that thoſe offers were made only to diſunite them, and inſiſted upon their former rights of chuſing their own ſovereigns, garriſoning their own forts, and that all places of power and profit in *Hungary* ſhould be filled with natives. Thoſe were the unanimous ſentiments of the aſſembly, but the terms being rejected by the emperor, his allies again offered their mediation. Miniſters were accordingly nominated by *England* and *Holland*, and conferences were opened at *Tyrnau*. During the negociation, hoſtilities went on between the *Hungarians* and the *Imperialiſts*, but generally to the advantage of the latter, which encouraged the emperor to retract the offers he had made, and the conferences came to nothing.

Affairs of the empire.

In *Upper Hungary*, *Heberville* commanded the *Imperialiſts*, and raiſed the blockade of *Waradin*, but was obliged to fight, under great diſadvantages, the army of the malecontents, who were intrenched at *Schibo*, and who gave way to the intrepidity of their enemies. By this victory, *Tranſylvania* was again reduced to the *Imperial* power, but even that did not compenſate for the dreadful ravages which *Lower Hungary*, *Moravia*, and the hereditary dominions ſuffered from the malecontents. They were even joined, through the proſpect of plunder, by many of the *Auſtrian* peaſants, and rejected all terms offered them by the emperor.

Thoſe commotions in *Germany* and *Hungary* were of infinite ſervice to the affairs of *France*. *Lewis*, with great compoſure, applied himſelf to repair the misfortunes of the laſt

campaign. He had ſtill great reſources: his arms were ſupe- Superi-
rior to thoſe of the allies in *Italy* and *Portugal*, and *Villars*, ority of
one of his moſt fortunate generals, was ſtill at the head of a *France*
fine army, which had orders to march towards the *Moſelle*, over the
while *Marſin* commanded another upon the *Rhine*. The elec- allies.
tor of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* beſieged and took *Huy*, and *Liege*
muſt have likewiſe fallen into their hands, had it not been for
the ſuperior fortune of the duke of *Marlborough*, who forced
the *Bavarian* lines, and obliged the elector to retire precipi-
tately towards *Louvain*. By this retreat *Huy* was again re-
duced by the confederates, and the *French* and *Bavarians* in
thoſe quarters, muſt not only have been inevitably ruined, but
*Antwerp*, *Liere*, and *Mechlin* muſt have fallen into the hands
of the allies, had not the *Dutch* refuſed to ſecond *Marlborough*'s
vigorous efforts, which gave an opportunity for the elector to
become maſter of *Dieſt*. This was not the only mortifica-
tion that the great *Marlborough* underwent in this campaign.
He was ſtung with the dilatory proceedings of prince *Lewis*
of *Baden*, who treated him with the utmoſt haughtineſs, and
had even the inſolence to complain of him to the courts of
*London* and *Vienna*, and it ſoon appeared that the *French* were
in the ſecret of all his intended meaſures. The *Imperial*
army on the *Rhine*, at this time, lay at *Lauterburg*, ſo ſtrongly
encamped, that *Villars* did not think proper to attack it; tho'
it is acknowledged, that during the courſe of the campaign,
*Villars* behaved with great abilities as a general, but he was
greatly aſſiſted by the obſtinacy and jealouſy the *Germans* and
*Dutch* diſcovered towards the duke of *Marlborough*. Upon
the ſeparation of the allied army, *Villars* reinforced the elector
of *Bavaria* with 30 batallions and 50 ſquadrons; but the prince
of *Baden* receiving reinforcements likewiſe, he obliged the
*French* to retire behind their lines at *Haguenau*, and from
thence under the cannon of *Straſbourg*. Upon this, prince
*Lewis* formed the ſiege of *Haguenau*, and preſſed it ſo vigor-
ouſly, that the garriſon muſt have ſurrendered themſelves pri-
ſoners of war had not the *French* governor been unaccountably
ſuffered to eſcape, with all his men, by a quarter of the town
that was not inveſted.

Quarrel between the pope and the emperor.

About this time, one of the pope's officers quarrelled with the
*Imperial* ambaſſador's domeſtics at *Rome*, who was impriſoned,
but ſoon after ſet at liberty. The ambaſſador, count *de Lamberg*,
reported the affair to the court of *Vienna*, who ordered him
to leave the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the nuntio at *Vienna* the
*Imperial* territories. *Joſeph*, in the progreſs of this quarrel,
acted as if he intended to revive the antient *Imperial* claims in
*Italy*. He demanded that his holineſs ſhould diſmiſs his ſe-
cretary of ſtate; that he ſhould baniſh his governor of *Rome*;
that ſome proceedings againſt the archduke's miniſter ſhould
be burnt by the hand of the common hangman; and that the
pope ſhould not only admit an *Imperial* garriſon into *Ferrara*,
but ſend a miniſter to apologize for his conduct at *Vienna*.

This quarrel had very bad conſequences with regard to the electreſs of *Bavaria*; ſhe was then at the head of the regency of that electorate, and the princes of the empire, who were always averſe from ſeeing their country deſolated, or the order of ſucceſſion to their great fiefs ſet aſide, had prevailed with the emperor to enter into a compromiſe with the electreſs, by which the elector was to be conſidered in no other light than that of a *French* general. The electreſs was to receive the revenues of the electorate, and the *Bavarians* were in other reſpects to enjoy all their privileges. The pope was a guarantee to this agreement; but his quarrel with the emperor diſabled him from interpoſing in favour of the electreſs, and *Bavaria* was, in all reſpects, treated worſe than if it had been a conquered country; for the *Auſtrians*, not contented with reducing the inhabitants to the moſt deplorable miſery, even broke, in ſearch of hidden riches, into the graves of the dead. To colour thoſe inhumanities, the *Auſtrians* pretended that the *Bavarians* in general were treacherous to the *Imperial* cauſe, and they went ſo far as to order a public appearance of all the youths of the electorate, that they might be draughted as recruits for the *Imperial* armies.

Barbarity of the *Imperialiſts* in *Bavaria*,

followed by an inſurrection, which is quelled.

Thoſe oppreſſions exaſperated the *Bavarians* into an inſurrection, and they joined ſome malecontents that were in arms in *Bohemia*. Being about 20,000 in number, they reduced ſome places, but as they were deſtitute of arms and diſcipline, they were eaſily quelled by the *Imperialiſts* promiſing them an amneſty, which was moſt perfidiouſly broken, and nothing was ſeen thro' all the towns of the electorate, but natives expiring upon wheels and gibbets. In ſhort, the *Auſtrians* behaved in ſuch a maaner as if they were reſolved that one half of the *Bavarians* ſhould be exterminated by the ſword, and the other by want and famine. The reader, in other parts of this work, will learn the great revolutions which the interpoſition of *Charles* XII. of *Sweden* in the affairs of *Poland* occaſioned in the empire, by which *Saxony*, as well as *Bavaria*, became a ſcene of miſery, but not to ſo great a degree. The emperor was all this while proſecuting the elector of *Bavaria* with the utmoſt vigour in the aulic council, where he and the elector of *Cologne* were proſcribed. The eccleſiaſtical dignity of the latter procured him ſome mitigation of his cenſure, but a price was fixed upon the elector of *Bavaria*'s head, and even his children were deprived of their electoral titles.

The duke of *Bavaria* retreats.

No ſeverity could ſhake the elector of *Bavaria* in his engagements with *France*. *Villars* had obliged the prince of *Baden* to abandon the *Sar*, and after that the *Moter*. He then paſſed the *Rhine* with all the appearance of an ignominious flight, leaving behind him his tents, ſtores, ammunition, and part of his artillery. The conſequence was, that *Villars* took poſſeſſion of all the tract from the *Moter* to *Spirebach*, and even retook *Haguenau*; but demands coming thick upon him for reinforcements to *Italy*, he undertook no other meaſures of

importance during that campaign. The ſituation of the emperor's affairs in *Hungary* craved the like detachments to be ſent from the prince of *Baden*'s army to ſtop the progreſs of the malecontents, who had broken into *Auſtria*, where they made an immenſe booty, and laid great part of the country under contribution, while other parts of the *Imperial* dominions underwent the ſame calamities. *Ragotſki*, at the head of 40,000 men, took *Strigonia* in *Lower Hungary* by aſſault. The other malecontent generals, who were likewiſe at the head of armies, met with no oppoſition in their ravages, and the emperor himſelf narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner by thoſe inſurgents while he was hunting in the foreſt *Eberdorf*. In *Italy*, the affairs of the emperor were equally unfortunate; the *Bourbon* general, the duke of *Berwick*, took *Nice*, and all *Piedmont* was ready to have been ſwallowed up by the *French*. The ſpirit of the *Imperialiſts* was dejected, and 4,000 of their army had deſerted upon prince *Eugene*'s making a journey into *Germany*. His buſineſs there was to concert the meaſures for delivering the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions from the *French*. *Joſeph*'s miniſters propoſed to raiſe money upon the *Bavarians*, who were already exhauſted. Prince *Eugene* propoſed to borrow it from the *Engliſh* upon a mortgage of the *Sileſia* mines. This ſcheme was adopted, and the money being raiſed, prince *Eugene* returned to *Italy*. By this time, the *French*, under the marſhal *Feuillade*, had inveſted *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*, with ſuch an army as rendered the reduction of it almoſt certain, eſpecially conſidering the great diſtance of prince *Eugene*'s army. In the mean while, the duke of *Vendoſme* had beat 12,000 *Imperialiſts* under count *Raventhu*, and prince *Eugene* received the news on the road. The return of prince *Eugene* reanimated the drooping *Imperialiſts*. He collected together all the reinforcements he could, and undertook ſuch a march into *Piedmont* as the duke of *Marlborough* had performed into *Germany*. Leaving the prince of *Anhalt* in *Italy*, to keep the communication with the empire open, he gained three days march of the duke of *Orleans* and marſhal *Marſin*, who then commanded the *French* in *Italy*, and advanced towards *Turin*. His army was about 28,000 ſtrong, that of the duke of *Orleans*, who had joined *Feuillade*, amounted to above 40,000, who were attacked and utterly defeated by prince *Eugene*. About 10,000 *French* were killed on the ſpot, and above 5,000 taken priſoners, 150 pieces of cannon, and an incredible quantity of all military ſtores, beſides 3,000,000 of livres in ſpecie. The conſequence of this wonderful victory was, that beſides *Piedmont*, *Milan*, *Mantua*, and all the places the *French* held in *Italy*, fell into the hands of the *Imperialiſts*. But we are now to return to *Germany*.

The *Germans* worſted in *Italy*; but prince *Eugene* beats the *French* and raiſes the ſiege of *Turin*.

The campaign of 1705 had been upon the main unfortunate to the confederates, but it was glorious to the duke of *Marlborough*. It was now evident that the miſcarriages of it had been occaſioned entirely by the duke not being inveſted

with ſufficient powers to carry his own ideas into execution. This was acknowledged even by the enemies he had among the *Dutch*, and his powers were enlarged during the winter of the year 1705, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made by the *Frenchified* party in *England*. On the 25th of *April*, 1706, the duke of *Marlborough* arrived at the *Hague*, and after concerting the operations of the approaching campaign with the deputies of the *States General*, he went to *Maeſtricht*, where he took upon him the command of the confederate army, conſiſting of 74 batallions of foot, and 123 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, having with them 100 cannon, 20 haubitzers, and 42 pontoons. The *French* king not imagining that the confederates had been ſo ſtrong, ordered his general, marſhal *Villeroy*, by all means to venture a battle before the allies could be joined by their reinforcements. *Villeroy* was himſelf brave, but incautious and forward, and he paſſed the *Danube* to give battle to the duke, who could ſcarcely believe his own good fortune. On the 22d of *May*, both armies received the reinforcements they expected, but the *French* remained greatly ſuperior in number. Next morning the confederates moved in eight columns to attack the *French* army under the elector of *Bavaria* and marſhal *Villeroy*. The place of battle was an aperture of about half a mile, lying between the head of the *Gheet*, where *Ramillies* is ſituated, and the ſide of the *Mehaigne*, and the great ſtruggle lay at the village, which the *French* firſt got poſſeſſion of. The duke weakened his right that he might make the ſtronger impreſſion on the enemy's right, which, after an obſtinate diſpute, was defeated, and the duke had then time to ſupport the *Dutch* and the *Danes*, who had been preſſed by the houſhold troops; upon which the victory became compleat on the part of the confederates, and it was with difficulty that the duke of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* eſcaped being made priſoners. Eight thouſand of the enemy's braveſt troops were killed in the field, 6,000 were taken priſoners, and their loſs in the whole, including deſerters and priſoners, did not amount to leſs than 20,000 men; while that of the confederates was but very inconſiderable.

1705, 1706.

The *French* defeated at the battle of *Ramillies*.

The great conſequences of the ſame.

The *French* army, defeated at *Ramillies*, was one of the fineſt that *Lewis* had ever ſent to the field, and the conſequences of the victory were proportionable. To ſum up the glories of this campaign, in the words of the great *Marlborough*'s monumental inſcription, "*Leuvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Malines*, *Lierre*, *Ghent*, *Oudenarde*, *Antwerp*, *Damme*, *Bruges*, *Courtray*, ſurrendered; *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond*, *Aeth*, were taken; *Brabant* and *Flanders* were recovered; places which had reſiſted the greateſt generals for months, for years; provinces, diſputed for ages, were the conqueſts of one ſummer."

The victory at *Ramillies*, once more ſaved the empire and the houſe of *Auſtria*; the former beheld it with coldneſs, if not diſlike, and the latter with ingratitude. It was enough for the princes of *Germany* if they were ſecure from war and contributions,

contributions, and they made it no ſecret, that they were indifferent as to all other conſiderations. Though the emperor had been delivered and ſaved by his proteſtant allies, yet he continued as inexorable as ever, againſt all indulgences to that religion, till the ſtern *Charles* of *Sweden*, who then held the balance of power in *Europe*, obliged him not only to make conceſſions, greater than ever had been made by his family, and even ſubmiſſions, to which the houſe of *Auſtria* had been always a ſtranger. An aſſembly of the circles of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, *Suabia*, and *Franconia*, met at *Heilbron*, and voted to raiſe 40,000 men for their own defence, againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, as well as *Bourbon*; but *Joſeph* ſhewed a ſpirit far ſuperior to any of his predeceſſors, ſince the days of *Charles* V. By his altercations with the pope, and his refuſing the inveſtiture of *Milan* to his brother, the king of *Spain*, he plainly diſcovered his intentions to revive the *Imperial* powers in *Italy*. His father had promiſed to cede to the duke of *Savoy*, who had behaved ſo glorioufly in the common cauſe, the province of *Alexandria*, and other eſtates in *Italy*; but *Joſeph* evaded *Leopold*'s promiſe, till he was forced to comply with it by his allies. His paſſion for being maſter of *Italy*, appeared by his agreeing, that *Lewis* ſhould withdraw from thence his garriſons and artillery, by which the *French* armies in the *Low Countries* were augmented with 18,000 men, who muſt otherwiſe have fallen into the hands of the victorious prince *Eugene*.

Ambition of the emperor *Joſeph*.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* being now dead, the proteſtant princes demanded the command of the army of the empire, for the margrave of *Brandenburg-Bareith*, upon a compromiſe, that it ſhould devolve alternately upon a *Roman* catholic and a proteſtant general. The directory of *Mentz*, and the *Roman* catholics, objected to the margrave, and the emperor took their part, but was at laſt obliged to veſt the command in prince *Eugene* and the margrave, who were to hold it by turns. As the prince was employed in *Italy*, he could not act in *Germany*, and thus the command was left entirely with the margrave, who notwithſtanding all his ſpirited remonſtrances ſeconded by thoſe of the *States General*, could not aſſemble an army of above 28,000 men, and thoſe raw, ill cloathed, and ill paid. This was a force very ineffectual for oppoſing *Villars*, who commanded for the *French* in *Germany*, eſpecially as he had a prodigious extent of lines to guard; all which, with an immenſe quantity of ſtores and ammunition, together with the whole marquiſate of *Baden-Dourlach*, the margrave was obliged to abandon to the *French*, who laid not only that marquiſate, but the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, under ſevere contributions. The margrave retired towards *Heilbron*, and *Villars*, without waſting his time on ſieges, enlarged his contributions, and filled all *Germany* with terror. The emperor *Joſeph* attributed all thoſe diſgraces, to the age and infirmities of the margrave, and the command of the army of

The *French* ſuperior in *Germany*.

the

the empire was offered to the elector of *Hanover*, but he declined it, and many of the princes publicly declared, that if they were not effectually supported, they must accept of the neutrality offered them by *Villars*.

The stress of the war thrown upon the *English*.

In this distress a diversion was proposed, and approved of by the emperor. The margrave of *Bareith* receiving reinforcements, directed his march to the *Rhine*, with a view of penetrating into *Alsace*, or of drawing *Villars* out of *Germany*, but the latter took his measures so well, that the *Germans* were disappointed in both, and the emperor, to prevent the circles from closing with the proposals of *France*, once more offered the command of the army to the elector of *Hanover*, with the title of *Field-Marshal*, both which he at last accepted of, and the margrave resigned the command, after bitterly reproaching the circles for their backwardness and treachery, which had occasioned all his misfortunes. The elector took upon himself his new command at *Etlinguen*, and attempted some measures of vigour, but being disappointed in the execution, he went into winter quarters. The shameful inactivity of the diet, brought upon the members numerous reproaches from the allies during the winter, and, after long debates, they came to some vigorous resolutions, which the elector of *Hanover* was authorized to enforce, by military execution; but all was to no purpose; the circles and cities either refused or evaded the payment; and the entire stress of the war now rested upon the *English* and the *Dutch*. This backwardness had almost ruined the whole confederacy, which was distressed for money in every department of its operations. *England*, at last, was obliged to supply all deficiencies, and the duke of *Marlborough* was, by the generous assistance of the *British* parliament, again enabled to take the field, after having with great art and penetration, fixed the king of *Sweden* in a neutrality, with regard to the common cause.

Inactive campaign of 1707.

On the 13th of *May*, 1707, the duke of *Marlborough* arrived at *Brussels*, where the rendezvous of the confederate army was appointed. The *French* army was commanded by the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Vendosme*, who were superior in number to the allies, and therefore could not be forced to a battle. This campaign afforded no laurels to either party, and the duke of *Marlborough*, in the beginning of *October*, went to *Germany*, where he concerted with the elector of *Hanover*, a more vigorous plan of operations for next year. Returning to the *Hague*, the States, upon his report, wrote a letter to the diet at *Ratisbon*, in which they said, "That their High Mightinesses would continue to contribute their utmost towards bringing about the great work, which they had, jointly with them, undertaken; but that they expected the like from his *Imperial* majesty and the empire, seeing they were obliged to it by their alliances and the common interest; and, in case of non-performance, their High Mightinesses protested against all the ill consequences thereof."

About

About this time the court of *England* planned the glorious expedition into *Provence*, with an intention of taking *Toulon* and *Marſeilles*, which would have diſabled *Lewis* from carrying on the war, and which was defeated only by the fondneſs of *Joſeph* for extending the *Imperial* power in *Italy*. The earl of *Mancheſter* was ordered to communicate it to the court of *Vienna*, and to perſuade *Joſeph* to employ upon that expedition, the troops he intended to ſend to *Naples*. The emperor, in the mean while, had been perſuaded to grant to his brother the inveſtiture of *Milan*, and the earl preſſed the emperor in an audience he had, to defer the *Neapolitan* expedition, but was anſwered very ambiguouſly; though his two miniſters *Wratiſlau*, and the count *Zingendorf*, made no ſecret, that they intended it ſhould proceed. The great credit of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* prevailed. The expedition took place and miſcarried, becauſe prince *Eugene*, who was to command it, had been privately inſtructed by *Joſeph*, and never was earneſt in its ſucceſs. The particulars fall more properly under another part of this hiſtory. Expedition to *Provence* unſucceſsful.

The preparations made by *France*, for a deciſive campaign, in the year 1708, were prodigious. The duke of *Burgundy*, the preſumptive heir of the *French* crown, a prince of great expectation, was appointed to command their army, which was in high ſpirits, on account of the proſperous ſtate of their affairs in *Spain*, and the miſcarriage of the expedition againſt *Toulon*. The elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Vendoſme*, commanded under the duke of *Burgundy*, and their army conſiſted of 100,000 men. *Joſeph* ſent prince *Eugene* to concert the operations of the campaign with the duke of *Marlborough*, and the *States General*. The conferences were opened by the prince, who gave the aſſembly a ſtate of the emperor's forces, and after various conſultations, between the prince and the duke, and ſuch of the deputies of the ſtates as they could truſt, a plan of the enſuing campaign was produced; but it being thought abſolutely neceſſary, that it ſhould be approved of by the elector of *Hanover*, the prince and the duke ſet out for that court, where they brought his electoral highneſs over to their opinion, which was, "That moſt of the *Imperialiſts* employed the year before on the *Upper Rhine*, with the *Saxons* and *Heſſians* in the pay of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, and the troops which the elector *Palatine* was to furniſh, in conſideration of his *Imperial* majeſty's reſtoring him to the poſſeſſion of the *Upper Palatinate*, with the prerogatives enjoyed by his anceſtors, ſhould march into the *Netherlands*, to act there, under prince *Eugene*, in concert with the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* forces, commanded in chief by the duke of *Marlborough*, and under him, by veldt-marſhal *Auverquerque*." 1708. Preparations for the campaign in 1708.

Prince *Eugene* went from *Hanover* to *Dreſden*, and from thence to *Vienna*, where, after a conference of a few hours, *Joſeph* acquieſced in all that had been concerted. Upon the duke of

The *French* defeated at *Oudenarde.*

of *Marlborough*'s return to *Bruſſels*, he aſſembled the confederate army in the neighbourhood of that city, and he ſoon put it in motion, but the *French* continued quiet in their camp, with a view that the inhabitants of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, diſguſted at the ſevere government of the *Dutch*, would revolt to the duke of *Bavaria*, who was very popular among them, and *Bruges* and *Ghent* were accordingly eaſily taken by the *French*. Upon the arrival of prince *Eugene* at the confederate army, with ſome reinforcements, the *French* attempted to ſurprize *Oudenarde*, the only paſs the allies had upon the *Schelde*. This determined the allies to paſs that river and attack the duke of *Burgundy*. A battle enſued to the advantage of the confederates, and it was owing to the admirable diſpoſitions of the duke of *Vendoſme*, that the *French* army was not entirely cut in pieces; but their loſs amounted to 3000 killed and 7000 taken priſoners; tho' the loſs of the allies was likewiſe very ſevere. The conſequences ſhewed, that the allies were victorious, by their taking *Ghent* and the ſurrender of *L'Iſle*. But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the princes of the empire made no efforts againſt the common enemy, and every thing remained quiet upon the *Rhine*.

The malecontents victorious in *Hungary.*

Notwithſtanding ſeveral defeats lately given to the malecontents in *Hungary*, they were ſtill formidable to *Joſeph*, who to quiet their complaints, called a diet at *Presburg*. Here *Ragotſki* and his party roſe in their demands upon the emperor, and even during the ſitting of the diet, they harraſſed, by their incurſions, the hereditary dominions, but were obliged by the *Imperial* generals to retire. After this, the malecontents croſſed the *Danube*, and proceeded with fire and ſword to within 30 miles of *Vienna*, every where defeating the *Imperial* troops and their beſt generals. They even fortifyed *Neuhauſel*, and entered into a new aſſociation, at the head of which they placed count *Ragotſki*, with full command over their troops. The proſperous ſtate of the duke of *Anjou*'s affairs in *Spain* at this time, encouraged the pope to ſhew his reſentment, for all the ill treatment he had received from *Joſeph*, who now claimed *Parma*, and other towns as fiefs of the empire, which claim, if admitted, might have extended to all the ſtates of *Italy*. His holineſs had the courage, even to refuſe to acknowledge the archduke *Charles*, as king of *Spain*, and he excommunicated ſeveral of the *Imperial* generals, for miſbehaving towards the clergy, and the ſubjects of the church. In ſhort, he proceeded in a manner that ſhewed he ſet his *Imperial* majeſty's power at defiance. *Joſeph*, on this occaſion, acted with all the ſpirit, that the boldeſt of his *German* predeceſſors had ever diſcovered againſt the holy ſee. He owned in effect, that he was reſolved to make the *Italian* princes ſmart for the neutrality they had obſerved during the war, and he even forbade the clergy of *Naples* to pay their annates to the chancery of *Rome*. In ſhort, he ſtruck at the foundation of all the claims and poſſeſſions of the papal ſee in *Italy*,

*Italy*. His generals then ſeized upon *Comacchio*, *Magnavaca*, *Logo*, and *Cevali*, while the emperor put the dukes of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* under the ban of the empire, and confiſcated their eſtates. This conduct, however, was far from being approved of, by the other princes of *Europe*, and even diſguſted the proteſtant powers in the grand alliance, as it plainly indicated, that *Joſeph* was much more intent upon his ambitious views in *Italy*, than upon ſupporting his brother in *Spain*, or oppoſing the *French* in the *Netherlands*. For the ſame purpoſe, in defiance of all former agreements, he expelled the duke of *Mantua* out of his dominions, tranſported his artillery to *Milan*, and left him an illuſtrious beggar for bread. The like oppreſſions and cruelties took place in all other parts of *Italy*, where the *Imperialiſts* were powerful enough to give the law.

Affairs of *Italy*.

No events, towards *Germany*, could retard the progreſs of *Joſeph*'s injuſtice in *Italy*, where his tyranny was ſuch, that the ſtates at laſt oppoſed him, and the inhabitants of the *Ferraroſe* flew to arms, and drove the *Imperialiſts* out of their country. A formal war then commenced, and, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fleets lying upon the *Italian* coaſt, the pontifical ſea-ports were threatened with a bombardment. The conclave met to deliberate upon the very hard conditions, preſcribed by the *Imperial* miniſters. They aſked for time, but the marquis *de Prie*, who was employed by the emperor, would grant them none, and obliged them to conſent, that his holineſs ſhould reduce his army to 5000 men; that he ſhould diſmiſs all the *French* and *Spaniards* out of his ſervice, and give quarters for 6000 *Imperialiſts*, beſides accepting of other terms of very hard digeſtion, but at the ſame time, all mention of the archduke's right to the crown of *Spain*, was induſtriouſly avoided on both ſides.

*Joſeph* was now, by the aſſiſtance of *England*, poſſeſſed of vaſt power in the empire, and though a bigot to the *Roman* catholic religion, he employed his authority in favour of the proteſtant intereſt. In the beginning of the year 1709, the affair of the ninth electorate, that had been erected in favour of the houſe of *Hanover*, came under deliberation, but met with vaſt oppoſition from ſome of the *Roman* catholic electors. *Joſeph*'s reſolutions bore down all difficulties, and the duke of *Hanover* was admitted into the electoral college, after it had been ſtipulated, that the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who was always preſident of the diet, ſhould have the caſting vote. As the conſtitutions of the empire required that every elector ſhould have ſome menial employment about the *Imperial* palace, the dignity of Arch Treaſurer of the empire, vacant by the forfeiture of the duke of *Bavaria*, was conferred upon the elector of *Hanover*, which his poſterity ſtill enjoys. At the ſame diet, it was decreed, that *Joſeph*, the emperor, ſhould have a vote, as king of *Bohemia*, in the electoral college. All thoſe diſpoſitions, with the progreſs of the war ſo fatal to *France*,

1709. The duke of *Hanover* admitted into the electoral college.

A negotiation.

*France*, determined *Lewis* to apply for peace. As ſubmiſſive now, as he had been haughty before, he ſent *Rouille*, one of his miniſters, to implore it, and he was anſwered, that he might be permitted to treat at the *Hague*. *Rouille* conducted the negotiation with great addreſs. The ſtates of *Holland* were, by the *French* king, left to make their own terms, and were offered any ſecurity they pleaſed to demand for their barrier; but the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* thought that no dependence was to be put on *French* promiſes, however ſpecious they were, unleſs *Lewis* would immediately reſtore *Straſbourg* and *Liſle*, and demoliſh *Dunkirk*, *New Briſac*, *Fort Lewis*, and *Hunningen*. The conferences were held in *Holland*, and the *French* miniſters made the moſt humiliating applications to have the terms relaxed, but all being to no purpoſe, *Lewis* rejected them with indignation.

Campaign of 1709.

The preparations for the operations of 1709, exceeded thoſe in the preceding years of this war. A famine raged in *France*, which obliged the inhabitants to enter for bread into their armies, and *Lewis* ſeemed determined to ſtake his crown upon the event of that campaign. It has been thought with great juſtice, that the allies acted moſt impoliticly in rejecting the *French* offers at *Gertruydenberg*, becauſe the *French* were animated with indignation into a ſpirit of loyalty for their ſovereign. *Villars* commanded the *French* army in the *Netherlands*, but it being compoſed of new raiſed troops, though ſuperior in number to the confederates, he ſuffered *Tournay* to be taken and *Mons* to be inveſted. To raiſe the ſiege, *Villars*, whoſe army is ſaid to conſiſt of 120,000 men, marched to the neighbourhood of *Malplaquet*, where he took up a camp that was deemed to be impregnable. Nothing was ſo to the *Engliſh*, tho' the *French* that day fought with more courage than they had in any campaign ſince the commencement of the war, and after being beat out of their intrenchments, they made a very fine retreat towards *Valenciennes*. In this battle of *Malplaquet*, or of the Wood, as it is ſometimes called, the confederates are ſaid to have loſt above 20,000 men, and the *French* not above 8; and all the advantage the former reaped from their victory was the taking of *Mons*; while the *French* fortified themſelves in their new camp. The duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* were ſeverely blamed, for thus wantonly throwing away ſo great a number of valuable lives; and it was ſuſpected by ſome, they had fought under ſuch vaſt diſadvantages, that they might prolong the war.

Succeſſes of the *French* upon the *Rhine*.

The affairs of *Lewis* were more proſperous upon the *Rhine*, where the marſhal *Dubourg* beat the *Imperial* general *Merci*, and the *French* had likewiſe the ſuperiority in *Italy* and *Spain*. It was no wonder that the princes of the empire, who had been remiſs in furniſhing their quotas during the moſt proſperous periods of the war, became more ſo after the late bloody campaign. Some of them even denied to contribute any thing towards the common cauſe, and their diſcontent was ſo general,

general, that the elector of *Hanover* refuſed to accept the command of their army, as well knowing that he muſt be inſulted through the ſuperiority of the enemy. He was, however, prevailed upon by the *Engliſh* miniſtry to reſume the command, and he laid an excellent plan of operations, which was to paſs the *Rhine*, and to penetrate into the *Higher Alſace*, and *Franche Comte*, and even to lay the provinces of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, under contribution. The marſhal *de Harcourt* commanded the *French* lines at *Weiſſemberg*, and believed that the *Imperialiſts* intended to attack him, but ſoon had intelligence that general *Merci* was traverſing *Swiſſerland*, and had entered *Higher Alſace*, where he had advanced beyond *Hunningen*. *Merci* was a head-ſtrong general, and having no reſources, the *French* gave him battle and defeated him, by which all that belonged to the *Imperialiſts* fell into their hands, together with a copy of the plan of operations, that had been concerted by the elector of *Hanover*. The defeat of *Merci* obliged the elector to retreat, and greatly enlarged the *French* quarters in the empire. With regard to the allies, neither the duke of *Saxony*, nor any of the *Italian* ſtates, were ſorry at this check, which highly incommoded the emperor's affairs in *Italy*, where his demands were incompatible with the intereſts of his allies.

Freſh negotiations.

Nothing can be more certain, than that the affairs of *Europe* were, at this time, directed by two ſoldiers of fortune, the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene*. The latter governed the *Imperial* councils, as the former did thoſe of *England* and *Holland*, and each found his intereſt in protracting the war, by carrying it on in the *Netherlands*. The *French* king endeavoured to open the eyes of their reſpective principals, by offering a freſh negotiation for peace, which was accordingly opened at *Gertruydenberg*. There *Lewis* offered to accept of the terms which he had rejected the year before. The duke of *Marlborough* was thought not to be impregnable to gold, and *Torcy*, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries, offered him immenſe ſums in his maſter's name. Prince *Eugene* was averſe to all negotiating, and *Zinzendorf* was diſpatched from *Vienna* to perplex the conferences. The confederates inſiſted upon the *French* king not only conſenting to his grandſon's relinquiſhing the crown of *Spain*, but that he ſhould declare war againſt him. *Lewis* would have granted all their other demands, but that condition was ſhocking to humanity, as well as parentality, and he rejected it. The conferences broke off, and both armies again took the field. The allies gained *Doway*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, but they were thought to have loſt 20,000 men, with very little proſpect of their being replaced, ſo heartily tired were all parties of war.

The ſpirit of conqueſt was now ſubſided on the part of the allies, and the campaign upon the *Rhine* was paſſed by the *French* and *Imperial* generals, *Dubourg* and *Merci*, in a ſtate

The *Germans* tired of the war.

next

next to inactivity. In *Hungary*, the *Imperialists* took *Neuhausel*, but were unable to force the malecontents to relinquish their former demands. In *Germany*, the emperor *Joseph* acted with a power more arbitrary than ever had been assumed by any of his predecessors. The electorate of *Bavaria* was portioned out among the elector of *Palatine*'s family, and other favourites, without consulting the *Germanic* body, and the most wanton promotions were made to evince the force of the *Imperial* authority. The protestants and the bishop of *Hildesheim* were oppressed by the papists, under the protection of the elector of *Cologne*, and in defiance of the most solemn stipulations. They applied to the *Imperial* chamber at *Wetzlar*, which granted a decree in their favour, but it had no effect. They then applied to the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and the elector of *Hanover*, as being guarantee of their rights, seized upon the revenues of the bishopric, which was then vacant. This measure, though equitable in itself, was so alarming to the *Roman* catholics, that it was upon the point of kindling a civil war in *Germany*. The canons of *Hildesheim* complained to the emperor and the diet, where they found the protestant interest preponderate, and upon their giving redress to the protestants, the elector refunded the revenues of the bishopric. The great revolution which happened at this time, in the affairs of *Europe*, by the king of *Sweden*'s defeat at *Pultowa*, had a considerable effect on the affairs of *Germany*, and the emperor, among others, put in for his share of the spoils of that unhappy kingdom.

1711. The emperor *Joseph* dies.

In the year 1711, the affairs of *Europe* took a new face, by the alterations which had happened in the *English* ministry. The empire was threaten d by the *Turks* and the king of *Poland*, and the czar of *Muscovy* demanded from the emperor the succours stipulated by treaty, which he said he could not afford till the malecontents of *Hungary* were absolutely subdued. The duke of *Marlborough*'s influence at the *English* court was now next to nothing, and prince *Eugene* with the *Imperial* ministers strove in vain to revive it. Such was the crisis of public affairs, when the emperor *Joseph* was taken ill of the small-pox, which through the unskilfulness of his physicians put a period to his life on the 17th of *April*. He died in the 33d year of his age, and in the arms of prosperity. He left behind him no male-issue by his wife, the daughter of the duke of *Brunswic-Lunenburg*; and he died with the character of being one of the most spirited but despotic princes that ever sat upon the *Imperial* throne.

CHAP

# CHAP. L.

## CHARLES *the ſixth.*

State of the empire, and of *Europe.*

THE ſyſtem of *Europe* was now greatly changed, by the death of *Joſeph*, which added to the influence of the *Britiſh* tory miniſtry. It was incompatible with the intereſts of *Europe*, that the ſame perſon ſhould poſſeſs the *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* thrones; and therefore, the ſame reaſons that took place againſt the ſucceſſion of *Bourbon*, operated againſt that of *Auſtria*. The *Imperial* miniſters at the court of *London*, in vain endeavoured to perſuade the *Engliſh* miniſtry, that *Joſeph*'s death would have no influence upon the principles of the grand alliance; but preliminaries were ſigned with *France*, and the queen of *England* ſent them for approbation to the court of *Vienna*, who abſolutely rejected them. Such of the powers of the great alliance, who found their account in prolonging the war, joined with the *Imperial* court, which was not without hopes of being able, by means of the *Whig* generals and miniſtry, of forcing the queen into their meaſures. Count *Gallas* the *Imperial* miniſter was employed for this purpoſe, but the natural bent of the people was for peace; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that the moment *England* ſhould withdraw her contingencies of men and money, the war muſt be at an end. The conduct of the *Imperial* court, and ſeveral of the *Germanic* princes, favoured this ſyſtem, by throwing the whole burthen of the war upon *England*, and even the *Dutch* themſelves were defective in their complements in the field. The king of *Portugal*, the duke of *Savoy*, and the elector of *Hanover*, declared they were reſolved to continue the war; the duke of *Marlborough* ſtill commanded the *Engliſh* troops in the *Netherlands*, and the allies took *Bouchain*.

*England* inclines to peace.

When the campaign was over, the impracticability of continuing the war became ſo evident, that prince *Eugene* came to *England* to influence the queen againſt a peace. The reaſons for putting an end to the war were ſtrongly urged, and the prince, though highly carreſſed by the queen and miniſtry, failed of ſucceſs. The *Imperial* throne was all this while vacant, and the elector of *Mentz* convoked a diet at *Frankfort* to fill it up. The electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* were not ſummoned, nor could the empreſs-dowager prevail with the other electors to admit her ambaſſador into the diet, as ſhe had the vote of *Bohemia*, becauſe the ſervices which entitle an elector to vote, could be performed by a male only. The encroachments of the late emperor upon the *Germanic* conſtitution, rendered the election a matter of difficulty. The diet at *Ratiſbon* inſiſted upon a perpetual capitulation being drawn up, for bounding the *Imperial* power. The electors, for ob-

vious reaſons, diſliked that propoſal, and the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* proteſted againſt the whole of the diet's proceedings. If a prince, equally powerful with the archduke *Charles*, could have been found qualified for the empire, it muſt have departed from the houſe of *Auſtria*, but upon the electoral prince of *Saxony* declining to be a candidate, *Charles* was unanimouſly choſen.

Election of the emperor *Charles* VI.

Nothing could have been more contrary to the balance of power in *Europe*, than the uniting the *Imperial* with the *Spaniſh* crown, and the vaſt dominions of the *Auſtrian* ſucceſſion in one perſon; yet *Charles* was for a long time earneſt to retain the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and inſiſted upon his allies making the articles of *Gertruydenberg* the baſis of any future treaty of peace. The prince of *Lichenſtein*, and count *Herberſtein* were his miniſters, and ſo ſtrongly inculcated his native right to *Spain*, that he made it a matter of conſcience not to depart from his pretenſions. Hearing of his election, he took ſhipping at *Barcelona*, and landing, he had a conference with the duke of *Savoy* near *Pavia*, where he promiſed to cede to that houſe *Monferrat*, *Valencia*, *Alexandria*, and ſome other ſtates, according to former ſtipulations, and in conſideration of the vaſt ſervices performed to the empire by the duke. *Charles* by the early diſpoſitions he made as emperor, and archduke of *Auſtria*, diſcovered that he was reſolved to recede from none of the powers that had been exerciſed by his bro-

1711. ther. It was the 19th of *December*, 1711, when he entered *Frankfort*, and next day he ſwore to the obſervance of the *Imperial* capitulation, as preſented him by the electors; but, tho' more full than that of his predeceſſors, it fell ſhort of the expectations of the diet of *Ratiſbon*. It was plain, however, that even the majority of the electors diſapproved of the two laſt emperors having, by the plenitude of their own prerogative, without any intervention of the empire, proſcribed the two electors, neither did they approve of the ſyſtem of oppoſing the ſtrength of the empire to that of *France*, whom they thought to be the natural guarantees of their liberties, againſt the ambition of *Auſtria*.

Pacification of *Hungary*.

*Charles*, after being ſolemnly crowned at *Frankfort*, on the 29th of *December*, repaired to *Vienna*, where he received the diſagreeable news that the preliminaries of peace had been approved of by the *Britiſh* parliament, that the *Dutch* were likewiſe treating, and that he was on the point of being abandoned by all his allies. This ſituation was the more perplexing, as the *Hungarian* malecontents ſtill inſiſted on the terms, with very little variation, they had formerly propoſed, and the beſt friends of the houſe of *Auſtria* were of opinion that they ſhould be gratified to prevent their joining the *Turks*. The *Auſtrian* miniſtry rejected this advice, and counſelled their maſter to grant no terms to rebels. The *Turks* had then a miniſter at *Vienna*, who made ſpecious declarations of friendſhip to that court, and informed it that his maſter had declared war againſt the czar of *Muſcovy*. Thoſe promiſes were

were thought to be equivocal, and the intereſt of the empreſs regent, with that of count *Palfi*, prevailing over the *Auſtrian* miniſtry, a peace, containing an amneſty, was ſigned at *Zathmar*. No mention of the elective right to the crown was made in this treaty, which was not ſigned by *Ragotſki*, though he was to be included in the amneſty, and reſtored to his eſtates, provided he ſubmitted in three weeks. Many of the *Hungarians* proteſted againſt this peace, but they being tired with the war, two and twenty of their regiments ſwore fidelity to the emperor, and the remaining malecontents, being too inconſiderable to make any effectual head, ſubmitted by degrees. As to *Ragotſki*, he wandered an unfortunate but illuſtrious exile through various countries of *Europe*.

Prince *Eugene* had offered great things to induce the court of *England* to continue the war, but no ſtreſs, from what had happened every year, could be laid upon *Auſtrian* promiſes, and the negociations for peace went on. The prince removed to the *Hague*, where he was joined by the two *Imperial* plenipotentiaries, the counts *Zinzendorf* and *Coniſburg*. Their demands amounted to *France* reſtoring *Lorrain* and all her acquiſitions ſince the peace of *Munſter*; and that *Charles* ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, excepting ſuch portions of it as had been granted to *Portugal* or the other confederates. Thoſe demands were by *France* and *England* conſidered as inadmiſſible; as indeed were thoſe of the *Dutch* and *Portugal*. The *Dutch* claimed all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, beſides other ceſſions; the *Portugueze* made vaſt demands in *America* as well as in *Europe*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* required not only to be recognized as king of *Pruſſia* by *France*, but to be put in poſſeſſion of the principality of *Orange* and other eſtates. The circles of the empire, the electors of *Triers* and *Palatine*, the duke of *Wirtemburg*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, the biſhop of *Paderborn*, the duke of *Lorrain*, and prince *Ragotſki*, had their ſeparate claims; and *France* was ſaved by the multiplicity of demands made upon her, as it gave her an opportunity to balance the intereſts of the claimants. The *Engliſh* alone were moderate, conſidering the prodigious expence they had been at in maintaining the war. The *French* having underhand made the *Britiſh* miniſtry eaſy, knew that the other parties in the grand alliance muſt ſubmit of courſe. The ridiculous pretenſions of the emperor gave diſtaſte to all *Europe*, and it was thought much more conducive to the preſervation of public liberty, that the crown of *Spain* ſhould devolve upon the head of *Philip* than of *Charles*.

Demands upon *France*.

When the conferences opened at *Utrecht*, count *Zinzendorf* and the *Imperialiſts* omitted no meaſure that could embroil the negociation. The *French* king offered to oblige his grandſon *Philip* to cede to the houſe of *Auſtria* all the *Italian* dominions, with *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, provided the emperor would renounce all claims upon the reſt of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. The frontier towards the *Rhine* was to be put on

Negociations for peace at *Utrecht*.

the footing it was before the war; the two proſcribed electors were to be reinſtated. The *Imperialiſts* ſought to gain time, in hopes of embarraſſing the negociation, but all was to no purpoſe. The *French* plenipotentiaries ſtood firm to their offers, and refuſed to admit of any delay, and *Zinzendorf* threatened to leave the congreſs. He put his menace in execution, and carried off with him other miniſters; but the negociations between *England* and *France* ſtill went on. When the time came for taking the field, the ſuſpenſion of arms had been ſigned by the *Engliſh* and *French*, and prince *Eugene*, with the earl of *Albemarle*, who commanded the *Dutch* troops, were ſtill in hopes of ſtriking ſome blow that might interrupt the peace. The ſigning of the preliminaries was as yet a ſecret to the public, but prince *Eugene* more than ſuſpected it by the behaviour of the duke of *Ormond*, the new *Britiſh* general. The allies having paſſed the *Schelde*, that duke declared that he was inſtructed to keep ſeparately the command of the *Britiſh* troops, and upon being preſſed to attack the *French*, he produced an order, ſigned by his miſtreſs, againſt his acting offenſively. Prince *Eugene* and the *Dutch* generals affected great indifference about the *Engliſh*, and threatened to continue the war by themſelves. The *Dutch* general, *Fagel*, beſieged and took *Queſnoi*, but the duke of *Ormond* produced another order for proclaiming a general armſtice in his camp for three months, requiring the other allies to do the ſame. While they waited for the ſentiments of the court of *Vienna*, the duke ſounded the generals in the pay of *Great Britain* with regard to the armſtice, but they choſe to follow the fortune of the *Imperial* arms, even at the expence of the pay and ſubſidies they received from *England*, and no more than four ſquadrons of *Holſtein* horſe remained with the duke of *Ormond*.

Operations of the war under prince *Eugene*.

It was ſoon plain that prince *Eugene* was no longer aſſiſted by the duke of *Marlborough* at the head of the *Britiſh* forces. His dependance now lay upon a deſperate effort. The negociations between *England* and *France* had advanced ſo far, that the duke of *Ormond* was in poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, but the *Imperial* general *Groveſtein* was detached at the head of 1,500 horſe, and carried conſternation to the very gates of *Paris*. It proved, however, to be no more than a plundering expedition, and it was retaliated upon the *Dutch* by the *French* general *Villars*. *Eugene* inveſted *Landreci*, which opens an inlet into *Champagne* and *Picardy*. *Villars*, to ſave it, forced the poſts upon the *Scharpe* and the *Schelde*, and beat the allies under the earl of *Albemarle* at *Denain*. The ſcale of fortune now was turned in favour of *France*; *Villars* took the port of *Marchienne*, though guarded by 4,000 men; the garriſon of *Doway*, after an obſtinate ſiege, was forced to ſurrender priſoners of war; prince *Eugene* reſolved to take poſſeſſion of the plain of *Queverain*, but before he could paſs the *Schelde* it was occupied by *Villars*, who ſoon after retook *Queſnoi*, *Bouchaine*, and

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in ſhort all the conqueſts that had been made by the allies for the three preceding campaigns.

In the winter, prince *Eugene* repaired to the *Hague* to concert with the *States General* the operations of the next ſummer, but the ſeries of misfortunes that had happened during the laſt year, had cooled the intimacy between the *Dutch* and the *Imperialiſts*. The former refuſed to give up the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to the emperor, who, about this time, without being elected, was receiving the crown of *Hungary* without regarding the proteſts and remonſtrances of the remaining malecontents; ſome of whom appeared in arms, but were quickly diſſipated. *Charles* being entirely bent upon continuing the war, laid upon his ſubjects the moſt oppreſſive taxes to pay the army; but its moſt maſterly movements were defeated by the vigilance of the *French* generals. In *Dauphiny* nothing was done againſt the duke of *Savoy*; in *Spain* the *Imperial* army was inactive, and *Philip* looked upon himſelf as king without a competitor; but in *Italy* the *Imperialiſts* got poſſeſſion of *Port Ercole*. In the north, the *Swedes* demanded the guaranteeſhip of *Pomerania* from the *Germanic* body, as ſtipulated by the treaty of *Weſtphalia*. The princes of the empire ſaw this fine dutchy threatened by the *Ruſſians* and the *Danes*, and were not inſenſible of the danger of ſuffering either of them to gain a footing in *Germany*, and therefore a body of troops was ordered to *Stade*, which, notwithſtanding, was reduced by the *Danes*. The *Saxons* likewiſe had their claim upon *Pomerania*, and its elector, the king of *Poland*, together with the czar, offered the town of *Stetin* to the king of *Pruſſia*, if he would aſſiſt them with a train of artillery, which he refuſed to do. The *Swedes* laid the *Imperial* town of *Altena* in aſhes, in revenge for the ungenerous advantages their maſter's enemies had taken of his detention in *Turkey*; and the northern part of *Germany* preſented a moſt gloomy appearance. The confederacy againſt *Sweden* was condemned, becauſe it tended to give the czar a footing in the empire; and at *Brunſwic* the princes of *Lower Germany* formed a neutral army, conſiſting of 20,000 men, for preſerving the public tranquillity. The command of thoſe troops was voted to be given to prince *Eugene*, and the *Ruſſians*, as well as the *Swedes*, were required to evacuate *Germany*, eſpecially the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*; but in the mean time, *Pomerania* was to be ſequeſtered in the emperor's hands, as was *Bremen*; but his *Daniſh* majeſty was to receive its revenues. *Steinbock*, the *Swediſh* general, paid no regard to thoſe and many other regulations made at the congreſs of *Brunſwick* in *January* 1713. The czar, in perſon, ſollicited the king of *Pruſſia* and the elector of *Hanover* to enter into the alliance againſt *Sweden*, but they were backward, as they were jealous of his getting a footing in *Germany*. The ruin of the *Swediſh* army, which enſued, encouraged the *Danes* to beſiege *Tonningen*, but the king of *Pruſſia* declared that he would defend the houſe of *Holſtein Gottorp*,

Diſtractions in *Germany*.

1713.

to whom it belonged, and his *Daniſh* majeſty was forced, for that time, to deſiſt from his enterprize, and to pay a deference to the ſenſe of the empire. *Stetin*, in *Pomerania*, was, at this time, beſieged by the allied army which acted againſt *Sweden*, and was now numerous, as each expected part of her ſpoils; but the king of *Pruſſia* declared that he was charged with the ſequeſtration of that dutchy, and that he would return *Stetin* to his *Swediſh* majeſty as ſoon as he was indemnified for the expences of the ſequeſtration.

Confederacy againſt *Sweden*.

The czar, the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, and the elector of *Hanover*, had parcelled out *Pomerania* to themſelves, and they ſanctified their own partition with the name of juſtice. The *Daniſh* monarch joined with the *Pruſſian*, and both agreed to ſtrip the houſe of *Holſtein Gottorp*, but under plauſible pretences, while his *Pruſſian* majeſty, by enjoying the ſequeſtration of *Pomerania* undiſputed, aſpired to make it his own in perpetuity.

Obſtinacy of the houſe of *Auſtria*,

The tranquillity of *Europe* all this while remained in ſuſpence. *Lewis*, though old, and upon the brink of the grave, from being a ſuppliant for peace, now that he had obtained it of the *Engliſh*, pretended to preſcribe his terms to the *Dutch* and the emperor, and even diſavowed the election of *Charles*, becauſe the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* had not been preſent. The duke of *Savoy* acceded to the treaty of *Utrecht*, and committed his affairs to the hands of her *Britannic* majeſty. The court of *Portugal* did the ſame, and the *Dutch*, at laſt, became ſenſible of the abſurd part they were acting in their attempting to continue the war without the aſſiſtance of *England*. A coldneſs inſenſibly grew up between them and the emperor, and the renunciation of *Philip*, his catholic majeſty, to the ſucceſſion of *France*, with thoſe of the princes of the *French* blood to that of *Spain*, quieted the apprehenſions of the allies. The province of *Holland* declared for peace. The *Auſtrian* miniſters remonſtrated againſt it, and upbraided the *States General* for ingratitude. *Zinzendorf* ſaid, that his maſter was the firſt power in *Europe*; the *Dutch* anſwered, that they found the queen of *England* to be the moſt important, and they ſoon determined upon peace, which they accordingly embraced. The aſſociated circles of the empire repreſented themſelves as being the only powers in the late confederacy that had not taſted of *Britiſh* bounty; and the queen of *England* ordered the earl of *Peterborough* to preſent a memorial in their favour to the emperor, who received it with great diſguſt, it being, as he ſaid, conceived in too high a ſtrain to be preſented by a ſovereign of *England* to an emperor of *Germany*. The *Germanic* body now ſaw that the peace of Chriſtendom muſt be ſacrificed to the ambition of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and *Charles* ſoon found himſelf to be the dupe of his own haughtineſs. He was at laſt obliged to comply ſo far as to order his troops to evacuate *Catalonia*, and to agree to a neutrality for *Italy*.

The

The latter comprehended many objects, as the acquisitions which of the house of *Austria* there had been obtained by force and continues fraud, and had been held by the two last emperors under a the war. pretence that they were ready to resign them as soon as a general peace should be concluded. The like difficulties lay with regard to the restitution of the electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, in which *Lewis* heartily interested himself, and insisted upon their being restored to the two electors. He likewise demanded that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from *Liege*, *Huy*, and *Bonn*, and that after the death of the elector *Palatine*, the elector of *Bavaria* should be recognized as first secular elector of the empire, and that he should be put in possession of the island of *Sardinia*. He agreed that the *Dutch*, if they thought proper to do it in a certain time, should garrison *Namur*, *Luxemburg*, and *Charleroy*, and to restore *Brisac*, with all its dependencies, to the emperor, whom he was to acknowledge in that quality, and to whom he was willing to cede *Naples*, *Milan*, and the *Spanish Netherlands*. The *English* minister, the bishop of *Bristol*, was instructed to make those concessions the basis of an accommodation between the emperor and the *French* king; but *Zinzendorf* rejected them with disdain. At *Vienna*, matters were considered more soberly, and though *Charles* still professed his abhorrence to resign the *Spanish* monarchy, yet a truce was proposed, in hopes, that during it, the thrones of *France* and *Great Britain* might become vacant, and be filled with princes favourable to the *Austrian* greatness. The project of a truce which left the emperor in possession of all his acquisitions, miscarried, and a coldness ensued between the *States General* and the court of *Vienna*, which was now singly engaged in the war. *Zinzendorf* left *Utrecht* like a minister who was disgusted at his master's not having sufficient consideration paid him by the negociating powers. But some advances were made towards a reconciliation between the emperor and the elector of *Bavaria*, and the *Catalans* continued firm to the house of *Austria*. The diet of *Ratisbon* advanced the emperor a million of crowns, and promised him more; but when the money came to be paid he found he must borrow it. Prince *Eugene* went to his camp at *Mulburg*, but instead of 120,000 men whom he had been promised, he could not muster above 40,000, and all this proceeded from the backwardness of the circles, who were every day more and more tired of the war. All the abilities of prince *Eugene* could not surmount the difficulties he was encompassed with, and *Villars*, who encamped between *Philipsburg* and *Landau*, took the latter place, and *Friburg* itself, with many other places, under the eyes of the *Germans*, who now trembled at the very gates of *Vienna*. *Charles* was then obliged to think in good earnest upon peace, and prince *Eugene* informed *Villars* that he was impowered to enter on a negociation for that purpose at the castle of *Radstadt*. On the 27th of *November* the two generals met there, and prince *Eugene*

Advantages gained by the *French* in *Germany*.

demanded the reſtitution of *Landau*, *Philipſbourg*, and *Friburg*. The two latter were offered him, and *Charles* conſented to the reinſtating the two proſcribed electors in their dominions and dignities. The conferences broke up; but being reaſſumed a treaty was ſigned. *Lewis* yielded to the emperor *Fort-Kehl*, *Friburg*, and old *Briſac*; *Landau*, with ſome places on the *Rhine*, remained with the *French*, as did *Fort-Lewis*, but the fortifications of *Hunningen*, *Homberg*, *Selingen*, and *la Pile*, were demoliſhed. *Lewis* acknowledged the electoral dignity in the houſe of *Hanover*. The two proſcribed electors were reinſtated in their dominions; *Sardinia* was left with the emperor, with all his *Italian* acquiſitions, and it was agreed to open another negotiation in *Swiſſerland*, for regulating the execution of the treaty.

The peace of *Radſtadt*.

The peace of *Radſtadt*, in fact, put a period to one of the moſt devouring wars that ever had happened in *Europe*, but it was far from ſecuring the tranquillity of *Europe*. The emperor *Charles* omitted no opportunity of enlarging his own dominions and authority, and for that purpoſe, he purſued with unvariable attention to the end of his life, the eſtabliſhment of the pragmatic ſanction. His two neices, daughters to the emperor *Joſeph*, were married, one of them to the king of *Poland*'s eldeſt ſon, the electoral prince of *Saxony*, the other to the electoral prince of *Bavaria*; but both of them had been obliged to renounce all pretenſions to the *Auſtrian* ſucceſſion. By the pragmatic ſanction, it was limited to the archducheſſes, daughters of *Charles*; failing them to the archducheſſes his neices; in their failure, to his ſiſters, and then to the next right heir, whether male or female. The electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria* had their reaſons for not oppoſing the emperor in the eſtabliſhment of this pragmatic ſanction; the firſt, becauſe the emperor had kept the crown of *Poland* on his head, and the latter, becauſe he was unable to do it with effect. The hiſtories of *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* exhibit the chief tranſactions in which *Charles* was concerned, after the peace of *Radſtadt*, and which, in ſtrict propriety, relate rather to the houſe of *Auſtria*, than the empire of *Germany*, the hiſtory of which is our preſent ſubject.

Death of the emperor *Charles* VI.

The emperor *Charles* VI. having completed the great paſſion of his life, the guaranteeſhip of the pragmatic ſanction, by the principal powers of *Europe*, and even by *France* itſelf, became ſenſible that his houſe could only fall by its own greatneſs, and that if his eldeſt daughter ſhould give her hand to a powerful prince, a general confederacy muſt enſue among the *European* potentates, to prevent the conſequences. The houſe of *Lorrain* had been a great ſufferer for that of *Auſtria*; the duke had little or no power, but was young, handſome, and every way qualified to be a huſband to the eldeſt archducheſs. The affair, however, was of too much conſequence to be executed without the concurrence of the other powers of *Europe*. The duke, among other princes, paid a viſit to *George*

*George* II. at *London*, and, he approving of the match, the marriage was conſummated. Upon the death of *Charles*, in 1740, the *French* court pretended, that their guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction, could not operate againſt a third party to the prejudice of its right; and the houſe of *Auſtria*, all at once, ſaw itſelf attacked by *France*, *Pruſſia*, *Saxony*, and *Bavaria*. Of thoſe powers, the moſt formidable was that of *Pruſſia*, whoſe monarch marched his armies, without any previous ceremony, into *Sileſia*, which fine province he ſeized for his own uſe, under pretence of ancient family ſettlements. The *French* declared their intentions, to raiſe the elector of *Bavaria* to the *Imperial* throne, and to put him in poſſeſſion of the *Auſtrian* dominions, or at leaſt to divide them; *Belleiſle*, the *French* general, intrigued ſo ſucceſsfully, that the elector was choſen emperor, and ſo rapid was the progreſs againſt *Mary Tereſa*, daughter to the emperor *Charles* VI. that ſhe was forced to fly to *Hungary*, that ſhe might avoid falling into the hands of her enemy. 1740. Diſtreſſes of his daughter,

The *Hungarians*, notwithſtanding the vaſt provocations they had received from her family, generouſly eſpouſed her cauſe; but ſhe muſt have been ruined, had not his *Britannic* majeſty taken her part likewiſe, in a manner that does honour to his memory. The elector of *Bavaria*'s claim to the *Auſtrian* ſucceſſion, was founded on a will ſaid to have been made by the emperor *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charles* V. The *Saxon* pretenſions reſted upon the queen of *Poland*, being the daughter of the elder brother, *Joſeph*; and even the king of *Spain* entered a maternal claim to *Maria Tereſa*'s birth-right, though that of his moſt chriſtian majeſty was undoubtedly preferable, but for political reaſons he declined appearing as a claimant. *Great Britain* was the only power in *Europe*, who heartily embraced *Maria*'s intereſt, and vindicated the indiviſibility of the *Auſtrian* ſucceſſion, according to the pragmatic ſanction. She had the good ſenſe to relax of her family's ſtrictneſs, by granting to the *Hungarians* all the ſecurity they could demand for their liberties. She had no dependence in *Italy*, where the houſe of *Auſtria* had loſt all her poſſeſſions. Her chief misfortunes, however, aroſe from her having too great a contempt for the houſe of *Brandenburg*, and its head. In the midſt of her diſtreſs, the *Britiſh* parliament voted her a ſupply of 500,000 l. and above 16,000 men were ſent from *Great Britain* to her aſſiſtance in *Flanders*. They were commanded by the earl of *Stair*, who was likewiſe nominated ambaſſador and plenipotentiary from his *Britannic* majeſty to the *States General*, that he might rouſe them to the defence of the houſe of *Auſtria*. But this was found impracticable, though the king of *Sardinia* declared himſelf in favour of *Maria*. All the *Dutch* could be brought to do, was to encreaſe their forces by ſea and land; but though they made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip towards *George* II. that augmentation was but an ambi- who is ſaved by *Great Britain*.

guous

guous proof of it, as it was more than ſuſpected that they were in the *French* intereſt.

The king of *Pruſſia* invades *Sileſia*,

The king of *Great Britain* underſtood better, than any prince then in *Europe*, the *Germanic* ſyſtem. He knew the late king of *Pruſſia* had left behind him immenſe ſums, which his ſon had employed in augmenting and diſciplining his army, and he wanted to prevent a quarrel between him and *Maria*. This could not be done without her ceding, at leaſt, a part of *Sileſia*, which, with her family obſtinacy, ſhe refuſed to do. The king of *Pruſſia* would willingly have joined with *Great Britain* in defence of the pragmatic ſanction, could ſhe have been brought to make the ceſſions he demanded. Finding that the ſword muſt decide the difference, he entered *Sileſia* with one of the beſt diſciplined armies, and the moſt formidable train of artillery, that *Europe* had ever ſeen. *Neuperg* had the command of the *Imperialiſts*, and a battle was fought at *Molwitz*, near the *Neiſs*, where the *Pruſſian* cavalry was defeated, but the excellent diſcipline of his infantry gave that monarch the victory. The *French* improved this circumſtance to the diſtreſs of *Maria*, who was then known by the title of queen of *Hungary*; and *Belleiſle*, the *French* miniſter and general, laid down a ſcheme for the entire deſtruction of the houſe of *Auſtria*. He propoſed that 50,000 *French*, of whom 20,000 were to be cavalry, ſhould advance to the heart of *Germany*, and join the *Saxons* and *Bavarians*, while an army of 40,000 *French* were to march into *Weſtphalia*, to overawe the king of *Great Britain*'s electoral dominions. His *Pruſſian* majeſty could not behold, with indifference, thoſe immenſe preparations, which ſeemed intended to give law to the houſe of *Brandenburg* as well as that of *Auſtria*. He applied to the court of *Vienna* once more in a friendly manner, by the mediation of *George* II He offered to be a party in a league with the maritime powers, and *Ruſſia*, for the ſupport of *Maria*; to give her huſband his vote at any future election of an emperor, and to pay her down two millions of florins, if ſhe would yield him up even the half of *Sileſia*. She rejected the terms, and muſt have been ruined, had not the *French* executed *Belleiſle*'s ſcheme by halves.

as the *French* do the empire.

The latter are commanded by the emperor.

The *Bavarian* emperor, *Charles* VII. was joined by his brother the elector of *Cologne*, and the elector *Palatine*. He took upon him the command of the *French* in *Germany*, and he ſummoned count *Kevenhuller*, the governor of *Vienna*, to ſurrender to him that city, while the *French* general, *Maillebois*, at the head of an army in *Weſtphalia*, obliged *George* II. to accept of a neutrality for his electorate. The emperor had taken *Paſſau*, and was maſter of *Lintz*, the capital of the *Upper Hungary*. His advanced guards were poſted within three league of *Vienna*, but inſtead of finiſhing the war, and the ruin of the houſe of *Auſtria*, by taking that capital, the *French*, of a ſudden, marched towards *Bohemia*, in *November* 1741, where, being joined by 40,000 *Saxons*, they ſurprized the

the city of *Prague*, and made its garriſon, conſiſting of 3000 men, priſoners of war. The emperor was, in that capital, crowned king of *Bohemia*. He had at *Lintz* taken upon himſelf the title of archduke of *Auſtria*, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty had almoſt completed the conqueſt of *Sileſia*. Her *Hungarian* majeſty, however, had ſtill vaſt reſources, and the power of the *Auſtrian* houſe can hardly be ſaid to be fully known, till that period. The *Hungarians*, the *Moldavians*, the *Tranſylvanians*, and the inhabitants of many other countries in that neighbourhood, who had been ſcarcely ever mentioned in hiſtory before, poured forth excellent troops in her ſervice, and they were well commanded. Her enemies, when they were about to divide her ſpoils, were found to agree in nothing but her deſtruction. Marſhal *Belleiſle*, the ſoul of the confederacy againſt her, was ſick at *Frankfort*; and the *French*, upon the whole, were found to be moſt miſerably deficient in the contingencies which they had engaged to ſend to the field.

*Upper Auſtria* had been, by the *Bavarian* emperor, left unprovided with troops ſufficient to defend ſo large an extent of territory, and the huſband of the empreſs queen, who was now the great duke of *Tuſcany*, made there his principal effort. *Kevenhuller*, one of the ableſt generals of the age, commanded under him, and the *Imperial* troops did not exceed 15,000 *Bavarians* and 8000 *French*. The great duke retook *Lintz*, *Paſſua*, and *Schärding*; and the *Auſtrian* free-booter, *Mentzel*, took *Munich*, the capital town of *Bavaria*, on the very day that was appointed for crowning the elector, emperor, at *Frankfort*. The king of *Pruſſia* ſaw through the deſigns of the *French*, upbraided them with their conduct, and having accompliſhed the conqueſt of *Sileſia*, detached himſelf from all his engagements with them; but did it in ſuch a manner as left them no room to complain of his good faith. Old marſhal *Broglio* had taken the command of the *French* army, during the illneſs of *Belleiſle*, but found himſelf unable to oppoſe *Lobkowitz*; the *Auſtrian* general, and prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, brother to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, obliged his *Pruſſian* majeſty to abandon *Olmutz*, and for his own intereſt to march to the relief of *Broglio*, who was now ſeverely preſſed by *Lobkowitz*. All the electorate of *Bavaria*, at this time, lay at the mercy of the *Auſtrians*, while its maſter retained the empty title of emperor. They were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Bohemia*, excepting *Prague*, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty, on the 6th of *May*, 1742, beat prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, at *Czaſlaw*. The king of *Pruſſia* attributed his victory entirely to his own conduct, and the courage of his troops, and perceiving that he had more to apprehend from the *French*, had he been defeated, than from the *Auſtrians* themſelves, he accepted of the mediation of his *Britannic* majeſty, and about three weeks after his gaining the battle of *Czaſlaw*, he concluded with the queen of *Hungary* a peace which left him in poſſeſſion of all *Sileſia*;

Progreſs of the *Auſtrians*, who become maſters of *Bavaria*. 1742.

Peace between the king of *Pruſſia* and the queen of *Hungary*.

*Sileſia*; without any regard being had to the intereſts either of *France*, or the empire.

This peace gave free ſcope to the *Auſtrian* arms, eſpecially after the *Saxons* had been perſuaded to ſeparate their troops from the *Imperialiſts* and the *French*. The emperor found no ſafety in his electoral dominions, and ſhut himſelf up in *Frankfort*, where his misfortunes affected their *Britannic* and *Pruſſian* majeſties ſo much, that he remained in ſafety; but the *Auſtrians* beſieged *Prague*, where *Belleiſle* and *Broglio* commanded the *French*; while the duke of *Harcourt* obliged *Kevenhuller*, whoſe troops were guilty of ſhocking barbarities, to evacuate *Munich*.

The *French* beſieged in *Prague*,

The fortune of the *French* in *Germany*, and of their *Bavarian* emperor, was now in a manner ſhut up within the walls of *Prague*, where the *French* were in a moſt miſerable condition. The queen of *Hungary*, after ſigning the treaty with the king of *Pruſſia*, ordered her general, *Feſtititz*, who commanded in *Sileſia*, to march with 18,000 men to the aſſiſtance of prince *Charles*, who was beſieging *Prague*. The emperor and *French* were ſenſible of the turn the war had taken in favour of her *Hungarian* majeſty. They offered to evacuate *Prague*, *Egra*, and all their poſts in *Bohemia*, provided the *Auſtrians* would do the ſame by *Bavaria*, and ſuffer the garriſon of *Prague*, conſiſting of 16000 men, to march out with the honours of war. Theſe magnificent offers ſtruck the queen of *Hungary* with ideas, that the *French* would be compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. She ſent her huſband to command her army before *Prague*, that he might engroſs the glory of that event, which muſt have happened, had it not been for want of ſkilful engineers on the part of the *Auſtrians*. The garriſon of *Prague* was, by this means, reduced to the moſt wretched extremities, and even to feed on horſe fleſh. *Maillebois*, the *French* general, was ordered at all hazards to relieve *Prague*, and being joined by the *French* and *Imperialiſts* in *Bavaria*, he advanced for that purpoſe. Prince *Charles*, leaving what he thought a ſufficient body to carry on the ſiege, marched with the main force of the *Auſtrian* army, and obliged *Maillebois* to fall back upon the *Palatinate*. The *French* took advantage of his abſence to attack the *Auſtrian* poſts, under *Feſtititz*, and to enlarge their own quarters; but upon the approach of *Lobkowitz* with a freſh army, they again ſhut themſelves up in *Prague*, where they endured more miſeries than ever. *Belleiſle* laid a ſcheme for eſcaping, though he was himſelf greatly indiſpoſed, his troops in a ſickly condition, and the ſeaſon more than commonly ſevere. The ſucceſs which attended his diſpoſitions is next to incredible. He threw *Lobkowitz* off his guard, by amuſing him with terms of ſurrender. He deceived the inhabitants of *Prague*, and leaving no more than 900 men in the garriſon, he marched out with his troops in the night-time, and though immediately followed by *Lobkowitz*, he reached *Egra*, and from

out of which they eſcape.

from thence escaped into *Alsace*, without any material loss, while the little garrison which he had left behind him, resigned, upon honourable terms, the capital of *Bohemia*, to the *Austrians*.

The emperor still remained shut up in *Frankfort*, and his *Britannic* majesty very properly distinguishing between his character as king and elector, on the 9th of *June*, 1743, arrived at his army, which was assembled under the earl of *Stair*, upon the *Upper Maine*. The duke *de Noailles* commanded the *French* army that was to oppose him, but he was beat by king *George* at *Dettingen*; though the victory was far from being decisive, on account of the tenderness he and his ministers had, as was thought, for his *German* dominions. This action was followed by the treaty of *Worms*, between his *Britannic* majesty, the queen of *Hungary*, and the king of *Sardinia*, through which the latter was entirely gained over by the allies. The unfortunate emperor endeavoured to procure terms for himself, and made the most humiliating offers to her *Hungarian* majesty, but they were rejected. He applied to the king of *Prussia* with better success. That monarch saw the *Austrians* under prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, carry their arms into *France* across the *Rhine*, and he thought himself safe in meditating a blow of importance, which might at once humble the house of *Austria*, and advance that of *Brandenburg*. This was no less than the conquest of the kingdom of *Bohemia* for the emperor. His armies being put in motion, the earl of *Hyndford*, the *British* minister, demanded from him the succours stipulated for the protection of *Hanover*, and his *Prussian* majesty's answer in the negative, soon convinced the public of his real designs. He took occasion, from the continuance of the troubles of *Germany*, to accuse the court of *Vienna* with cruelty, and want of respect, to the emperor; of having introduced foreign troops into the empire, and of having endeavoured to subvert the most essential rights of the *Germanic* body, by disputing the validity of the emperor's election. He observed, that his *Imperial* majesty had offered to renounce all pretensions to the *Austrian* succession, provided his hereditary dominions were restored to him; but that the courts of *Vienna* and *London* appeared to be so intractable, that there was an end of all negotiation. All those and many other reasons for his taking arms, were digested in form of a manifesto, and sent to *London*, with a memorial, which was likewise published, intimating that the quarrel was entirely foreign to the *British* nation, and that, therefore, they ought not to interfere in it.

1743. King *George* gains the battle of *Dettingen*.

Pretensions of his *Prussian* majesty,

Though the *French*, who had threatened to give laws to the queen of *Hungary*, on the bastions of *Vienna*, were now trembling behind their lines in their own country, his *Prussian* majesty's declaration revived them. It was in vain for the queen of *Hungary* to publish, as she did, an answer to the *Prussian* manifesto, in which she charged that prince with

who again invades *Bohemia*.

breaking

breaking the treaty of *Breſlau*, and cleared her own conduct. The truth is, nothing new or extraordinary had happened ſince the peace of *Breſlau*, to juſtify his *Pruſſian* majeſty's renewal of the war, and though in all his declarations he profeſſed the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs, yet it was no ſecret, that he was to have been indemnified by the emperor with certain great fiefs in *Bohemia*, which lay extremely convenient for his other dominions. Prince *Charles* was to repaſs the *Rhine*, before he could march to the relief of *Bohemia*, and the *French* had undertaken to interrupt his paſſage. In *Auguſt*, 1744, the king
1744. of *Pruſſia* entered *Bohemia* at the head of 124,000 men. He at the ſame time publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing, "That his army ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and that thoſe who made no reſiſtance, ſhould be ſuffered to remain at quiet in their habitations. He required that all arms, in the cuſtody of whomſoever they might be placed, ſhould be given up, and put into the hands of public officers. He ſtill declared himſelf to act only as an auxiliary to the emperor, and with no other deſign, than to eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity throughout *Germany*, his dear country." The ſame proclamation threatened immediate death to every peaſant who ſhould not deliver up his arms, and that if any landlord ſhould connive at any of his vaſſals retaining them, his village ſhould be burnt to the ground. Menaces which were thought equally cruel and unjuſt!

His ſucceſſes there;

His *Pruſſian* majeſty met with no oppoſition in his irruption into *Bohemia*. It was now no longer a ſecret, that a treaty had been concluded at *Frankfort*, between himſelf, the emperor, and the *French*, for the deſtruction of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and that the elector *Palatine*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, were to ſhare in the ſpoils. In *September*, his *Pruſſian* majeſty beſieged *Prague*, but while he was making himſelf maſter of its out poſts, the convoy attending his artillery was attacked by the *Auſtrians*, who were carrying off his cannon. He inſtantly marched with the third part of his army, reſcued his artillery, beat *Bathiani*, the *Auſtrian* general, and returning to the ſiege, deſtroyed great part of the city, which in fourteen days was obliged to capitulate, on the 16th of *September*. He then reduced *Tabor*, *Budaweis*, *Teyn*, and in ſhort, the greateſt part of that kingdom, and ſtill truſting to the promiſes of the *French*, that they would oppoſe prince *Charles* in repaſſing the *Rhine*, he made diſpoſitions for penetrating to *Vienna* itſelf. The *French*, as uſual, deceived him. *Noailles*, who commanded their army, ſuffered prince *Charles* to retreat, with little or no loſs, either of men or time. The prince after laying the *Upper Palatinate* under contribution, entered *Bohemia*, and joined *Bathiani* at *Mirolitz*. The king of *Poland*, elector of *Saxony*, encouraged by this junction, declared for her *Hungarian* majeſty, and ſent 20,000 of the troops, under the prince of *Saxe-Weiſſenfels*, to join the prince, whoſe army thereby became ſuperior to that of his *Pruſſian* majeſty,

and

and he reſolved to hazard an engagement. The king was aſtoniſhed at the facility with which the prince returned to *Bohemia*, and quitting poſt after poſt without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, he at laſt gave orders for *Prague* itſelf to be evacuated, and he returned with vaſt loſs of men, carriages, and artillery, to *Sileſia*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters; but he was ſo mortified with the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, that upon his return to *Berlin*, he ordered that it ſhould not be talked of in public.

but is forced to retire with loſs.

The queen of *Hungary* was unreaſonably and impoliticly elevated at this event, and rejected all offers of accommodation, with more obſtinacy than ever. The king of *England* counſelled her to improve the juncture, by concluding a ſeaſonable and advantageous peace, but ſhe would hear of nothing but the recovery of *Sileſia*, and dividing the dominions of the houſe of *Brandenburg*, with the elector of *Saxony*. That ſhe might the more eaſily gratify her revenge, ſhe made peace with the emperor, as elector of *Bavaria*, and that prince died in the beginning of the year 1745. In the *Auguſt* preceeding, the *French* army beſieged *Friburg*, and *Lewis* arrived at his camp, the 11th of *October* following. *Damnitz*, the *Imperial* governor, defended the place with a garriſon of 9000 men, till it was almoſt laid in ruins, and then he ſurrendered it; but the ſiege was ſaid to have coſt the *French* 15,000 of their beſt troops. In the *Low Countries*, count *Saxe*, who commanded the *French*, was greatly inferior to the confederates, through the large detachments that he had ſent off, when prince *Charles* paſſed the *Rhine*. The duke of *Aremberg* was the *Auſtrian* general there, and *Wade* was the *Britiſh*. Both of them were deſtitute of all military abilities, and both of them were ſo ſhamefully baffled by *Saxe*, that their conduct became the ridicule of all *Europe*, when they retired, with recriminations on each other, into winter-quarters. The battle of *Fontenoy*, which the *French* gained over the confederates next campaign, retarded the queen of *Hungary*'s operations againſt his *Pruſſian* majeſty. Her ſpouſe, the grand duke, declared himſelf a candidate for the *Imperial* crown. He was oppoſed by *France* and her allies, but her *Hungarian* majeſty obliged the young elector of *Bavaria* to agree to a peace, by which he was reinſtated in all his electoral dominions, but he engaged to give his vote for the great duke being emperor. The votes of *Brandenburg* and the *Palatinate* had not been promiſed him, and the *French* aſſembled an army in the neighbourhood of *Frankfort* to overawe the election, which, however, went in the great duke's favour, by a clear majority of voices.

Impolitic reſentment of the queen of *Hungary*.

1745. Campaigns of 1744, and 1745, in the *Low Countries*.

The king of *Pruſſia* was all this while making a progreſs in *Sileſia*, where he and his generals had obtained many advantages over the *Auſtrians* and *Hungarians*. In *May*, prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* being joined by the *Saxons*, penetrated into *Sileſia* by the defiles of *Landſhut*, and on the 4th of *June*

The king of *Pruſſia* beats the *Auſtrians* in *Sileſia*.

was attacked by his *Pruſſian* majeſty near *Neidburg*. The prince was defeated with the loſs of 12,000 men killed or taken priſoners, and the greateſt part of his artillery. The conqueror transferred the ſeat of war to *Bohemia*, and prince *Charles* receiving new reinforcements on the 30th of *September*, attacked him in his camp of *Sohz*; but though at firſt he had ſome advantage, he was defeated through the avarice of his irregulars, which gave the king of *Pruſſia* time to rally his troops, and to force them to fly to *Jaromire*, with the loſs of 5000 killed, 2000 taken priſoners, and 100 pieces of cannon. His *Pruſſian* majeſty upon his return to *Berlin*, after this battle, agreed to a convention with the king of *Great Britain*, who guaranteed to him the poſſeſſion of *Sileſia*, as ceded by the treaty of *Breſlau*. Soon after he pretended, that the king of *Poland*, and the empreſs queen, were about to invade his dominions at three different quarters, and that they were to be aſſiſted by the czarina. He called upon the maritime powers for the execution of their guaranteeſhips, and all at once he broke into *Luſatia*, entered *Leipſic*, and laid *Saxony* under contribution, while prince *Charles* was obliged to retire before him into *Bohemia*. The king of *Poland* fled to *Prague*.

He conquers *Saxony*.

His troops, and thoſe of the *Auſtrians*, were defeated at *Pirna*, on the 15th of *December*, and the king of *Pruſſia* entered the capital of *Saxony* as a conqueror, and obliged its ſovereign to accept of whatever terms he pleaſed to preſcribe. A treaty, under the mediation of his *Britannic* majeſty, was concluded at *Dreſden*; the *Pruſſian* troops evacuated *Saxony*; their maſter acknowledged the great duke for their emperor, and peace ſeemed once more to be reſtored to *Germany*.

Vaſt progreſs of the *French* in the *Low Countries*.

This ſhort duration of tranquillity did not extend to the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, which were now almoſt entirely reduced by the *French*. The *States General* owed this in a great meaſure to their own puſillanimity, and were threatened with an invaſion of *Zealand* in the ſpring. *Bruſſels* had been taken by the *French* during the winter; a rebellion was raging within the bowels of *Great Britain*, and *Bathiani*, the *Auſtrian* general, being in no condition to face marſhal *Saxe*, who was at the head of 120,000 men, was obliged to retire and to take poſt in the neighbourhood of *Breda*. The prodigious trains of artillery, brought into the field by the *French*, ſoon reduced *Antwerp*, *Mons*, St. *Guiſlain*, and *Charleroy*, ſo that before the end of *July*, the *French* were maſters of *Brabant*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*. Prince *Charles* had now taken upon himſelf the command of the confederate army, which with the reinforcements he received, amounted to 8?,000 men. The prince at firſt endeavoured to cover *Namur*, but the *French* general, *Lowendahl*, took poſſeſſion of a large *French* magazine belonging to the confederates, and cut off their communication with *Maeſtricht*, while *Saxe*, on the other ſide, ſtraitened them for proviſions. The confederates retired acroſs the *Maeſe*, and the *French* beſieged and took *Namur*, one of the ſtrongeſt

fortreſſes

fortreſſes in the world. On the 13th of *September*, the prince of *Lorrain*, finding the communication again open with *Maeſtricht*, repaſſed the *Maeſe*, and advanced to give battle to *Saxe*; but perceiving him to be too well poſted at *Tongres* to be attacked, he fell back upon *Maeſtricht*. The battle of *Rouxoux* ſucceeded, in which the confederates were beaten, with the loſs of 5000 men, though that of the *French* was much greater. Soon after this battle, which was of ſmall utility to the *French*, both armies went into winter quarters, which the *French* took up in their conqueſts, and the confederates in the dutchies of *Limburg* and *Luxembourg*.

Invaſion of *France* by count *Brown*.

The court of *Vienna*, at this time, entertained great hopes of an expedition that was undertaken by general *Brown*, an enterprizing *Auſtrian* general, who, favoured by the operations of the *Britiſh* fleets, paſſed the *Var*, and even laid ſiege to *Antibes*. The duke *de Belleiſle* was ſent to oppoſe him, and took his meaſures ſo well, as to oblige *Brown* to repaſs the *Var* with ſome loſs, and to retire towards *Final* and *Savona*.

1746. In the winter of the year 1746, a congreſs was opened for peace at *Breda*, at the earneſt requeſt of the *Dutch*, and the plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain*, *France*, the emperor, and *Holland* attended; but the demands of *France* were found to be inadmiſſible, and the allies determined to make extraordinary efforts, during the campaign of 1747. For this purpoſe, the duke of *Cumberland*, having during the winter concerted with the *Dutch* and the *Imperialiſts* the plan of operations, in *February* took the command of the confederate army, which conſiſted of three diviſions. The *Engliſh*, *Hanoverians*, and *Heſſians*, were poſted at the village of *Tilberg*. The *Dutch*, under the prince of *Waldeck*, lay at *Breda*, and the *Imperialiſts*, under *Bathiani*, in the neighbourhood of *Venlo*. *Saxe*, who was now marſhal-general of *France*, affected great contempt at thoſe diſpoſitions, and made no motion for taking the field, and in fact, the troops of the allies ſuffered greatly through the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the ſcarcity of proviſions. The parliament of *Great Britain* had advanced incredible ſums to the queen of *Hungary*, and for the expences of the war, but they were far from anſwering expectation. The confederate army amounted to 120,000 men, but *Saxe*, in *April*, brought into the field 140,000. Count *Lowendahl* was detached at the head of 20,000, on the 16th of the ſame month, againſt *Dutch Brabant*, where he made a moſt alarming progreſs, through the cowardice and treachery of the *Dutch*, and he prepared flat-bottomed boats for making a deſcent upon *Zealand*. The ſequel does not belong to this part of our hiſtory; it is ſufficient to ſay, that *Zealand* was ſaved by a *Britiſh* ſquadron, and that the *Dutch*, at laſt ſhook off their ſhameful neutrality, and choſe the prince of *Orange* for their Stadtholder.

1747. The two armies take the field.

The battle of *Laffelat*.

Towards the end of *May*, the *French* king having arrived at *Bruſſels*, the confederates poſted themſelves between the army of *Saxe* and *Maeſtricht*, to cover the latter as well as *Bergen-op-zoom*.

*op-zoom*. *Saxe* had formed a plan of engaging the allies, and beſieging *Maeſtricht* at the ſame time. The village of *Laffeldt*, where the *Britiſh* infantry was poſted, lay in the front of the confederates, and the *French* poſſeſſed the heights of *Herdeeren* above it. They deſcended to the attack, which was received and renewed with amazing intrepidity. The *Britiſh* infantry did wonders, and again and again repulſed the *French*, who ſtill returned with freſh numbers, while the *Imperialiſts* and *Dutch* remained almoſt inactive. *Bathiani* at laſt made a motion towards *Herdeeren*, but the *Dutch* cavalry giving way, overthrew five battalions of the allied infantry, and the *French* purſued with ſuch impetuoſity, that the line of the allies was broken about the center, and the duke of *Cumberland* was in danger of being ſurrounded, when he was diſengaged by a noble effort made by the *Britiſh* general, Sir *John Ligonier*, who charged the whole line of *French* horſe, at the head of three *Britiſh* regiments of dragoons, but was himſelf taken priſoner. The duke of *Cumberland* was thereby enabled to make an orderly retreat towards *Maeſtricht*, and the *French* remained in the neighbourhood of *Tongres*. It was computed that the action of *Laffeldt* coſt the allies above 5000 men, but the loſs of the *French* was much greater.

*Bergen-op-zoom* beſieged and taken.

*Saxe* now meditated a maſter-ſtroke, the execution of which he committed to *Lowendahl*, who appeared to have a genius for engineering, and that was to beſiege *Bergen-op-zoom* in *Dutch Brabant*, a place which had been rendered ſo ſtrong by the famous *Coehorn*, that it was deemed by all *Europe* to be impregnable. Thirty-ſix thouſand men were employed in this undertaking, which was the moſt bloody that happened during the courſe of the war. Old baron *Cromſtrom* commanded the garriſon, and prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghauſen* lay within the lines, with 20 battalions and 14 ſquadrons of the allied army. The *French* loſt ſo many men, and made ſo ſmall progreſs in the ſiege, that *Cromſtrom* was thrown off his guard. *Lowendahl* reſolved to ſtorm a few inconſiderable breaches, which the other thought to be impracticable, and the *French* forcing open a ſally port on the 16th of *September*, became maſters of all the ramparts, almoſt without oppoſition. Two *Scotch* regiments, in the pay of the *Dutch*, drew up in the market-place, and fought very bravely for ſome time, but were obliged to retreat, with *Cromſtrom*, whom they ſaved from being made priſoner, and thus *Bergen-op-zoom* fell into the hands of the *French*. The manner in which it was taken, gives but too much ground to ſuppoſe that the *French* had a correſpondence with ſome of the beſieged, eſpecially, as it was well known, that preparations were then making for a negotiation of peace. Soon after the taking of *Bergen-op-zoom*, both armies retired into winter-quarters.

1748. The conferences were opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and before the end of *April*, 1748, the preliminaries for a general pacification were ſigned by the *Britiſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* miniſters,

a general reſtitution of the conqueſts made by the *French*, be- Treaty of
ing the baſis of the accommodation. During the dependency *Aix-la-*
of this negotiation, the *Auſtrian* general *Bathiani*, made *Chapelle*
ſtrong remonſtrances againſt the *French* being allowed to at- concluded.
tack *Maeſtricht*, but they were diſregarded, and the ſiege of
that place was formed by count *Saxe*. The duke of *Cumber-*
*land* returned from *England* towards the latter end of *February*:
the garriſon of *Maeſtricht*, which was defended by the *Dutch*
and *Imperialiſts*, made a moſt glorious reſiſtance, but intelli-
gence arriving of the preliminaries having been ſigned, hoſti-
lities were diſcontinued, and it was agreed that *Maeſtricht*
ſhould be delivered up to the *French*, who were, however, to
reſtore it, with all its magazines and artillery.

The peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* was variouſly cenſured, and if
the fidelity of the *Imperialiſts* and *Dutch* could have been de-
pended on, it would have been indefenſible. The king of
*Great Britain* had concluded a treaty with the empreſs of
*Ruſſia*, by which, for a very moderate ſubſidy, ſhe had engaged
to hold 30,000 men and 40 gallies in readineſs for his ſervice,
and that of his allies; and ſhe fulfilled the terms ſo punctually,
that they arrived under prince *Repnin* in *Moravia*, where they
were reviewed by their *Imperial* majeſties, but had orders to
halt on the frontiers of *Franconia*, till the reſult of the nego-
tiations for peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle* ſhould be known. It was Its ſtipu-
the 7th of *October* before all the articles relating to the defini- lations.
tive treaty were ſettled in the congreſs. All the contracting
powers guaranteed to the queen of *Hungary*, the poſſeſſion of
her remaining hereditary dominions, according to the prag-
matic ſanction, and to the king of *Pruſſia* that of the dutchy
of *Sileſia*, and the county of *Glatz*.

The peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* was of no long continuance.
His *Pruſſian* majeſty knew too much of the court of *Vienna* to
truſt to its profeſſions. He ſuſpected that the empreſs-queen
had not in earneſt laid aſide the project of diſmembering his
dominions, and therefore, he ordered his miniſters to have a
watchful eye over every thing that paſſed at the courts either
of *Vienna*, *Peterſburg*, or *Dreſden*. *Sileſia*, which her *Hun-*
*garian* majeſty had juſt ceded to the king of *Pruſſia*, is one of
the fineſt, beſt peopled, and beſt cultivated dutchies in *Ger-*
*many*, and was ſaid to produce a revenue of 800,000 l. a year.
With indefatigable pains that prince had diſcovered, that in
the treaty concluded at *Peterſburgh* between the two empreſſes,
ſix ſecret articles were inſerted, that were carefully concealed
from his knowledge and that of the public. By one of thoſe Conclu-
articles it was provided, that if the empreſs-queen, or the on of the
empreſs of *Ruſſia*, or the republic of *Holland*, ſhould be at- treaty of
tacked by his *Pruſſian* majeſty, the treaty of *Dreſden* was to *Peterſ-*
be of no effect; that the poſſeſſion of *Sileſia* ſhould revert to *burgh*.
the empreſs-queen; and that the other contracting powers
ſhould furniſh 60,000 men to aſſiſt her in recovering it. The
king of *Poland* was invited to accede to this treaty, and he

entirely agreed with the principles of it, and expreſſed himſelf ready to concur in all meaſures towards its execution, by which he was to have been a conſiderable gainer, though his ſituation did not ſuffer him actually to ſign the treaty. The two empreſſes were ſatisfied with his reaſons, and he was no farther preſſed, though he was conſidered as a party. The court of *Vienna* knew of what importance it was to keep the empreſs of *Ruſſia* firm to her engagements, and they found means to impreſs her with ſuch notions of his perſonal character, that ſhe remained ever afterwards his irreconcilable and moſt dangerous enemy.

which is reſented by his *Pruſſian* majeſty.

All this while, immenſe preparations for war were making in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty had undoubted intelligence, that the court of *Peterſburgh* was determined upon a breach with him, in order to give a colour for vacating the ſtipulations of the treaty of *Dreſden*. He ordered his miniſter, *Klingraffe*, to preſent memorial upon memorial at the court of *Vienna*, for a categorical anſwer upon the ſubject of its preparations; and he diſcovered, that the *Saxon* miniſters had found means to render him ſuſpected by the empreſs of *Ruſſia*, of endeavouring to foment a rebellion againſt her in the *Ukraine*. *Klingraffe* obtained no ſatisfactory anſwer. The empreſs-queen, count *Kaunitz*, and her other miniſters, behaved with a gloomy reſerved haughtineſs, and the preparations ſtill went on, till his *Pruſſian* majeſty could no longer doubt of their object. The differences which happened at this time between *Great Britain* and *France*, though foreign to this part of our hiſtory, operated powerfully upon the *Germanic* ſyſtem. The empreſs-queen's miniſters had more than once thrown out hints concerning her intention of reſuming *Sileſia*, which had been always diſcouraged by *George* II. in ſuch a manner as left her no room to hope, that ſhe would find him a friend to her ambition, and ſhe purſued a meaſure equally unnatural as ungrateful. She knew that the court of *France* would embrace any opportunity to diſtreſs his *Britannic* majeſty, and ſhe applied to the *French* miniſtry, who gladly accepted of her propoſals, and they concluded a treaty with her, on the
1756. 1ſt of *May* 1756. The king of *Poland* had drawn together 16,000 men, who were aſſembled at *Pirna* in a ſtrong camp, and gave a freſh alarm to the king of *Pruſſia*, who eaſily perceived that no time was now to be loſt.

He concludes a treaty with *Great Britain*.

It is certain that at this time the court of *England* was entirely ignorant of the engagements between the two empreſſes to the prejudice of his *Pruſſian* majeſty; and king *George* II. had actually concluded another treaty of ſubſidy with the empreſs of *Ruſſia* for a body of men that were to protect his *Hanoverian* dominions. The king of *Pruſſia* eaſily ſaw the neceſſity he was under of balancing the loſs of the *French* friendſhip by acquiring that of *Great Britain*. He declared againſt the admiſſion of *Ruſſian* troops into the empire, as his *Britannic* majeſty did againſt that of the *French*. A treaty of neutrality

neutrality was concluded, by which the empreſs queen declared that ſhe would have no concern in the differences between *France* and *England* in *America*; and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty that he would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in the *Low Countries*. No ſooner was it known that their *Pruſſian* and *Britannic* majeſties were upon the point of ſigning a treaty, than vaſt induſtry was employed to repreſent their coalition as a fixed deſign to exalt the proteſtant religion in *Germany* and all over *Europe*, in prejudice of the *Roman* catholic powers; and in this report they were but too ſucceſsful. The firſt treaty between *Great Britain* and *Pruſſia* contained but five ſimple articles, *viz.* 1. The treaty of *Weſtminſter*, whereby the houſe of *Brandenburgh* guaranteed the ſucceſſion to the throne of *Great Britain* in the houſe of *Hanover*, is renewed and confirmed by this treaty, as are likewiſe the treaties ſubſequently concluded. 2. The king of *Great Britain* renounces all rights and pretenſions to *Eaſt Friceſland*, in favour of the king of *Pruſſia*. 3. His *Pruſſian* majeſty engages to pay the reſidue of the *Sileſia* loan, provided the demands concerning the ſeizing of the ſhips or cargoes of his ſubjects during the late war be adjuſted. 4. He engages to come into the king of *Great Britain*'s views for maintaining peace in the empire, and for oppoſing the introduction of foreign troops into *Germany*. 5. His *Pruſſian* majeſty charges himſelf with the guarantee of the electoral dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and on the other part his *Britannic* majeſty renews, in the beſt form, his particular guarantee of the dominions which his *Pruſſian* majeſty acquired by the ceſſion of *Sileſia*. Its contents.

Upon the concluſion of this treaty, the king of *Great Britain* ordered his miniſter *M. Gemmingen*, at the diet of *Ratiſbon*, to preſent a very ſtrong memorial, in which the injuſtice and ingratitude of the empreſs queen is very fully expoſed, and his own conduct vindicated. His *Pruſſian* majeſty, fully ſenſible of his own ſtrength, had taxed the elector of *Saxony* with having entered into the treaty of partition of his dominions, and the charge being denied, his *Pruſſian* majeſty demanded, as a pledge of his neutrality, that his army at *Pirna* ſhould immediately withdraw from that ſtrong poſt, and diſperſe itſelf; but this likewiſe was refuſed. The empreſs queen, by this time, had given orders for two armies to aſſemble in *Bohemia*; the one under *Picolomini*, and the other under count *Brown*. One diviſion of the *Pruſſian* troops under marſhal *Schwerin* had entered *Bohemia* on the ſide of *Glatz*, and another, under field marſhal *Keith*, had entered it from *Miſnia*, while his *Pruſſian* majeſty, with a third diviſion, kept the *Saxon* army blocked up at *Pirna*. On the 1ſt of *December*, 1756, his *Pruſſian* majeſty broke up the blockade of the *Saxons*, and marched to join general *Keith*, in order to fight count *Brown*, who had orders to relieve the *Saxons*, tho' they were moſt impregnably ſituated, and could be reduced only by famine. His *Pruſſian* majeſty reſolved to fight him on his Vindication of his *Britannic* majeſty. 1756.

The battle of *Lowoſitz.*

march, which he did at *Lowoſitz.* The battle was very bloody, the palm of victory was diſputed by both parties, but the conſequences plainly adjudged it to the *Pruſſians*, as marſhal *Brown* could not relieve the *Saxons.* It is but doing him juſtice to own that the motions he made for that purpoſe were maſterly, and muſt have, perhaps, been ſucceſsful, had he commanded againſt any other general than his *Pruſſian* majeſty, who was entirely acquainted with every foot of the country. It was now evident that the *Saxons* at *Pirna* muſt ſurrender, becauſe they could not eſcape, the nature of the poſt they held being ſuch as to render it as difficult to quit it as to take it. Thus this great body fell into the hands of the *Pruſſians*, by the conſent of their ſovereign, who could make no effort for their relief. Moſt of the *Saxons* enliſted, or were forced to enliſt, in the *Pruſſian* ſervice, and their officers were diſmiſſed on their parole. The king of *Poland* was obliged, in the moſt mortifying manner, to leave *Saxony*, and to retire to his regal dominions.

Surrender of the *Saxon* troops.

His *Pruſſian* majeſty, by the battle of *Lowoſitz*, became the abſolute maſter of *Saxony* and of *Dreſden*, where the queen of *Poland* ſtill remained, and acted with a ſpirit becoming her high birth. His *Pruſſian* majeſty had before this time often mentioned to the public the confederacy that had been formed againſt him, but had intelligence that the original papers lay in the archives of *Dreſden*, and he gave orders for ſeizing them, which was done, not without ſome imputation upon his politeneſs, as the queen of *Poland* oppoſed in perſon the officer who executed the order. His *Pruſſian* majeſty made no delay in publiſhing thoſe originals, as they ſerved to juſtify his irruption, the prodigious contributions which he laid upon *Saxony*, and his invaſion of *Bohemia.* As he did not, at this time, appear to be connected with any prince in *Germany* excepting the elector of *Hanover*, a proceſs was entered againſt him in the *Aulic* council, and before the diet of *Ratiſbon*, where he was put to the ban of the empire, and the circles were ſummoned to advance their contingents for executing the ſentence. This was a proceeding his majeſty had foreſeen, and therefore it did not alarm him. In the mean while, *France* ſent two armies into the empire, one of 80,000 men, commanded by *M. D'Etrees*, and conſiſting of the fineſt troops of *France*, paſſed through the *Rhine*, and advanced through *Weſtphalia*, with a declared intention of attacking the *Pruſſian* dominions, as allies to the empreſs queen; but with a more important view of forcing his *Britannic* majeſty to grant conceſſions to the *French* in *America*, and thereby redeem his electoral dominions from conqueſt. The other *French* army was commanded by the prince of *Soubiſe*, and conſiſted of 25,000 men, who were deſtined to operate with the army of the empire, which was but weak, in executing the *Imperial* ban. Before *Soubiſe* paſſed the *Rhine*, he ſeized upon *Cleves*, *Mears*, and *Gueldres*, as a detachment from *D'Etrees'* army did

The king of *Pruſſia* put to the ban of the empire.

did upon *Embden* in *West Friesland*, which belonged to the king of *Prussia*, whose ruin was now thought to be inevitable.

The empress of *Russia*, punctual to her inveterate resentment against him, ordered above 70,000 of her best troops, headed by general *Apraxin*, to penetrate by the way of *Poland* into the *Ducal Prussia*. The *Austrians* had formed an army of 100,000 men in *Bohemia*, commanded by prince *Charles*, and under him by *M. Brown*; and the *Swedes* thro' *French* influence declared against him likewise, as did the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who promised to assist the *Swedes* with 6,000 men. To all this formidable confederacy, the king of *Prussia* could only oppose the excellent discipline he had introduced among his troops, and his own incomparable abilities, assisted by *British* influence and money. A body of 40,000 *Hanoverians* and *Hessians* was indeed posted on the *Weser*, under his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*; but they were to act only as an army of observation, and to be a check upon the *French* army under *D'Etrees*. As his royal highness could not pretend to fight the *French*, all he could do was to embarrass them as much as he could on their march. He made excellent dispositions for that purpose, and the *French* were so much straitened for provisions and forage, that their march was very slow between the *Rhine* and the *Weser*; and the *French* generals and princes of the blood were obliged to send back great part of their cavalry for want of subsistence. Their numbers, however, bore all down before them, and though frequent skirmishes happened, the duke was obliged gradually to retire, and at last to pass the *Weser* and to take up a strong camp between *Minden* and *Oldendorp*, while the *French* took possession of that which he had quitted at *Bielfield*, and they passed the *Weser* with little or no opposition. The consequence was, that they took *Minden*, with several other places, laid the electorate of *Hanover* under contribution, and obliged the duke to continue his retreat. At last, he made a stand at *Hastenbeck*; many marches and countermarches succeeded, in which his royal highness shewed great generalship; but the *French* being greatly superior in numbers, and in possession of the eminences near the field of battle, he was obliged to retreat towards *Hamelen*, and from thence towards *Bremen* and *Verden*, that he might preserve the communication with *Stade*, to which the archives and the most valuable effects of *Hanover* had been removed. The loss of the allies during the battle of *Hastenbeck* and the numerous skirmishes preceding it, did not, in the whole, amount to 1,000 men, but that of the *French* was greater. The *French* took *Hamelen*, but the duke *de Richlieu*, through the influence of the *French* king's mistress, superseded *D'Etrees* in his command; and at last, his royal highness was obliged to sign the convention of *Closterseven*, under the mediation of the count *de Lynar*, his *Danish*

The *Russians* march into *Germany*.

The *French* masters of *Hanover* after the battle of *Hastenbeck*.

*Daniſh* majeſty's miniſter, by which 38,000 *Hanoverians*, and their allies, were obliged to lay down their arms.

The king of *Pruſſia* invades *Bohemia*.

His *Pruſſian* majeſty was, in the mean while, preparing every thing for his irruption into *Bohemia*, which he determined his troops ſhould enter by three different quarters at the ſame time; one under marſhal *Schwerin*, conſiſting of 50,000 men, was to march from *Sileſia*; another, under the prince of *Bevern*, from *Luſatia*; while a third, commanded by himſelf, directed its motions towards *Egra*. Thoſe diſpoſitions induced the *Auſtrians* to believe that their objects were different. The prince of *Bevern*, on the 21ſt of *April*, defeated a body of 28,000 *Auſtrians*, who oppoſed his entrance into *Bohemia*. *Schwerin* had orders to keep the royal diviſion in his eye, and 20,000 *Auſtrians* having been detached from the main body to obſerve his *Pruſſian* majeſty, that prince, by a ſudden motion to the left, cut off their communication with their main army. But that we may proceed to give an uninterrupted detail of the campaign in *Bohemia*, it is proper to mention what paſſed with regard to the *Ruſſians*, of whom, though the moſt formidable of all his enemies, his *Pruſſian* majeſty appeared to be the leaſt apprehenſive.

*Affairs of Ruſſia.*

As we have already obſerved, king *George* II. was at firſt ignorant of the ſecret treaty that had been concluded between the two empreſſes, and after he was fully convinced of it, he endeavoured to defeat its effects. As the empreſs of *Ruſſia* had always profeſſed the higheſt regard for his perſon, he ordered his miniſters at *Peterſbourg* to endeavour all they could to engage her in a joint mediation for reſtoring tranquillity to the empire, and received always ſuch anſwers as encouraged him to proceed. Sir *Charles Hanbury Williams* was then his ambaſſador at the court of *Berlin*, and was ordered to repair to that of *Peterſbourg* with the moſt effectual inſtructions for the ſame end. Count *Beſtuchef* was prime miniſter to the empreſs, and Sir *Charles* found him by no means indiſpoſed to ſerve his maſter. An unhappy diſorder which Sir *Charles* laboured under when he arrived at *Peterſbourg*, prevented the full effect of his negociation; but it is certain, that the *Ruſſians*, while in full march towards *Lithuania*, ſtopped all of a ſudden. The public reaſon given out was, their want of proviſions, but the diſgrace of *Beſtuchef* ſoon after, through the indiſcretion, as is ſaid, of the *Britiſh* ambaſſador, made the public attribute their ſudden ſtop to other cauſes.

The ſiege of *Prague*.

His *Pruſſian* majeſty acted in every reſpect as if he had nothing to fear from the *Ruſſians*. He advanced by rapid marches towards *Prague*, where he joined the other two diviſions of his army under the prince of *Bevern* and *M. Schwerin*. The *Auſtrians*, whoſe army amounted ſtill to near 100,000 men, lay in a camp which was thought almoſt impregnable, upon the banks of the *Moldau*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty reſolved upon an attack, which was executed with a ſpirit and ardour that enthuſiaſm only could inſpire. The *Auſtrians* were entirely defeated,

feated, and with the field of battle they loſt their military cheſt, their camp with all its contents, and 60 pieces of cannon. This victory coſt two of the greateſt generals in *Europe* their lives, *M. Schwerin* on the ſide of the *Pruſſians*, and *M. Brown* on that of the *Auſtrians*. The whole loſs of the *Pruſſians* in killed and wounded amounted to above 4,000, that of the *Auſtrians* was much greater. About 40,000 of the *Auſtrian* infantry threw themſelves into *Prague*, but the reſt of their army was diſperſed ſeveral ways. His *Pruſſian* majeſty, after having ſecured many important poſts in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, immediately inveſted that capital on both ſides of the river, himſelf commanding on one ſide, and marſhal *Keith* on the other. The vaſt numbers within the town, inſtead of diſcouraging the king, gave him hopes of ſucceſs, becauſe he expected they would be ſoon reduced through famine. The *Auſtrians* made a brave ſally, but their intention being betrayed to the *Pruſſians*, they were repulſed. This action was ſucceeded by a moſt tremendous bombardment, and every operation that could ſtrike the beſieged with conſternation, horror, and confuſion. For twenty-four hours the beſiegers plied the *Auſtrians* with continued unintermitting ſhowers of red hot bullets, bombs, and every miſſive inſtrument of death, till every quarter of the city was in flames. The king, whoſe heart was bent upon the conqueſt of *Prague*, was inexorable to all the miſeries of the inhabitants, 12,000 of whom he forced back into the city. The *Auſtrian* generals were equally deaf to their cries, and thoſe of the magiſtrates, burghers, and clergy. The batteries continued their infernal diſcharges, and the beſieged were repulſed in every ſally.

Raiſed by count *Daun*, who defeats the king of *Pruſſia*.

The empreſs queen knew that the loſs of *Vienna* muſt ſucceed that of *Prague*, and happily *Leopold*, count *Daun*, who had never diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any independent command, was at hand to aſſiſt her. He had not been preſent at the late battle, but arriving near *Prague* the day after it was fought, he aſſembled all the flying parties of the *Auſtrians*, and by freſh reinforcements he received, he collected an army of about 60,000 men, and took up a ſtrong advantageous camp at a place called *Collin*, that he might act as occaſion ſhould require. It does not, however, appear, from the beſt accounts, that the *Pruſſian* army, numerous as it was, had been able, compleatly, to inveſt the city. His *Pruſſian* majeſty conſidered *Prague* as next to being taken, and thought that nothing but the army of the defeated diſpirited fugitives under *Daun* ſtood in his way to *Vienna*. He drew out about 32,000 of his troops, moſt of whom were from the detachment under the prince of *Bevern*, and preſumptuouſly marched with this handful to attack the *Auſtrians* in their ſtrong ſituation. The efforts his troops made to diſlodge their enemies were beyond credibility, but they were not ſupported by a ſufficient proportion either of artillery or infantry. The attack was made on the 13th of *June*, and the *Pruſſians*, to

their

their amazement, found the *Auſtrian* camp provided with a vaſt train of artillery, and with unſurmountable entrenchments. The king and his two brothers again and again led up their troops to the charge, but they were at laſt defeated, and *Frederic* found there was a general equal to himſelf in forming an army to diſcipline. This ill judged attack coſt him above 8,000 men in killed or wounded, not to mention the vaſt number of deſertions, which always happen in a defeated army.

**Retreat**

*Frederic* leaving the remains of his army to the care of his brothers, poſted on with a ſlight eſcort to his camp before *Prague*, and gave orders for immediately raiſing the ſiege, which was done, chiefly through the good diſpoſitions made by marſhal *Keith*, without any material interruption from the *Auſtrians*; and the *Pruſſians* marched towards *Letomeritz*. This mortifying reverſe of fortune made no diſcernable impreſſion upon *Frederic*, who owned his raſhneſs, and hoped to do better another time. While he was retreating, count *Daun* entered *Prague*, where he was received as the deliverer of *Auſtria*, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty's misfortunes multiplied ſo faſt, that he was obliged entirely to evacuate *Bohemia*, and to take refuge on the frontiers of *Saxony*. Being followed by count *Daun*, who cautiouſly declined a battle, he and marſhal *Keith* arrived on the 14th of *September* at *Erfurth*, and obliged the army of the empire, under the prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghauſen*, to fall back upon *Eiſenach*. His ſituation, at that time, is well deſcribed in a paper printed under his own authority as follows: "Many perſons who ſaw the king "of *Pruſſia* when he paſſed lately through *Leipſic*, cannot "expreſs how much he is altered. They ſay he is ſo much "worn away that they ſcarce knew him. This, indeed, is "not to be wondered at, he hath not a body of iron like "*Charles* XII. and he endures as much fatigues as he did. "He is as much on horſeback as *Charles* was, and often lies "upon the ground. His inward ſufferings cannot be leſs than "his outward: Let us caſt our eyes on a map of the *Pruſſian* "dominions, and meaſure what he hath left of the many fair "poſſeſſions he had in the month of *April* 1761, of which a "ſpace of ſeven months have ſtripped him; where can he "have men? he is ſhut out from the empire; and from "whence can he draw money? the dutchy of *Cleves*, the "principality of *Muers*, the county of *Lingen*, the county of "*Lipſtadt*, the principality of *Minden*, *Eaſt Frieſland*, *Emſ-*"*den*, and its infant company, part of the rich biſhopric of "*Magdeburg*, ſome other parts of the *Marche*, *Ducal Pome-*"*rania*, a great part of *Sileſia*, a great part of the kingdom "of *Pruſſia*, *Berlin* itſelf, and almoſt all his dominions are "taken from him, or laid under contribution, and poſſeſſed "by his enemies, who collect the public revenues, fatten on "the contributions, and with the money which they draw "from the electorate of *Hanover*, and other conqueſts, defray "the

**and deſcription of his *Pruſſian* majeſty.**

" the expences of the war. This picture certainly differs " greatly from that which the king of *Pruſſia* might have " ſketched out the day he took arms to enter *Saxony*. Add to " this the duke of *C*———'s convention, which deprived him " of all his allies, and left him without any aſſiſtance what- " ever, excepting 4 or 500,000 l. ſterling, which the *Britiſh* " parliament may give him. And likewiſe ſome domeſtic " uneaſineſſes."

He gains the battle of *Roſbach*.

While he was in this condition, he formed a ſcheme of operations worthy his great genius. He himſelf retired to *Naumburg*, and he ſent marſhal *Keith* with ſeven battalions to *Leipſic*. His enemies imagined that they had now a fair opportunity to reduce *Leipſic*, and they actually ſummoned *Keith* to ſurrender it; but he declared he was determined to defend it to the laſt extremity, upon which the *French* and *Imperialiſts* were preparing to beſiege it, when they underſtood that *Frederic* was marching at the head of an army to relieve it. Though their force was vaſtly ſuperior to his, yet they durſt not venture to ſtand an engagement, and they retired with precipitation acroſs the *Sala*, on the 27th of *October*, but were followed by his *Pruſſian* majeſty, who by this time had (as he thought) fully provided for the ſecurity of *Saxony* and *Sileſia*. He followed the *Imperialiſts* and *French* ſo cloſe, that upon the 5th of *November* he came up with them, at a village called *Roſbach*, where, after animating his ſoldiers by a pathetic ſpeech, he attacked and defeated them, their infantry making a moſt deſpicable reſiſtance, though their cavalry behaved well. They loſt 3000 men on the field of battle, with 63 pieces of cannon; 8 *French* generals, with 250 officers, and 6000 common men were taken priſoners. Some ſay the *Pruſſians* in this battle did not amount to above 20,000 men, and their enemies to above 65,000.

but loſes *Schweidnitz* and *Breſlau*,

This glorious victory was far from being deciſive, in favour of his *Pruſſian* majeſty, though it ruined *Soubiſe*'s army and that of the empire. But by this time, the *Auſtrians* under count *Nadaſti*, had beſieged and taken *Schweidnitz*, where the *Pruſſian* garriſon of 4000 men, under general *Fouquet*, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. *Nadaſti*, after this, joined the *Auſtrian* army under prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, and count *Daun*, who beſieged *Breſlau*. That important city was covered by the prince of *Bevern's* army, who lay under the cannon of the city on the right of the *Oder*. The *Auſtrians* hearing that his *Pruſſian* majeſty, with his victorious army, was advancing to the relief of the place, attacked the prince with great fury, but after a gallant reſiſtance, he threw ſome of his troops into *Breſlau*, and with the reſt he retired to an eminence on the banks of the *Oder*, where he was made priſoner by a body of *Auſtrian* croats, as he was riding out, attended by only a ſingle groom, to reconnoitre; a circumſtance that has not yet been cleared up to the public, eſpecially, as the prince had the advantage in the preceding engagement.

*Breſlau*,

*Breſlau*, upon this, fell into the hands of the *Auſtrians*; *Daun* took poſſeſſion of the prince of *Bevern*'s ſtrong camp, and his army amounted to 70,000 excellent troops. His *Pruſſian* majeſty was then in *Luſatia*, from whence he detached marſhal *Keith*, who raiſed contributions in *Bohemia*, almoſt as far as the gates of *Prague*, while he himſelf, at the head of not above 15,000 men, made a prodigious march of 200 miles, and entered *Sileſia* on the 2d of *December*. He was there joined by the prince of *Bevern*'s army, and the garriſon of *Schweidnitz*, who upon hearing of his victory at *Roſbach*, maſtered their convoy, which was conducting them to their quarters of captivity.

near which he defeats the *Auſtrians*,

Being thus, beyond his expectation, reinforced, he reſolved to give battle to the *Auſtrians* under count *Daun*, who, far from declining the engagement, quitted their ſtrong camp on the 5th of *December*, and both armies met near the village of *Leuthen*, where the *Auſtrians* took up another very advantageous ground, and *Daun* poſted them with great judgment, for he rendered the approaches to his army inacceſſible to the dreadful *Pruſſian* cavalry, by the trees he cut down. Thoſe excellent precautions did not prevail againſt the reſolution of his *Pruſſian* majeſty. By a ſkillful diſpoſition of his army, but eſpecially of his artillery, which was excellently well ſerved, he beat the *Auſtrians* from their intrenchments (though they fought with prodigious intrepidity) with the loſs of 6000 of their beſt troops; 15,000 were made priſoners, and 200 pieces of their cannon were taken. It has been juſtly obſerved, that this victory was gained chiefly through his majeſty's ſagacity, which, from the poſition of the *Auſtrians* enabled him to judge of their plan of operations.

and retakes that capital.

This battle, which is ſometimes called that of *Breſlau*, and ſometimes that of *Liſſa*, was one of the moſt wonderful that *Frederic* ever had obtained, as appeared by its conſequences.

1758. On the 7th of *December*, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, he beſieged *Breſlau*, which was ſurrendered to him on the 20th of *January* following, and the *Auſtrian* garriſon, conſiſting of 10,000 fighting men, beſides 4000 ſick and wounded, were made priſoners of war, while marſhal *Keith* rejoined his army laden with the ſpoils of *Bohemia*. Even thoſe advantages were inſufficient to ſatisfy the active ſpirit of *Frederic*; for in the middle of *January* he blockaded *Schweidnitz*, and reduced great part of the *Auſtrian Sileſia*. We muſt not, however, omit that after the advantages gained in *Weſtphalia*, by *D'Etrees* and *Richelieu*, the terror of the king of *Pruſſia*'s friends was encreaſed by the *Auſtrian* general *Haddick*, laying *Berlin*, which was but poorly fortified, under contribution. But we are now to attend the warlike operations in other parts of the empire.

The *Swedes* defeated.

Upon the retreat of the *Ruſſians* from the *Pruſſian* territories, his *Pruſſian* majeſty ordered his general, *Lehwald*, to march with an army into *Pomerania* againſt the *Swedes*, who behaved

behaved with as much puſillanimity as their anceſtors had done with courage, when they made the houſe of *Auſtria* tremble. *Lehwald* drove them out of *Pruſſian Pomerania*, and they were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of *Stralſund*; when the dutchy of *Mecklenburg-Schwerin* was almoſt deſolated, by orders of his *Pruſſian* majeſty, for the unſeaſonable attachment which its duke, who was obliged to retire to *Lubec*, had ſhewn to the enemies of *Pruſſia*. On the 30th of *Auguſt* 1757, *Lehwald* had engaged 50,000 *Ruſſians*, by whom his handful of men was defeated, though with great credit to himſelf, and his maſter's arms. But the chief event of that time, was that of the *Hanoverians* reſuming their arms, after the convention of *Cloſterſeven*. This act was not more binding upon them than upon the *French*, and yet the latter violated every article of the capitulation. *Richelieu*'s diſtreſſed circumſtances obliged him to ſubſiſt upon rapine, and his example was faithfully followed by his ſoldiery, to the intolerable oppreſſion of the inhabitants. His *Britannic* majeſty complained of thoſe hardſhips. The king of *Pruſſia* upbraided his *Britannic* majeſty with having led him into a war and then deſerting him. The *Britiſh* commander was reported to be diſſatisfied with the regency of *Hanover*, who had laid him under a neceſſity of ſigning the convention. It was diſliked at *London*, and the court of *Verſailles* refuſed to ratify it. The *French*, in their maſter's name, actually took poſſeſſion of the electorate, in which they altered even the civil government. The truth is, the regency of *Hanover* were fond of a capitulation at any rate, and the *French* thought that, in the diſtreſſed condition the *Hanoverians* were, none ought to have been granted, unleſs they had ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. For that reaſon, they multiplied grievances and oppreſſions upon the unhappy natives beyond meaſure, perhaps, in hopes of extinguiſhing their patience. Their army, on the other hand, regardleſs of all military diſcipline, lived riotouſly on the ſpoils of *Hanover*, and fell into diſeaſes that ſoon thinned their numbers. *Richelieu* demanded that the *Hanoverians* ſhould deliver up their arms; a condition that had not been ſtipulated by the convention of *Cloſterſeven*, and he ſhut them up in ſuch narrow cantonments that they could not ſubſiſt. At laſt it was pretended that *Hanover* was a conquered country, and one *Faiday* was ſent from *Paris*, with unlimited powers to collect its revenues and commit what exceſſes he pleaſed. In ſhort, never was there a more juſtifiable occaſion for a people's reſuming their arms, than what now preſented itſelf to the *Hanoverians*.

The *French* expelled from *Hanover*.

His *Britannic* majeſty publiſhed a manifeſto in their juſtifi- with pro-
cation, in which he ſeverely upbraided the *French* for their digious
breach of the *Cloſterſeven* articles, and he named prince *Fer-* loſs.
*dinand*, brother to the reigning duke of *Brunſwic*, to command his electoral army, and its allies. No ſooner was the word for the reſumption gone forth, than the *Hanoverians*

were

were in arms, and the *French* were alarmed in every corner of the electorate, and retreated without making any reſiſtance, but in defending the caſtle of *Harburg*. The face of the war in *Weſtphalia* was then changed. Prince *Ferdinand* marched to *Ultzen*, half way between *Zell* and *Lunenburg*, expecting to be attacked by a large body of *French* horſe, which had paſſed the *Aller* under *Broglio*, and which was intended only as an eſcort for ſome waggons, that had carried off the ſpoils of *Hanover*, and then prince *Ferdinand* put his troops into winter-quarters. During the courſe of this campaign, the *French*, in *Germany*, were maſters of all the country between the *Weſer* and the *Elbe*; but were diſpoſſeſſed of it with more rapidity than they had conquered it. Near 500,000 men were in arms in the empire; two armies of *French* and one of *Swedes* were utterly ruined; ſix battles were fought, and the *Ruſſian* progreſs was ſtopt by their defeating *Lehwald*. The king of *Pruſſia* was enabled to ſpare his hereditary dominions, by the contributions he raiſed in *Saxony*, and he even ſent a ſmall body of horſe to prince *Ferdinand*, after he had reſumed his arms.

In *February* 1758, the *Hanoverian* army under prince *Ferdinand* was again in motion. Their main body marched on the right to the country of *Bremen*, and another diviſion under general *Zaſtrow* to the left towards *Gifforn*. Count *Clermont* had ſucceeded *Richelieu* in the command of the *French*, who every where retreated from poſt to poſt. *Otterſburg*, *Bremen* and *Verden*, with various other places were ſoon retaken, and the brave young hereditary prince of *Brunſwic* diſlodged a conſiderable detachment of *French* who were poſted at *Hoya*, under the count *de Chabot*, with a conduct and intrepidity that would have done honour to the moſt experienced commander. The deſpondency of the *French* now became general; deſtitute of arms, cloathing and ſubſiſtence, they were every where beaten, and every where retreated. They were ſo diſpirited, that even the *Hanoverian* peaſants knocked them on the head with their clubs; and at laſt the duke of *Randan*, the governor of *Hanover*, whoſe humanity and virtues cannot be ſufficiently extolled, evacuated that capital. Every corner of the electorate was filled with ſkirmiſhes; but all to the diſadvantage of the *French*. They threw a garriſon of 4000 men into *Minden*, but it was reduced on the 14th of *March*, after a ſiege of nine days. The *Hanoverian* huſſars, or hunters, cut them off like ſo many beaſts of prey, and out of 130,000 who had entered the electorate, not above 40,000 again reached the *Rhine*; and that too with great difficulty.

Generoſity of the *Britiſh* parliament.

The *Britiſh* parliament were the ſprings of all this ſudden revolution in the affairs of the empire. It ſent 100,000 l. to put the *Hanoverians* in motion, and in *April* his *Britannic* majeſty concluded a convention with the king of *Pruſſia*, by which the latter was to receive a ſubſidy of 670,000 l. ſterling from *Great Britain*; each party engaging, that the one ſhould not

not make peace without the other. So immenſe a ſubſidy aſtoniſhed, but was ſo far from diſcouraging, his *Pruſſian* majeſty's enemies, that they redoubled their efforts againſt him. The command of the *Ruſſian* army was given to the generals *Brown* and *Fermor*. The *Swedes* reſolved to ſend their troops again into the field, notwithſtanding their late diſgraces, and the empreſs-queen reinforced her armies under count *Daun*, from *Tuſcany*, the *Milaneſe*, and her dominions. The hardſhips of the laſt campaign rendered it prudent for his *Pruſſian* majeſty, not to take the field till the beginning of *April*, and then he laid ſiege to *Schweidnitz*, which was taken in thirteen days, and its garriſon, which was reduced from 7 to 3000 men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Having thus cleared his dominions of all his enemies, he meditated how to ſecure them. He had an army under count *Dohna* in *Pomerania*, which overawed the *Swedes* and *Mecklenburghers*. Another ſtrong body of his troops was poſted between *Wahlau* and *Glogau* to cover *Sileſia*, and his brother, prince *Henry*, was at the head of 30 battalions, and 45 ſquadrons in *Saxony*, to face the army of the empire. After he had reduced *Schweidnitz*, he made diſpoſitions as if he intended again to penetrate into *Bohemia*; but all of a ſudden, on the 27th of *May*, he opened trenches againſt the city of *Olmutz*, the barrier of *Moravia*, which he intended ſhould be the ſcene of action during the enſuing campaign. Marſhal *Daun* took his rout thro' *Bohemia* to relieve *Olmutz*, but finding himſelf unable to fight the *Pruſſians*, he choſe ſuch a ſituation in the mountainous country, that he could at once harraſs their army and cut off their ſupplies from *Sileſia*, while he himſelf preſerved a communication with the fertile country of *Bohemia*. The king had not ſufficiently conſidered the difficulties of his undertaking, and the ſtrength of his own army, which was not numerous enough completely to inveſt that great and ſtrong city, which was the key of *Vienna* itſelf. *Daun* threw ſupplies into it with eaſe, and was ſo ſituated, that he could not be forced to a battle. The garriſon harraſſed his majeſty by perpetual ſallies, and his ſupplies from *Sileſia* were intercepted, while the country round *Olmutz* afforded little or no ſubſiſtence for his army. *Daun* hearing of a *Pruſſian* convoy that was arrived at *Troppau*, by a maſterly manoeuvre cut it off. It was now the end of *July*, the *Ruſſians* were ravaging *Sileſia*, *Berlin* was threatened, and *Frederic* obliged to lye inactive before a place which defied his arms.

The king of *Pruſſia* beſieges *Olmutz*.

All thoſe motives prevailed with him to raiſe this ruinous ſiege, but inſtead of retreating, which might have proved fatal to him, by an uncommon effort of genius, he gained twenty-four hours march of the *Auſtrians*, penetrated into *Bohemia*, took a great magazine at *Leutemiſſel*, defeated 7000 *Auſtrians* that were entrenched before *Koniggratz*, and ſeized that important paſs with very little loſs to himſelf. Nothing could have hindered him from marching to *Prague*, but

Battle of *Zerndorff*

the danger of his hereditary dominions from the *Ruſſians*, who were now beſieging the important fortreſs of *Cuſtrin*, the only barrier which oppoſed their progreſs to the defenceleſs gates of *Berlin*. The *Swedes* had gained ground upon his generals in *Pomerania*, and the army of the empire began to pinch the quarters of his brother, prince *Henry*, at *Diepoldſwald*, where he lay with about 20,000 men. Count *Daun*, after many excellent movements, was fruſtrated in a deſign he had formed, to have put prince *Henry*'s army between two fires, that of his own army, and that of the army of the empire; but his capital intention was to retake *Dreſden*, well knowing that he could receive no interruption from his *Pruſſian* majeſty, who on the 20th of *Auguſt* joined count *Dohna* at *Frankfort* on the *Oder*. On the 23d he croſſed that river, and the *Ruſſians*, who had reduced *Cuſtrin* to the moſt deplorable extremities, took poſt between the villages of *Zwickau* and *Zornaiorff*. There they were attacked by a dreadful cannonading of the *Pruſſians*, who were amazed at the intrepidity of the *Ruſſians*. The latter ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces, but they would not fly, and at laſt changing their paſſive into active valour, they broke with their bayonets at the ends of their muſkets into the hitherto impenetrable line of *Pruſſian* infantry. *Frederic* at once ſaw the overſight of his enemy's generals, in not ſupporting their foot with a body of horſe, and brought up his own cavalry ſo ſeaſonably, that the naked battalions of the *Ruſſians* were cut down almoſt without reſiſtance, while they were endeavouring to get drunk by the plunder of their own waggons. While they were thus expoſed to univerſal ſlaughter, their generals in their turn attacked the *Pruſſians* with their unbroken cavalry; and the *Ruſſians* at laſt retired to a riſing ground, being chiefly favoured by the fatigues of the *Pruſſians*. In this battle, which is called that of *Zorndorff*, 10,000 *Ruſſians* were killed on the ſpot, 6000 were mortally wounded, 939 officers were taken priſoners, and their loſs upon the whole amounted to above 21,000 men, beſides their military cheſt, and a fine train of artillery, while the loſs of the *Pruſſians* was not above 2000 men.

gained by his *Pruſſian* majeſty,

After this battle the *Ruſſians* drew off towards *Landſperg* on the frontiers of *Poland*. Their retreat gave but little reſpite to *Frederic*. *Daun* was encamped at *Stolpen* in *Saxony*, and ſo ſituated as to cover the operations of the other *Imperial* generals, *Harrach*, *de Ville*, and *Laudohn*, but remained inactive, though in the neighbourhood of prince *Henry*'s army, to which he was greatly ſuperior. This was attributed to the backwardneſs of the court of *Vienna*, which would much more willingly have recovered *Sileſia* than delivered *Saxony*. The *Auſtrian* general, *Macguire*, however, on the 5th of *September*, reduced the ſtrong fortreſs of *Sonneſtein*, after a faint reſiſtance. *Daun*, receiving more active orders from his court, thought now of paſſing the *Elbe* and reſuming his former deſign, of putting prince *Henry*'s army between his own

who is ſurprized at *Hochkirchen*.

fire

fire and that of the army of the empire. But on the 11th of *September* he had intelligence of his *Pruſſian* majeſty being on the borders of *Saxony*. This march diſconcerted the *Auſtrian* operations; *Laudohn* abandoned the *Lower Luſatia*, where he had obtained many advantages, *Daun* retreated to *Zittau*, and the army of the empire remained in the ſtrong poſt of *Pirna*, while the *Swedes*, diſcouraged by the event of the battle of *Zorndorff*, were retreating towards their own country. His *Pruſſian* majeſty ſeized the important poſt of *Bautzen*, and extended his right wing to *Hochkirchen*, one of the moſt deſirable ſituations he could wiſh for. *Daun*'s intention was to cut him off from *Sileſia*, and *Frederic*'s to cut *Daun* off from *Bohemia*. *Daun* had ſuffered greatly in his reputation for his long inactivity, even with his own court, and he reſolved upon a bold ſtroke, which was that of ſurprizing the *Pruſſians* in their camp, which he well knew to be acceſſible, the chief failing of his *Pruſſian* majeſty being that of having too great a contempt for the underſtanding of his enemies. It is ſaid, that marſhal *Keith* endeavoured to make him ſenſible that his camp might be attacked, but the precaution was neglected. In the dead of a dark night *Daun* marched his army in three columns, *October* the 14th, and each diviſion united at the point of time, near the *Pruſſian* camp. The attack began about five in the morning; *Keith*, who had foreſeen it, was on horſeback, and ſhot dead, but he ſaved the *Pruſſian* army by the ſtand he made. Prince *Francis* of *Brunſwic*'s head was ſhot off, as he was mounting his horſe. The king being awakened, ſoon perceived that all depended upon himſelf. The main attack was upon the right of his army; he reinforced it from the left; the *Auſtrians* pouring in freſh numbers, he was beaten out of the village of *Hochkirchen*, but made ſo wonderful a retreat, in falling back upon *Weiſſenburg*, that he ſeemed only to have altered the poſition of his army. This bloody attack coſt him 7000 men, and the *Auſtrians* 5000; but the loſs of *Keith* was irreparable to his *Pruſſian* majeſty. He was brother to the *Scotch* earl *Marſhal*, but being concerned in the rebellion of the year 1715, he was obliged to ſerve in foreign armies, and having acquired great reputation in *Ruſſia*, he was invited by his *Pruſſian* majeſty to a rank in his army that was worthy his noble blood and great abilities. Prince *Francis* of *Brunſwic* had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general, and was a moſt promiſing genius in war.

Field marſhal *Keith* and the prince of *Brunſwic* killed.

It was univerſally agreed, that his *Pruſſian* majeſty never appeared ſo great as he did after he was ſurprized at *Hochkirchen*, and no general in *Europe*, perhaps, but himſelf, could have made ſo maſterly a retreat, after loſing the two generals on whom he principally depended. In the mean while, the *Ruſſians* ſeemed reſolved, by their barbarity, to make amends for their former inactivity. Their ravages and maſſacres were inhuman almoſt beyond example. They remained in their camp, near *Landſperg*, till the 21ſt of *September*, and, on the

*Colberg* beſieged,

26th they entered *Pomerania*, and ſoon after they beſieged the little town of *Colberg*, which was defended by major *Heyden*, a *Pruſſian* officer. *Colberg* is a port in the *Baltic*, and conſequently extremely convenient for the *Ruſſians* landing troops in *Germany*, by which they ſaved prodigious land marches. *Colberg* was weak, but it was bravely defended, and the beſiegers were unſkilful in their approaches; ſo that on the 25th of *October* they raiſed the ſiege, and retired out of *Pomerania*. Their diſgraceful and barbarous conduct was, perhaps, of great prejudice to his *Pruſſian* majeſty, as it ſerved to confirm him in the mean opinion he had conceived of them. The *Auſtrians* were then in the middle of *Sileſia*, and carrying on the ſiege of *Neiſs*. The king was, at firſt, in ſome doubt whether he ſhould march to the relief of this place, or remain in *Saxony*. He choſe to do the former, and drew large reinforcements from his brother prince *Henry*'s army. On the 24th of *November* he ſilently, by night, quitted his camp at *Debreſchutz*, and without any material interruption he beat a party of the *Auſtrians* in the plain of *Gorlitz*. *Daun*, who had not dreamed of this march, ſent *Laudohn*, with 24,000 men, in purſuit of his *Pruſſian* majeſty; but in the mean time he formed the ſiege of *Dreſden*, into which the remains of the *Pruſſian* army, lately under prince *Henry*, had thrown themſelves. *Leipſic*, at the ſame time, was beſieged by the army of the empire, and *Torgau* by detachments from both.

At is *Dreſden*.

His *Pruſſian* majeſty by his march ſacrificed *Saxony* for the ſafety of *Sileſia*. He raiſed the ſiege of *Neiſs*, and the blockade of *Coſel*, and forced the *Auſtrians* to fall back upon *Bohemia* and the *Auſtrian Sileſia*, while his general, *Wedel*, drove the *Auſtrians* from *Torgau*, as far as *Eulenburg*. *Daun*, however, proceeded in the ſiege of *Dreſden*, which was defended by count *Schmettau* with a garriſon of 12,000 *Pruſſians*. *Schmettau* was under the diſagreeable neceſſity of deſtroying the ſuburbs of *Dreſden*, (which of themſelves formed a moſt magnificent city) if the ſiege went on. He put it in *Daun*'s option to deſiſt from his enterprize, or to ſee the ſuburbs in flames. *Daun* threatened him with repriſals in the latter caſe. *Schmettau* juſtified himſelf by the neceſſity he was under, and about 250 houſes of the ſuburbs were reduced to aſhes on the 19th of *November*, a military execution that was thought to be but mild, and ſo repreſented by his *Pruſſian* majeſty; and to ſay the truth, it was executed with all the humanity that the neceſſity of the juncture could admit of. The king of *Pruſſia* had now leiſure to return from *Sileſia*, where he had foiled the two *Auſtrian* generals *Harſch* and *de Ville*. By this time, *Daun* had beſieged *Dreſden* with 60,000 men. The king croſſed *Luſatia*, paſſed the *Elbe*, joined his troops under his generals *Dohna* and *Wedel*, and made a triumphant entry into *Dreſden* on the 26th of *November*, while the armies of *Daun* and the empire retreated into *Bohemia*.

Its ſuburbs burnt.

Few periods of hiſtory afford ſuch room for reflection as this campaign did;

Summary of the campaign.

did; ſix ſieges were raiſed almoſt at the ſame time, that of *Colberg* by the *Ruſſians*, that of *Leipſic* by the duke of *Deux Ponts*, who commanded the army of the emp re, that of *Dreſden* by *Daun*, thoſe of *Neiſs*, *Coſel* and *Torgau* by the *Auſtrians*.

While the king of *Pruſſia*, in different parts of *Germany*, was carrying on a war extremely intereſting to himſelf, *Great Britain* in another quarter was fighting in a quarrel in which ſhe had little or no concern. His *Britannic* majeſty, upon the retreat of the duke of *Cumberland* from his military commands, had appointed prince *Ferdinand* his commander in chief in *Germany*. *Great Britain* perhaps was unfortunate in this appointment; prince *Ferdinand* was a ſoldier of fortune, he had ſeen ſome ſervice in the *Pruſſian* armies, but he had no manner of concern in the event of the cauſe for which he fought, being himſelf neither a *Briton* nor a *Hanoverian*, and his eldeſt brother, the duke of *Brunſwic*, a declared partizan of *France*. After the prince had purſued the *French* to the *Rhine*, he thought of interrupting the operations of the prince of *Soubiſe*, who was preparing to beſiege *Caſſel*. The *French* made a ſtand at the village of *Crevelt*; a battle was fought, in which the hereditary prince of *Brunſwic* gave the moſt ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct, and great generalſhip was exerted on both ſides; but though the *Hanoverians* were ſaid to have had the advantage in loſing only 3,000 men, while the loſs of the *French* amounted to 7,000, yet we cannot conſider this battle in any other light than that of a wanton ſpilling of blood, as it had no conſequences. The *French* were upon their own borders, and could eaſily not only recruit their army, but ſend reinforcements to the prince of *Soubiſe*, which they actually did, and thereby *Broglio* was enabled to defeat the *Heſſian* army under the prince of *Yyſenburg* on the 23d of *July*, by which they got poſſeſſion of the *Weſer*, and all that part of *Weſtphalia*. This diſconcerted prince *Ferdinand*, who took *Duſſeldorp* that he might multiply his paſſes on the *Rhine*, which, after various motions, he was obliged to repaſs with great difficulty. *Imhoff*, the *Hanoverian* general, had beat *Chevert*, an active *French* commander, and a body of 10,000 *Britiſh* troops under the duke of *Marlborough* had landed at *Embden*, and was on their march to join prince *Ferdinand* at the time the prince of *Yſenburg* was defeated. There were ſome reaſons to apprehend that the *French* might make an effort to intercept this body, but *Imhoff* being joined by ſome detachments under prince *Ferdinand*, met the duke of *Marlborough*, and all of them arrived ſafe in the *Hanoverian* camp.

The *French* recruit their army.

The court of *Vienna*, at this time, loſt all the regard they had hitherto pretended towards the king of *Great Britain* and his allies, whom it accuſed of being the aiders and abettors of the king of *Pruſſia*'s rebellion. On the 21ſt of *Auguſt* a *concluſum* of the *Aulic* council was iſſued, by which his *Britannic*

Ingratitude of the empreſs queen.

*tannic* majesty, as elector of *Hanover*, the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, prince *Ferdinand* of *Brunswic*, the count *de Lippe Bukebourg*, and others, were threatened with penalties in their persons, dignities, and estates, and revocatory letters were published, requiring them within a limited time to dismiss their armies, to renounce their connections with the king of *Prussia*, to pay their *Roman* months, and to send their contingencies of troops to the field, upon pain of being put under the ban of the empire. Inferior persons were proceeded against with equal vigour; but this ingratitude and severity served only to unite those allies the more closely, and to inspire the public with high indignation against the empress queen, who had been so lately saved by the generous efforts of that very power she was now endeavouring to ruin. His *Prussian* majesty, on his part, proceeded with an equal shew of resolution. He declared that he would now no longer consider *Saxony* as a deposit, but as a conquered country. He laid its subjects under heavy taxes, and employed very disagreeable means to oblige the magistrates of *Dantzic*, *Leipsic*, and other cities to supply him with money, by drawing upon their foreign correspondents, a conduct which his *Polish* majesty complained of as being highly unjust.

Situation of the contending armies and powers at war.

The line which the *Austrians* and their allies took up in their winter quarters, extended from the frontiers of *Moravia* through *Bohemia*, and as far as the borders of *Saxony*, where it joined the *Imperial* army, and the chain was extended through *Thuringia* and *Franconia*, till it joined the *French* army under *Soubise*, whose cantonments extended along the *Maine* and the *Lahn* till it joined with those of *Contades*, and continued the chain to the *Maese*; so that they were in fact masters of both sides the *Rhine*. This amazing line far exceeded any thing of the like kind that prince *Ferdinand* could establish. His army was obliged to take up its winter quarters in the bishoprics of *Munster*, *Paderborn*, *Hildesheim*, and the landgraviate of *Hesse*, but his troops were contiguous, and could easily unite; and the king of *Prussia* opened a communication with them through *Thuringia*. Some unsuccessful overtures of peace were made during the winter of the year 1758, but each of the powers at war imagined it saw circumstances that must be decisive in its own favour. The *Russians* had possession of all the kingdom of *Prussia*, and the *French* of the rich dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, so that his *Prussian* majesty was cut off from the greatest part of his dominions and revenues. His armies were no longer invincible, the excellent generals with whom he had originally taken the field were dead or cut off, and his discipline could not supply troops so fast as to answer his demand. Even the rich province of *Saxony* was exhaustible, and began to be drained; so that the only sure resource he now had, was the subsidy he received from *Great Britain*, a supply which must soon be dried up, upon the first change of the *British* ministry. The

*British*

*Britiſh* government, however, thought that the ſtate of their affairs in *America* required the war to be continued in *Germany*, where both the *French* and *Auſtrians* had ſuffered many heavy blows.

The reſources of the court of *Vienna*, on the other hand, were ſtill amazing, and the empreſs queen continued to bring vaſt armies into the field. The *Ruſſians* had extended themſelves into the *New Marche* of *Brandenburgh*, and *Daun* had huſbanded his force with great care, ſo as to be able to take the field early. The *Swedes* had obtained ſome advantages in *Pomerania*, it being impoſſible for his *Pruſſian* majeſty to ſupply every ſcene of war with troops; but he had endeavoured to indemnify himſelf by laying the dutchy of *Mecklenburg* under ſevere contributions. Upon the whole, the jealouſy and dilatorineſs of the court of *Vienna*, and its tying up its generals to cabinet inſtructions, was of infinite ſervice to *Frederic*; nor could the princes of the empire behold with indifference their country deſolated by their *French* allies. Their flagrant infraction of good faith and the rights of the empire in ſeizing *Frankfort* laſt year, by which they ſecured to themſelves the courſe of the *Maine* and the *Rhine*, and preſerved their communication with the *Imperial* and *Auſtrian* armies, was the only ſolid advantage they were now poſſeſſed of, and prince *Ferdinand* thought it of the utmoſt conſequence to diſlodge them. A ſtrong body of *Imperialiſts* and *Auſtrians* had diſlodged, in their turn, the *Hanoverians* and *Pruſſians* who had taken poſt in the landgraviate of *Heſſe*; but they were attacked with a prodigious vivacity by a detachment of the allied army under the hereditary prince of *Brunſwic*. This young hero, with an activity and reſolution ſcarcely ever paralleled, led his troops by defiles with which few of the natives themſelves were acquainted; he attacked his enemies ſo unexpectedly and ſo rapidly, that they loſt poſt after poſt, and whole batallions were cut off or made priſoners with their officers. This vivacity aſtoniſhed the *French* under the duke of *Broglio*, and he took poſt at *Bergen*, a village between *Frankfort* and *Hanau*, ſo ſituated that he could be attacked in his front only. Prince *Ferdinand* determined, if poſſible, to diſlodge him, as he could not otherwiſe carry on his grand operation. He made the attempt, but was repulſed, and all he could do, was to put on ſo good a face that he eſcaped without being cut in pieces, nor did the great encomiums beſtowed upon his reſolution and generalſhip make amends for ſo ill judged an attempt, by which he loſt all expectation of diſlodging the *French* from *Franckfort*, and likewiſe cut the prince off from all hopes of acting in concert with his *Pruſſian* majeſty. In the mean while, ſo early as the 23d of *February*, the *Pruſſian* general *Woberſnow* made an irruption into *Poland*, with an intention to deſtroy the *Ruſſian* magazines on the frontiers of that kingdom, in which he partly ſucceeded, and on the 18th of *April* he returned without any conſiderable

Treachery of the *French*, who defeat the allies at *Bergen*.

loſs to *Glogau* in *Sileſia*. Prince *Henry*, about the ſame time, perceiving that the *Auſtrians* in *Bohemia* were defiling towards the frontiers of *Sileſia*, made a ſudden irruption into *Bohemia*. His army was divided into two columns, one took the rout of *Peterſwade*, and penetrated as far as *Loboſchutz* and *Leitmeritz*, every where repelling the enemy and deſtroying their magazines.

Warlike operations in *Sileſia* and *Saxony*.

The other diviſion was commanded by general *Hulſen*, who took the important town of *Paſberg*, and above 2000 of the *Auſtrians* priſoners, with the loſs of no more than 70 men. He then returned, carrying off with him hoſtages for the payment of the contributions. Prince *Henry* giving his army a ſhort reſpite, then marched through *Voigtland* in ſearch of the army of the empire, which retreated before him. At *Hoff* in *Franconia*, he attacked and defeated the *Auſtrian* general, *Macguire*, who retreated in the night-time. The prince continued advancing, and, on the 16th of *May*, the rich town *Bamberg* ſurrendered to him upon terms. When the *Pruſſians* where in poſſeſſion of one of its gates, they were alarmed by a body of *Auſtrian* irregulars, and this being by the *Pruſſians* conſtrued into an infraction of the capitulation, the city was for two days moſt infamouſly abandoned to pillage. The *Auſtrian* army continued to retire as far as *Nuremberg*, while the prince laid the biſhoprics of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg* under contribution. All thoſe partial ſucceſſes made a noiſe in gazettes, but did not much contribute to the great operations of the campaign, as prince *Ferdinand* had failed in his attack upon the *French*. The latter continued to ſupport the army of the empire; and the *Auſtrians*, during the prince's abſence, had penetrated again into *Saxony*. The prince was obliged to evacuate *Franconia*, and to return to his old ſituation in *Saxony* on the frontiers of *Sileſia*. Upon the whole, the allied army was, at this time, in a moſt undeſirable condition. The conſequences of prince *Ferdinand*'s defeat at *Bergen* became every day more and more viſible; a ſcarcity next to a famine prevailed in the allied army, while the *French* lived in the boſom of plenty.

Advantages gained by the *French*.

Their troops, both on the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, were now put in motion under their new general, the marſhal *Contades*, and on the 3d of *June* they joined at *Marpourg*; from thence he ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of *Caſſel*, the capital of *Heſſe*, which was evacuated by general *Imhoff*. From thence the duke of *Broglio* advanced into the territories of *Hanover*, and without oppoſition became maſter of *Gottingen*. Prince *Ferdinand* was in no condition to face him, and forced to retire from poſt to poſt. All he could do, was to reinforce the garriſons of *Lipſtadt*, *Ritberg*, *Munſter* and *Minden*; but his precautions availed but little. The duke of *Broglio* took *Ritberg* and *Minden*, and made general *Zaſtrow*, with a garriſon of 1,500 men, priſoners of war, beſides taking immenſe magazines of proviſions.

On

On the 25th of *July*, the garriſon of *Munſter*, conſiſting of 4000 men, ſurrendered themſelves and the place to *D'Armentiers*; in ſhort, the *French* now thought the conqueſt of *Hanover* certain. By the motions of the allied army, the great aim of their commander in chief ſeemed to be to cover his native country of *Brunſwic*; and nothing but the moſt palpable miſconduct on the part of the *French* could have prevented his communication from being cut off with the *Elbe* and the *Weſer*. It was now thought that the *Hanoverians* muſt be again diſarmed, and all the care of the *French* was to ſecure their conqueſts by the moſt inhuman methods, which were dictated by the duke *de Belleiſle*, the *French* miniſter of war, to *Contades*. The *French* were at this time encamped to great advantage near *Minden*, and all of a ſudden the army of the allies advanced and took up quarters at *Peterſheim*, from whence prince *Ferdinand*, on the 29th of *July*, marched towards *Hillen*, but left a body under *Wangenheim* on the *Weſer*, and he detached 6,000 men under the hereditary prince to have an eye upon the enemy's left flank, and to cut off their convoys from *Paderborn*. The *French* calling a council of war, reſolved to leave their ſtrong camp and to advance into the plain, with an intention to attack *Wangenheim*, and upon his defeat, which they looked upon as certain, to cut off the prince's communication with the *Weſer*, and thus to finiſh the entire ruin of the allied army. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the duke of *Broglio* led on the attack, but having mounted an eminence, he found that inſtead of encountering the detached body under *Wangenheim*, he was to fight the whole allied army, which was drawn up in excellent order and well fortified by artillery. It was then too late for him to retreat; they found the prince had marched back in the night time, and *Broglio* reſolved to attack *Wangenheim*'s corps. His center conſiſted of horſe, and he was oppoſed by ſix *Engliſh* regiments, ſupported by two battalions of *Hanoverian* guards. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon this handful. The *Engliſh* regiments of *Waldegrave* and *Kingſley*, led on by their colonels, performed wonders; they ſuſtained the repeated ſhocks of the *French* cavalry, which was deemed to be irreſiſtable. In ſhort, they gained a compleat victory, to the ſurprize of their commander in chief himſelf, if not in violation of his orders. When the *French* began to give way, the prince ſent orders for lord *George Sackville*, who commanded the *Britiſh* cavalry, to advance; but the order not being ſufficiently clear, the enemy retreated, with ſuch precipitation, that the diviſion under his lordſhip had little or no ſhare in the honour of the day.

They take *Munſter*.

The *French* defeated at the battle of *Minden*.

In the mean while, the hereditary prince engaged and defeated a body of *French* under the duke *de Briſac*, and forced them into *Minden*, a circumſtance which compleated the glories of the day. The *French* were now cut off from all the paſſes by which they could draw their proviſions, and were no

longer in poſſeſſion of the advantageous poſt they occupied before the battle; they could not keep their footing in *Minden*; they were obliged to fly with precipitation to the eaſtward of the *Weſer*, deſtitute of all the means of ſubſiſtence; their loſs amounted to about 7,000 men, that of the *Engliſh* to about 1,200, and that of all the reſt of the allied army did not exceed 800 more. The conſequences of this battle (one of the moſt glorious that ever was gained, becauſe obtained by a prodigious inferiority of ſtrength, over a numerous, regular, well diſciplined army, and without any concurrent circumſtance but that of downright valour) were far from being anſwerable to the glorious efforts which gained it. The *Britiſh* commander was diſgraced for tardineſs. The equipages of the marſhal *de Contades*, the prince of *Conde*, and the duke *de Briſac*, their military cheſt and papers, were taken. *Belleiſle*'s letters to *Contades* were publiſhed by authority, and from them it appeared, that the *French* were reſolved to carry on the war like barbarians and ruffians. The ſubſequent operations of the campaign were diſgraceful to the allies; the hereditary prince of *Brunſwic*, as uſual, ſerved with great activity and ſpirit, but nothing deciſive was undertaken by the commander in chief. It is true, he followed the *French* and obliged them to retire towards *Caſſel*, which they likewiſe evacuated; but it was the 7th of *September* before the inconſiderable caſtle of *Marpurg* was reduced by the allies, and here the glories of the campaign were at an end. *Munſter* was behind them, well garriſoned and in the hands of the *French*. Prince *Ferdinand* had detached general *Imhoff* to beſiege it, but *D'Armentieres* obliged him to raiſe the ſiege; and, upon the whole, before the end of the campaign, though the *French* had been obliged to retreat through a vaſt extent of country, yet they were almoſt in as good a condition as at its beginning, and the allies under prince *Ferdinand* repaſſed the *Rhine* and the *Lippe* in a moſt unaccountable manner.

Conſequences of the battle, not rightly improved.

Progreſs of the *Ruſſians*.

The king of *Pruſſia* was ſtill fighting againſt the *Auſtrians*, *Ruſſians*, *Imperialiſts*, and *Swedes*. Of thoſe, the *Ruſſians* appeared now to be the moſt formidable, for their army in *Germany*, which was commanded by count *Soltikoff*, amounted to 100,000 men, and were in full march towards *Sileſia*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty ordered count *Dohna* to oppoſe them; but that general found them better poſted and diſciplined than his maſter had imagined. *Frederic* upbraided him with backwardneſs, and appointed *Wedel* to ſucceed him, with ſtrict commands to fight his enemies at all events. Nothing but the danger his hereditary dominions were in, from the junction of the *Auſtrians* with the *Ruſſians*, could have juſtified this order. The *Ruſſians*, by the 23d of *June*, were advanced to *Zulichau*, to get between the *Pruſſians* and the *Oder*. *Wedel*, though inferior to them, not only by 30,000 men, but in all other reſpects, attacked them in their march, but

was

was defeated, loſt 4,700 in killed and priſoners, beſides 3,000 that were wounded. General *Manteuffel* was among the latter, but the brave general *Woberſnow* was killed, and the *Ruſſians* ſeized upon *Croſſen* and *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*. *Daun* knew that they laboured under a want of cavalry, and he ſupplied them with 12,000, beſides 3,000 foot under *Laudohn*. The king of *Pruſſia* was again in a ſituation of doubt and diſtreſs. He left the command of part of his army to his brother prince *Henry*, and flew to join the remains of *Wedel*'s army, which he did on the 4th of *Auguſt* with 10,000 of his beſt troops. He ordered general *Finck* to join him with a body of 9,000 from *Saxony*; but the whole of his army did not amount to 50,000, while that of his enemies exceeded 90,000, and thoſe extremely well poſted. He had been obliged to abandon *Saxony* to make up this body, and *Daun* was puſhing his detachments to the very gates of *Berlin*.

In this ſituation, deſpair itſelf became prudence in *Frede-* The king
*ric*. He attacked his enemies in their ſtrong intrenchments, of *Pruſſia*
all which he carried, and took 72 pieces of cannon. For ſix defeated
hours his arms remained victorious in every quarter of dan- near
ger, and *Frederic* ſent off a billet to his queen with the fol- *Franck-*
lowing words; "Madam, we have beat the *Ruſſians* from *fort*.
"their intrenchments, in two hours expect to hear of a glo-
"rious victory." Though the king of *Pruſſia*'s principal effort had been directed againſt the left wing of the *Ruſſians*, yet *Soltikoff* reinforced it from his right wing and the center, and being ſtill in poſſeſſion of a moſt formidable artillery, he retired to an impregnable poſt called the *Jews Burying Ground*, where he was ſupported by the *Auſtrian* cavalry, which was ſtill entire. The ableſt of *Frederic*'s officers adviſed him to deſiſt from any farther attack, which they repreſented as being worſe than madneſs, after the prodigious fatigues his troops had undergone, but he perſiſted with a moſt blameable obſtinacy. He led his men three times to the attack, his cloaths were ſhot through, two horſes were killed under him, and he had ſcarcely a general who was not wounded, and ſome of them mortally; but above all, his braveſt troops were exhauſted and fainting under their fatigues. The *Ruſſians* perceived their ſuperiority, and in their turn attacked the *Pruſſians*, who unable any longer to reſiſt, were every where ſlaughtered. Thoſe who had any remains of ſtrength, retreated to certain eminencies, which by the prudent diſpoſitions of their officers they made good, and thereby preſerved themſelves from utter deſtruction. The *Pruſſian* general *Putkammer* was killed on the ſpot; the generals *Itzenplitz*, *Hulſen*, *Finck*, *Weidl* and *Seidlitz* were wounded, as was the prince of *Wirtemberg* and five major generals. The loſs of the *Pruſſians* amounted to about 20,000 men; that of their enemies to 10,000. Before the king left the field, he wrote another note to the queen as follows, "Remove "from *Berlin* with the royal family; let the archives be car-

"ried

" ried to *Potzdam*; the town may make conditions with the " enemy."

His efforts to repair his loſſes.

The conduct of the *Ruſſians* and *Auſtrians* after this battle is entirely unaccountable, unleſs we ſuppoſe count *Daun* to have had private inſtructions not to ſuffer the *Ruſſians* to get too firm a footing in the empire, or which is more probable, that he was jealous of *Laudohn*. After *Frederic*'s retreat from *Cunerſdorf*, where the late battle was fought, he repaſſed the *Oder*; but he was cut off from his brother prince *Henry*, and deſtitute of artillery, yet the victorious armies made no motion to diſtreſs him or his dominions. *Daun* and *Soltikoff* met for the firſt time to concert future operations, while *Frederic* applied himſelf to retrieve his misfortunes. He replaced his artillery from *Berlin*; he recalled general *Kleiſt* with 5,000 men from *Pomerania*, and he even detached 6,000 men under general *Wunch* to relieve *Saxony*, where the *Imperialiſts* carried every thing before them, and were in poſſeſſion of *Leipſic*, *Torgau*, and *Dreſden* itſelf. *Frederic*, more than ſuſpecting that the *Ruſſians* intended to beſiege *Great Glogau*, threw himſelf between them and that city. *Wunch* retook *Leipſic*, and advanced along with general *Finck* towards *Dreſden*; upon which, a detachment of the *Imperial* army retired. The *Auſtrian* general *Haddick*, at the head of the army of the empire, attacked the two *Pruſſian* generals, but he was obliged to retire with loſs. In the mean while, prince *Henry* left his camp near *Gorlitz*, and after making an incredible march, he defeated and took the *Auſtrian* general *Vehla*, at *Hoyerſwerda*, after killing 600 and making double that number priſoners. He then rejoined *Finck* and *Wunch*, while marſhal *Daun* fell back upon *Dreſden*, and the *Ruſſians* repaſſed the *Oder*. A great number of ſmaller operations then happened, but no great blow was ſtruck; all parties watching one another. On the 16th of *November*, the *Auſtrians* and *Ruſſians* had multiplied ſo greatly on the banks of the *Oder* and the *Elbe*, that prince *Henry*, being afraid of having his communication cut off with *Torgau*, removed to a ſtrong camp between that town and the *Elbe*, where he was joined by the king and 20,000 *Pruſſians* from *Sileſia*.

Total defeat of his general *Finck*.

From thence his majeſty detached general *Finck* to take poſſeſſion of the defiles of *Maxen* and *Ottendorf*, that he might cut off the retreat of the *Auſtrians* into *Bohemia*. *Finck* performed this charge, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty now imagined that his capital enemy was between two fires. *Daun* knew the country better than *Finck* did; though he ſuffered him to get poſſeſſion of the defiles, yet he filled all the eminences round with ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that *Finck* ſaw himſelf entirely ſurrounded, and after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance he was under a neceſſity of laying down his arms, as he had entangled himſelf ſo much in the defiles that all his communication with the king's army was cut off. He ſent a trumpet to *Daun*, demanding terms, on the 26th of *November*

*ember*, but none could be granted unleſs he himſelf and eight other *Pruſſian* generals, with all the troops under their command, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, which he was obliged to comply with, and thus 19 battalions, and 35 ſquadrons, with 65 pieces of cannon, and all the other trophies of victory fell into the hands of the *Auſtrians*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty had ſuſpected this event, and he ſent general *Hulſen* with ſome troops to ſupport *Finck*, but he came too late, and he was obliged to poſt himſelf at *Freyberg*. A like diſaſter befel *Diercke*, another *Pruſſian* general, on the 3d of *December*, on the right bank of the *Elbe*, oppoſite to *Meiſen*, where being ſurrounded by the *Auſtrians* before he could paſs the *Elbe*, which was encumbered with ice, he, and 3000 of his men, were cut in pieces, or obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

So many repeated blows at the end of a campaign would have diſpirited any general but his *Pruſſian* majeſty, but the jealouſy of *Daun* towards *Laudohn* was ſtill encreaſing, and *Daun*, inſtead of puſhing *Frederic* to extremities, retired to the ſtrong paſs of *Pirna*, afterwards ſecuring his communication with *Bohemia*. It was now the middle of a ſevere winter; the *Ruſſians* had taken up winter quarters in *Poland*, and the *Swedes* had retired to *Stralſund* and the iſle of *Rugen*. The allied army under prince *Ferdinand* had, after an obſtinate ſiege, reduced *Munſter*, on the 20th of *November*, and on the 28th of the ſame month, the hereditary prince undertook an enterprize againſt the duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was in the ſervice of *France*, and lying with his troops at *Fulda*, in ſuch a perfect ſecurity, that on the very day he was attacked, he ordered his troops, in their beſt cloaths, to play off a *feu de joye*, and that an entertainment and ball ſhould be given to the ladies. The hereditary prince, taking with him a choice detachment of horſe and foot, by one of his ſurprizing marches, reached *Fulda* in two days, fell upon a body of troops encamped without the place, and drove them into the city. Four battalions, in endeavouring to make ſome reſiſtance, were put to the ſword or obliged to lay down their arms; but in the mean time, the duke himſelf made his eſcape, leaving all his joyous entertainments unfiniſhed. Above 1000 priſoners were made in this ſpirited expedition, and the chain was broken between the *French* and the army of the empire.

State of the war in other parts.

Succeſs of the hereditary prince, to the aſſiſtance of the king of *Pruſſia*, but too late.

As the taking of *Munſter* had enabled prince *Ferdinand* to who contract his quarters, he was at liberty to ſend off 12,000 marches men under the hereditary prince to the aſſiſtance of his *Pruſſian* majeſty, whom they joined at *Freyberg*; but through the advanced ſeaſon of the year, and the ſtrong ſituation of *Daun*, they did him little ſervice; though prince *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding this large detachment, made head againſt all the attempts of the *French* general, *Broglio*, who had procured the diſgrace of his rival *Contades*. A political campaign, at the

ſame

ſame time, was carried on at *Ratiſbon*. There, the miniſters of the princes who had been put to the ban of the empire, publiſhed a reſcript to ſhew, that the ſentence againſt their maſters was inconſiſtent with the emperor's capitulation; and that he had no right of himſelf to proſcribe any prince of the empire. This act was anſwered by another publiſhed by the emperor, but had little or no effect on the proteſtant princes. Before we cloſe the annals of the year 1759, it is proper to mention, that notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate, as we may call it, that the allied army had been reduced to after the battle of *Minden*, without receiving a check of any conſequence, the government of *Great Britain* was ſo intent upon continuing the war in *Germany*, that they reinforced their troops there to the number of 25,000 fighting men, at an expence, that to after ages will appear incredible. The people of *England* were not behind the government in their zeal; for by private ſubſcriptions, they raiſed vaſt ſums, which were laid out during the rigour of the ſeaſon upon the widows of the officers and ſoldiers who had been killed in *Germany*, and in warm cloathing for the ſurviving men.

State of the war in the beginning of 1760.

In the beginning of the year 1760, prince *Ferdinand* remained in poſſeſſion of the deſarts of *Weſtphalia*, but ſaw himſelf driven out of *Heſſe*, and ſcarcely able to cover an inconſiderable part of *Hanover*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty's courage and conduct availed him nothing, againſt a general of ſuch caution and phlegm as *Daun*, and the uncommon rigours of the ſeaſon; but the ſprings of war and peace did not then lye in *Germany*. The *Engliſh* had been victorious over the *French* in all the quarters of the globe, and king *George* was by no means averſe to a peace, in negotiating which, his *Britiſh* miniſters could act with ſo many advantages. Add to this, that he was far from being indifferent about his electoral dominions. The king of *Pruſſia* for a different reaſon, that of his diſtreſs, would gladly have embraced any peace, that would have left him poſſeſſed of part of *Sileſia*, with the hereditary dominions he had in the beginning of the war; but that was not in the power even of the empreſs-queen to grant, conſidering the footing which the *Ruſſians* had gained in *Ducal Pruſſia*, the poſſeſſion of which was ſo deſirable to them.

Peace propoſed without effect.

Matters, however, were ſo managed, that an accommodation was propoſed, on the part of their *Britannic* and *Pruſſian* majeſties, who deſired the oppoſite powers to name the place of treaty. *Leipſic* was mentioned, but it was thought unſafe. The *States General*, who were afraid of being cruſhed in the conteſt, offered one of their towns, and king *Staniſlaus*, with great good nature, offered *Nancy*. It ſoon appeared that tho' *France* and her allies did not think it decent to reject this pacific propoſition, yet they were far from being in earneſt to accept of it. His *Pruſſian* majeſty was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Sileſia*, which the empreſs-queen was determined to recover. The *French* hoped to regain in *Germany* what

what they loſt in *America* and the *Eaſt Indies*, or at leaſt to obtain favourable terms by ſome advantageous event of the war, which *Great Britain* began now to feel ſeverely. The *Swedes* were entirely directed by the *French*, and the empreſs of *Ruſſia*, to the natural hatred ſhe had for *Frederic*, was reſolved to conquer *Colberg*, and to demand from the emperor the inveſtiture of that and all her other acquiſitions in *Germany*. Beſides all thoſe parties, the intereſts of the king of *Poland*, who was the chief ſufferer in this war, were to be conſulted.

The *French* recruit their armies.

Though the *French* king and his government had at this time declared themſelves bankrupts, yet the ſpirit and loyalty of their people had enabled them to carry on the *German* war with freſh vigour. The winter had been ſpent in perpetual ſkirmiſhes between the *French* and the allies, in *Weſtphalia*, and many brave, but indeciſive, and unavailing acts of valour were performed on both ſides; but *Broglio* was now at the head of 100,000 men, the beſt troops of *France*. The count *de St. Germain*, another active *French* general, commanded another army on the *Rhine*, and the *French* pretended to form another under the prince *de Soubiſe*. *Broglio* could not put his troops in motion without loſing the advantages he had by the poſſeſſion of the *Upper Rhine*; and prince *Ferdinand*'s army, for mere want of proviſions, fell back upon *Paderborn*, that they might draw them from the *Elbe* and the *Weſer*. Upon the arrival of ſix regiments of *Britiſh* troops under major-general *Griffin*, the allied army moved from their cantonments on the 5th of *May*; but a body was left at *Dulmen* under general *Sporken*, to obſerve the motions of the *French* under *St. Germain*. The landgrave of *Heſſe* had died during the winter, but his ſon and ſucceſſor more than fulfilled all his father's engagements with the allies. On the other hand the duke of *Wirtemberg* left the *French* in diſguſt, and carried off with him 15,000 of his troops. The *Imperial* army continued to be commanded by the duke of *Deuxponts*, and after receiving a check from the *Pruſſians*, they encamped at *Lichtenfels* on the *Maine*.

Low condition of the king of *Pruſſia*.

The condition of the king of *Pruſſia* appeared now not only undeſirable but deſperate: He had loſt, ſince the firſt of *October* 1756, forty of his generals, beſides thoſe wounded and made priſoners. The *Swedes* had the advantage of his troops in *Pomerania*, where they had defeated and taken his general *Mantcuffel*, and his dominions were ready to be invaded once more by four different armies. He reſolved to act upon the defenſive. He choſe a ſtrong camp between the *Elbe* and the *Moldau*, which he fortified with 250 pieces of cannon in his front, and with ſo much judgment, that he covered great part of *Saxony*, overawed *Daun*'s army, and kept up a correſpondence with his brother, prince *Henry*, whoſe army lay near *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and had a communication with another *Pruſſian* army near *Glatz*, under general *Fouquet*. Nothing could be better conceived than thoſe diſpoſitions were,

were, for covering the countries where his *Pruſſian* majeſty had the greateſt concern.

Two *Auſtrian* armies were now in the field, both of them in good condition, but commanded by generals of very oppoſite characters, *Daun* and *Laudohn*. The former entrenched his troops to obſerve the motions of his *Pruſſian* majeſty. The latter's army was unencumbered, and his motions were ſuch as intimated, that he would either join the *Ruſſians*, penetrate to *Berlin*, or attack ſome ſtrong place in *Sileſia*; and at laſt he made a feint as if he was determined to beſiege *Schweidnitz*: *Fouquet* was impoſed upon, and leaving *Glatz* uncovered, he marched towards *Schweidnitz*; upon which *Laudohn* immediately took poſſeſſion of *Landſhut*. His buſineſs was to make *Fouquet* believe, that he intended to keep his new conqueſt, and the *Pruſſian* general fell into the ſnare by returning to retake *Landſhut*; but in the mean while, *Laudohn* made ſuch diſpoſitions, as entirely to ſurround him with his army, which was in every reſpect ſuperior to that of the *Pruſſians*. *Fouquet* ſaw, when it was too late, his ſituation, and he was obliged to weaken his little army of 15,000 men, by ſending off 2000 to keep up his communication with *Schweidnitz*, but he fortified himſelf in a regular manner with the reſt. *Laudohn* took ſuch meaſures, that it was impoſſible for his enemies to eſcape without fighting. On the 23d of *June*, he attacked the *Pruſſian* entrenchments in three different places, and carried them in all. The *Pruſſians* made moſt deſperate efforts to defend themſelves, but nothing could withſtand the fury with which the *Auſtrians* fought. They drove the *Pruſſians* from poſt to poſt with ſuch reſolution, and ſuch loſs to themſelves, as proved them to be animated with uncommon ardour. At leaſt 4000 of the *Pruſſians* lay dead on the ſpot: Their general had received two wounds, and the remainder of his troops being no longer able, through fatigue, to keep their arms in their hands, threw them down to the number of 7000; ſo that none of *Fouquet*'s army eſcaped, but the detachment which had been ſent off to keep up his communication with *Schweidnitz*, and a few ſquadrons, the whole not 3000 men. The victory, on the part of *Laudohn*, was complete; for beſides the 7000 priſoners, who fell into his hands, he took 58 pieces of artillery; but his own loſs is ſaid to have amounted to 12,000 men.

Entire defeat of his general, *Fouquet*, by *Laudohn*,

Notwithſtanding all the palliations thrown upon his loſs by his *Pruſſian* majeſty, yet the effects of the late battle, which is called that of *Landſhut*, ſhewed how fatal is was to his affairs. *Laudohn* immediately reduced *Glatz*, partly by ſtorm and partly by capitulation, and immenſe magazines, with 100 pieces of braſs cannon, fell into his hands. The loſs of *Glatz* was one of the greateſt his *Pruſſian* majeſty could have ſuſtained, as it gave the *Auſtrians* a free range in *Sileſia*, and *Laudohn* immediately prepared to beſiege *Breſlau*. It appears by the manner in which *Glatz* was given up, that the *Sileſians* were

which lays *Sileſia* open to his enemies, who take *Glatz*;

at this time far from being reconciled to the *Pruſſian* government. *Breſlau* made a brave defence, and prince *Henry* of *Pruſſia*, underſtanding that the *Ruſſian* army under general *Tottleben*, was on its march to join that under *Laudohn*, reſolved to fight one of them before the junction could be formed. *Laudohn* and his engineers were not very expert in the operation of a ſiege, and though they attacked the town with prodigious, nay inhuman, fury, yet they were always repulſed by the good diſpoſitions made by count *Tavenzein*, the governor of the place. *Laudohn* ſometimes changed his batteries into perſuaſions, and ſometimes into menaces, but all were equally ineffectual, nor would the *Ruſſians* under *Tottleben* appear. Freſh operations, by diſcharges of mortars, and ſhowers of red-hot bullets, began, and reduced the place to a heap of ruins, but ſtill it held out. On the 5th of *Auguſt*, *Laudohn* had notice, that prince *Henry*'s army was in the neighbourhood, upon which he broke up the ſiege, and made a regular, but haſty, retreat.

but are forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Breſlau*.

His *Pruſſian* majeſty was all this time in *Saxony*, and at a vaſt diſtance from *Sileſia*. Hearing that the ſiege of *Breſlau* had been formed, he made a ſudden march toward *Sileſia*, and *Daun*, having left general *Lacy* to command the army of the empire, marched towards the ſame country, but in a different direction, by which *Daun* got a two days march of him, and arrived at *Gorlitz*, from whence he puſhed on towards *Lauban*. This was what the king of *Pruſſia* had foreſeen and expected; but inſtead of continuing his march he fell into *Daun*'s tract, repaſſed the *Spree* at *Bautzen*, and while he was thought to be on the borders of *Sileſia*, he appeared before the gates of *Dreſden*, and obliged the army of the empire to alter its ſituation. After this, being joined by his generals *Hulſen* and *Ziethen*, he formed the ſiege of *Dreſden*, about the 19th of *July*. This capital had been very ſtrongly fortified, ſince it had returned to the poſſeſſion of the *Auſtrians*, and it was defended by general *Macguire*, who ſeemed reſolved to hold it out to all extremities. That unhappy city now felt the horrors of war renewed a third time in leſs than four years; and the change of generals brought no relief to the inhabitants. Inſtead of that, their miſeries were redoubled, by the redoubled fury with which their city was attacked and defended. The *Pruſſians* heard that *Daun* was returning with rapid marches from *Sileſia*, but that news ſerved only to encreaſe their efforts, that they might take the city before he arrived. For the ſpace of eight days the attacks were carried on with unrelenting fury. The cathedral church, the principal ſtreets and palaces, the new ſquare, and the noble porcelain manufactory, were reduced to heaps of ruins; but *Daun* having arrived in the neighbourhood on the 19th, on the 21ſt threw 16 battalions into the place, upon which, next day, his *Pruſſian* majeſty raiſed the ſiege, and drew off without moleſtation. Though thoſe movements, on both ſides, were conſidered as maſter-

The king of *Pruſſia* deceives *Daun* in a march, lays ſiege to *Dreſden*, but raiſes it.

pieces

pieces in the art of war, yet nothing was determined, and it appeared as if her *Imperial* majesty had sacrificed her darling view, of recovering *Silesia*, to the safety of *Dresden*. But we are now to turn our eyes to *Westphalia*.

Dispositions of the *French* army,

There the operations were very languid in the beginning of the campaign, for want of forage. *Sporcken* remained at *Dulmen*, to observe *St. Germain*. The hereditary prince again laid *Fulda* under contribution, and defeated several bodies of the *French*. The scheme of the latter was, that *St. Germain* being in possession of *Cleves*, *Wesel* and *Dusseldorp*, should advance on the side of *Munster*, while *Broglio*, having sent off a strong detachment to the eastward of the *Weser*, advanced through *Hesse*, directly upon the main body of the allies under prince *Ferdinand*. All those were judicious motions, but *Broglio* was jealous of *St. Germain* continuing longer in a separate command, and ordered him to unite with the main army, which *St. Germain*, to his great mortification, was obliged to do. It now appeared that *Broglio*'s intention was to penetrate into *Hanover* by the county of *Hesse*; but still the united army marched in two divisions, his own taking the rout of *Frankenberg*, while that of *St. Germain* marched to *Corbach*, where both armies joined, or lay in the neighbourhood of each other. In the mean time, the *French* besieged the castles of *Marperg* and *Dillenburg*, which both surrendered, the first on the 30th of *June*, the latter on the 16th of *July*, and their garrisons were made prisoners of war. It is hard to account for the dilatory motions of prince *Ferdinand*, at this period of the war. Instead of advancing, he had fallen back from *Fritzlar* towards the *Dymel*; but on the 9th of *July*, he reached the heights of *Brunau*, tho' he had pushed his advanced guards, under the hereditary prince, towards *Corbach*, where his serene highness expected to attack the division under *St. Germain*, which he knew consisted of no more than 10,000 foot, and 17 squadrons of horse. Instead of surprizing, as he thought, this body, he found it in excellent order to receive him, and near enough to the main body to be supported from thence. The prince was ignorant of all this, when he began the attack, which he soon found he was in no condition to support, prince *Ferdinand* being advanced no farther than *Saxenhausen*, and at too great a distance to succour him. Tho' the prince's attack was made with great skill and intrepidity, yet it was unsuccessful, and might probably have been fatal, when he came to the resolution of making a last effort at the head of the *British* cavalry, who checked the impetuosity of the *French* horse, while they were in full pursuit of the flying, and indeed desponding, *Germans*, and covered their retreat to *Saxenhausen*. In this action, the prince lost 900 of his troops, and all his artillery, being 15 pieces.

which defeats the hereditary prince.

His brave action at *Erfort*.

The defeat of the hereditary prince, and the cowardly behaviour of the *Germans*, both horse and foot, who fought under him, created great uneasiness in *England*, where it was plain,

plain, that the *German* general was willing to ſpare his own countrymen, and to expoſe the *Engliſh* to the brunt of the war, eſpecially as he had made no effort to ſupport the hereditary prince. The *French* fortified themſelves at *Corbach*, as the allies did at *Saxenhauſen*, and their ſituations produced a freſh inactivity. The hereditary prince, though he had been wounded in the late action, meditated how to retrieve his miſcarriage, by ſome bold and well timed ſtroke. He underſtood that a body of the *French*, under general *Glaubitz*, were marching to attack the important poſt of *Ziegenhayen*, in the landgraviate of *Heſſe*, and he put himſelf, on the 14th of *July*, at the head of ſome *German* troops, and *Elliot*'s light horſe, who were juſt arrived from *England*, and had never ſeen any action, but appeared to be a bold and active corps. The place where *Glaubitz* was encamped, was 60 miles from *Saxenhauſen*, and the prince's march to it took up no more than two days. After reconnoitring the poſition of the *French*, he reſolved to attack their left, but he could not do it without making a detour of two leagues through woods; and at the ſame time, he ordered the reſt of his army to climb the rocks and mountains, and attack the enemy in front. All his diſpoſitions ſucceeded to a miracle. The *French* were immediately broken, but rallied and retired to a wood, from whence they endeavoured to eſcape, but they were attacked and cut off by *Elliot*'s horſe, the only cavalry who were of ſervice in this expedition. Five hundred *French*, being detached from their main body, were obliged to throw down their arms; another body, who had retired to a wood, were forced to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and a regiment of huſſars was entirely put to the ſword, by this new raiſed cavalry, which broke three times through the enemy's lines. *Glaubitz* himſelf, and a prince of *Anhalt*, were taken priſoners, as were 177 officers, and 2482 private men; all the reſt of the *French* being deſtroyed. This action coſt the allies no more than 79 men, but only eight of them were *Germans*, all the reſt being *Elliot*'s brave light horſe.

After this glorious action, the prince returned without moleſtation to *Saxenhauſen*, from whence prince *Ferdinand* moved towards *Kalle*, that he might be the nearer to *Caſſel*. The chevalier *de Muy* had ſucceeded the count *de St. Germain* in his command, and *Broglio* ſent him with 25,000 men acroſs the *Dymel* at *Stradtbergen*, to cut off the communication of the allies with *Weſtphalia*. The main army advanced under himſelf to *Kalle*, and a third towards *Caſſel*, under prince *Xavier* of *Saxony*. Thoſe diſpoſitions obliged prince *Ferdinand* to recroſs the *Dymel*, and to endeavour to fight the chevalier *de Muy*. On the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, he found himſelf on the heights of *Corbach*, and the enemy drawn up in good order, near *Warburg*. The hereditary prince attacked the left of the enemy in front and rear, but not being ſupported, he could make no impreſſion. Prince *Ferdinand* ordered the *French* Battle of *Warburg* gained by the allies,

bridges upon the *Dymel*, to the right, to be attacked, while he himſelf made a movement towards their front; but all thoſe operations, excepting the attack carried on by the hereditary prince, ſeemed ſo feeble as if they had not been in earneſt, but only meant to protract the war. Every part of the action was unſupported by the infantry, and the *Engliſh* cavalry, as well as infantry, were five miles in the rear. The hereditary prince had, at laſt, made an impreſſion on the *French* advanced guards, but their main body was at liberty to retire unhurt. The *Engliſh* hearing what paſſed, came up with ſurprizing rapidity. General *Waldegrave* was at the head of the infantry, many of whom dropped down, while ſtraining through the moraſſes, in endeavouring to attack the *French*. Lord *Granby* and general *Moſtyn* headed the cavalry, when captain *Phillips* brought up the artillery, which did prodigious execution; but all their efforts, though the *Engliſh* generals drove the enemy before them, could not prevent the *French* from retreating acroſs the *Dymel*. About 1500 *French* were killed on the ſpot, and an equal number were taken, with 10 pieces of their cannon. The *Engliſh* loſt about 600 of their braveſt troops, in killed, wounded, and miſſing; the loſs of the *Germans* was carefully concealed, probably, becauſe it was too inconſiderable to be publiſhed.

who loſe all *Heſſe* and part of *Hanover*.

This battle of *Warburg*, for ſo it was called, was by the allies proclaimed as a victory, but it proved to be worſe than a defeat. The *French*, almoſt in an inſtant, reduced *Caſſel*, *Eimbach*, and *Ziegenhagen*, and conſequently the whole landgraviate of *Heſſe*. In the electorate of *Hanover*, they took *Gottingen* and *Munden*, and might have proceeded to the capital, had they known how to procure ſubſiſtence in that exhauſted country, while all that prince *Ferdinand* gained, was to maintain his poſts upon the *Dymel*, and his correſpondence with *Weſtphalia*. *Warburg* fell into the hands of the allies. *Broglio* pitched his camp at *Dierenberg*; the *Dymel* parted the two armies, which remained in this condition for a month. During this time of inactivity, the gallant hereditary prince, on the 5th of *September*, ſurprized the town of *Zierenberg*, at the head of a party of *Engliſh*. It was poſſeſſed by 2000 *French*, whom, by a train of excellent diſpoſitions, he completely defeated, killing great numbers, and taking 500, beſides officers, priſoners, with a loſs to himſelf of not above 10 men. The place lying in the neighbourhood of the *French* army, he was obliged that ſame day to retreat; and this may be reckoned another of thoſe ſplendid, but uſeleſs, exertions of courage, which were ſo common in this war, and did great honour to the commanding officers, without contributing to the advancement of the common cauſe.

Prodigious march of the king of *Pruſſia*.

The king of *Pruſſia*, at this time, owed his ſafety to the ſlowneſs of the *Ruſſian* approaches to his dominions. After he had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Dreſden*, *Laudohn* formed the blockade of *Neiſs* and *Schweidnitz*, and was at laſt joined

joined by one body of the *Ruſſians*, while another advanced into *Pomerania*, to form the ſiege of *Colberg*; the *Swedes* proceeding with equal vigour in that province. In this dreadful ſituation, on the 30th of *July*, his *Pruſſian* majeſty ſet out with his army, encumbered with all his artillery and waggons, of which he had no fewer than 2000, and in five days time he marched 200 miles, having, during that time, paſſed five conſiderable rivers, the *Elbe*, the *Spree*, the *Neiſs*, the *Quieſs*, and the *Bober*; a march, perhaps, not to be paralleled in hiſtory, as he had on one ſide of him, an *Auſtrian* army, under *Reidt*; another behind him, under *Lacy*; and one in his front, under general *Beck*. What is ſtill more extraordinary, he obtained many advantages over the *Auſtrians*, during his march. *Daun* was, at this time, at *Bautzen*, and moved towards *Sileſia*, to join *Laudohn* and the *Ruſſians*, to take from his *Pruſſian* majeſty all chance of eſcaping ruin. This he could avoid no otherwiſe, than by engaging *Laudohn*, before that junction could be formed. *Daun*, by this time, was arrived in *Sileſia*; *Frederic* lay at *Leignitz*, with *Laudohn*'s army in his front, and that of *Daun* in his rear; and thoſe two *Auſtrian* armies, by extending their poſts, occupied a ſtrong, well connected tract of ground, of about 30 *Engliſh* miles in front. The king ſtrove in vain to diſunite them, but *Daun* reſolved to make the ſame attempt he had done at *Hochkirchen*, by ſurprizing his majeſty in the night time. Either *Frederic*'s own ſagacity, or private intelligence, or both, made him more than ſuſpect *Daun*'s intentions. The *Auſtrian* army ſtruck their tents when it grew dark, but kept in their fires, and their tattoo was beat as uſual. They ſet out by different routs, but were to unite in one ſpot to form a general attack. While *Daun* was on his march, his ſcouts returned and informed him, that the *Pruſſians* had abandoned their camp. *Daun* ſuſpected the truth, and towards morning, a thick ſmoke which he ſaw at a diſtance, informed him that *Frederic*'s army and that of *Laudohn* were engaged in battle. He attempted to advance by *Leignitz*, but the provident *Pruſſian* monarch had made ſuch diſpoſitions of his troops and artillery, upon the heights of *Pſaffendorff*, that he found it impracticable to advance. *Laudohn* had been deceived as well as *Daun*. He was advancing to attack the *Pruſſians* in concert with *Daun*; but when he came to the village of *Pſaffendorff*, he found the whole *Pruſſian* army drawn up in excellent order to receive him. A battle thus became inevitable, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty, after performing prodigious acts of perſonal valour, as well as generalſhip, obtained the victory, but did not ſuffer his troops to continue the purſuit beyond the *Hatzbach*, leſt *Daun* ſhould force his poſts at *Pſaffendorff*. In this battle, which was fought on the 15th of *Auguſt*, the *Auſtrians* loſt about 8000 men, and 82 pieces of cannon, and the *Pruſſians* had 5000 killed, and 120 wounded.

*Laudohn* beaten by the king of *Pruſſia*.

Progress of the *Russians*.

The late battle, had his *Prussian* majesty lost it, must have ruined him; but the *Austrians* did little more than feel their defeat, as they expected every moment to be joined by the *Russians*, under their new general, prince *Czernichew*. *Daun* sent a strong detachment, under prince *Lowenstein* and general *Beck*, to assist them in their march, but the event of the battle of *Pfaffendorff* struck prince *Czernichew* so much, that he immediately repassed the *Oder*, by which the junction of the *Austrians* and *Russians* was prevented. *Daun*'s force was still far superior to that of *Frederic*, and he not only kept his footing in *Silesia*, but formed the blockade of *Schweidnitz*. His *Prussian* majesty, in the mean while, joined his brother prince *Henry*, at *Newmarche*, and after sending off general *Goltz* with a detachment to observe the motions of the *Russians*, he attacked and defeated the corps of *Austrians* under general *Beck*, and obliged *Daun* himself to raise the blockade of *Schweidnitz*, and retire to the heights of *Landshut*.

Campaign in *Saxony*.

The *Prussian* general, *Hulsen*, at this time, commanded for his master in *Saxony*, and was marching from *Meisen* to *Torgau*, when a body of the army of the empire, by a very skilful disposition, endeavoured to cut off his communication with that place. This brought on a battle on the 20th of *August*, in which *Hulsen*, who fought under great disadvantage, behaved so well, that he carried off 1200 *Imperialists* prisoners, and opened his way to *Torgau*. This advantage, however, did him little service. The main body of the *Imperialists* were advancing to cut off his communication with the *Elbe*. By his retreat, he lost his communication with the king. The *Lower Silesia* was laid open to the ravages of the *Russians*, while *Lusatia* and *Saxony* were on the point of submitting to the power of the *Austrians*. The king of *Prussia*, at this time, can be said only to have preserved himself from absolute ruin, by the prodigies of valour and generalship he had exerted. He found his dangers and difficulties daily encreasing, and all correspondence cut off between him and his hereditary dominions.

The *Imperialists* and *Russians* take *Berlin*.

A new project was on foot to distress him farther. Count *Czernichew* was sent off with a strong detachment of *Russians* to *Brandenburgh*, and the generals *Lacy* and *Brentano* were to join him with 15,000 *Austrians* at the gates of *Berlin*; while the king was engaged in the southern parts of *Silesia*, at a vast distance from his capital. The united army amounted to 40,000 men. *Hulsen*, being unable to keep his footing in *Saxony*, fell back upon *Berlin*, and was joined by general *Werner* from *Pomerania*. Their joint force did not exceed 15,000 men, and the fortifications of *Berlin* were weak. *Tottleben*, the *Russian* general, was now advanced to the gates of that city; the *Prussian* army was obliged to retreat before him, after a faint resistance, but threw three incomplete battalions into the town, which was one of the finest in *Europe*, the seat of riches, arts, learning, and manufactures, and had been long

long the ſchool of arms. The inhabitants knew the barbarous vindictive diſpoſitions of their enemies, and were under inexpreſſible conſternation. The garriſon, upon the approach of the main body of the combined army, ſurrendered priſoners of war, after ſuffering a ſhort bombardment. A ſcene of univerſal blood and plunder all over the city was now expected, when the foreign miniſters, reſiding at *Berlin*, humanely interpoſed, and obtained far better terms than could have been hoped for from ſuch enemies, eſpecially when victorious and unreſiſted. It was agreed, that the inhabitants ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion; that their perſons and effects ſhould be ſafe, and that none of the *Ruſſian* irregulars ſhould enter the city. Notwithſtanding this favourable capitulation, the regulars who entered *Berlin*, committed exceſſes which amounted almoſt to military execution. This perhaps was, in a great meaſure, owing to the unexpected ſplendor of the city, which ſtruck the barbarians ſo much, that they were not to be reſtrained by their officers. Eight hundred thouſand guilders were immediately exacted, and paid down, and a farther payment of 1,900,000 *German* crowns was demanded. The royal palaces were plundered (all but that of *Sans Souci*, which was generouſly preſerved by the *Auſtrian* prince *Eſterhaſi.*) Their rich furniture, and richer paintings and curioſities, were defaced or carried off, and the noble *Brandenburgh* collection of antiques, met with the treatment that might have been expected from the deſcendents of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

On the 13th of *October*, *Berlin* was delivered from its tyrants. It is ſurprizing, that the rich manufacturers and inhabitants did not ſuffer more than they did; but this may in part be accounted for, by *Berlin* being the reſidence of artiſts and manufacturers from all parts of *Germany*, and conſequently may be ſuppoſed to have had many relations and friends among the *Auſtrian* officers. We are likewiſe told, that they had ſome apprehenſions of being attacked by his *Pruſſian* majeſty, who was advancing to the relief of his capital. Be that as it will, *Frederic* ordered manifeſtos to be publiſhed, which, in the moſt bitter manner, aggravated the barbarities of his enemies, while they held his capital, but perhaps their ravages there were leſs barbarous and deplorable than thoſe committed on his open country, which they rendered a perfect deſart. The conſequences of this blow upon the king of *Pruſſia*, were very dreadful. The *Ruſſians* marched from *Berlin* to *Poland*, and the *Auſtrians* reſumed the route of *Saxony*, where *Wirtemberg*, *Torgau*, and *Leipſic*, were reduced by the army of the empire, under the duke of *Deux Ponts*. In ſhort, the king of *Pruſſia* was ſtript, without obtaining the leaſt equivalent, of all the places he held in *Saxony*, and loſt the immenſe magazines he had laid up in that country. Neither was his condition in his other dominions in a much better ſituation. *Wangenheim* having been obliged to repaſs the *Weſer*, *Stainville*,

Farther diſtreſſes of the king of *Pruſſia*.

*ville*, the *French* general, laid the city and biſhopric of *Halberſtadt* under contribution. In *Eaſtern Pomerania*, the *Ruſſians* renewed the ſiege of *Colberg*, with a ſeemingly determined reſolution to take it. The *Swedes* carried every thing before them in *Weſtern Pomerania*; and in *Sileſia*, *Laudohn* had beſieged *Coſel*.

The battle of *Torgau*, As his majeſty's enemies had evacuated *Brandenburgh*, on the 25th of *October*, he paſſed the *Elbe*, as *Daun* did the ſame day, and took up a very ſtrong camp, which covered *Leipſic* and *Torgau*, and was ſecured on the one ſide by the *Elbe*, and on all other parts by impaſſable moraſſes, hills and woods; ſo that his front only could be attacked, and it was guarded by 200 pieces of cannon, his army conſiſting of 80,000 fighting men. By this time his *Pruſſian* majeſty had been joined by general *Hulſen*, and prince *Eugene* of *Wirtemberg*, with the troops under their command; and deſpair dictated to his *Pruſſian* majeſty, the neceſſity he was under of giving battle to his enemies. He generouſly and publicly acquainted his ſoldiers of his diſtreſſes, and that he was reſolved to conquer or to die. They more generouſly anſwered, That they would conquer or die with him. On the 3d of *November*, he began his march, and made his diſpoſitions. General *Hulſen* had the command of his right wing, with orders that he ſhould make no attack till the battle began. *Ziethen* commanded his left wing, which was to attack the right of the enemy, while he himſelf, in the center, was to make the grand attack. *Daun*, having ſecured his paſſage over the *Elbe*, made diſpoſitions correſponding to thoſe of his *Pruſſian* majeſty.

gained by his *Pruſſian* majeſty, About two in the afternoon, the king attacked in front, but was three times driven back by the ſuperior fire of the enemy. He ordered a freſh body of horſe to advance, and they made ſome impreſſion upon the *Auſtrians*; but the latter being every minute reinforced, the battle ſeemed again to incline to the *Auſtrians*, when *Ziethen*, who had fallen upon their rear, which he routed, took poſſeſſion of ſome eminences, which overlooked the *Auſtrian* army, and galloped up with a ſtrong body of cavalry to ſupport the *Pruſſian* infantry. This manoeuvre changed the face of the battle, and victory, after a moſt bloody diſpute, which laſted till nine at night, declared entirely for the *Pruſſians*; but, even after it was dark, an indiſcriminate carnage continued, by each ſide keeping up an inceſſant fire. Some hours before this, count *Daun* had been dangerouſly wounded in the thigh, and was carried out of the field of battle, and his diſaſter greatly diſpirited the *Auſtrians*. His command fell upon general *O'Donnel*, who finding it impoſſible to diſlodge the *Pruſſians* from the eminences they poſſeſſed, ordered the *Auſtrians* to retreat over the *Elbe*, which they did without loſs, and in good order. This battle, every thing conſidered, was the beſt fought, and moſt wonderful of any that his *Pruſſian* majeſty had gained, but 10,000 of his beſt troops had been killed or wounded, and 3000 taken priſoners,

ſoners. The number of the *Auſtrians* killed, did not exceed that of the *Pruſſians*; but 8000 of them, among whom were four generals and 216 officers, were taken priſoners. During the whole action, the king fought as if he had known himſelf to be invulnerable, and he received a contuſion in the breaſt by a muſket ball. The darkneſs of the night, when the fate of the day was decided, hindered the *Pruſſians* from purſuing, and was equally favourable to the exhauſted ſtate of both armies.

with great loſs on both ſides.

Though the *Auſtrians* claimed the honour of this battle, which is called that of *Torgau*, yet two conſiderations indiſputably aſcertain it to the *Pruſſians*; the one is, they kept the field, though their enemies outnumbered them by 30,000 men; the other is, that the conſequences of the battle put his *Pruſſian* majeſty again in poſſeſſion of all *Saxony*, excepting *Dreſden*. General *Werner*, in *Pomerania*, obliged the *Ruſſians* to raiſe the ſiege of *Colberg*, and to retire into *Poland*, and in the weſtern parts of the ſame province, he drove the *Swedes* back upon *Stralſund*. *Laudohn* abandoned *Landſhut* and the ſiege of *Coſel*, and retired into the *Auſtrian Sileſia*; the army of the empire was preparing to take winter-quarters in *Franconia*, and his *Pruſſian* majeſty's dominions were entirely evacuated by the remaining bodies of the *Ruſſians*. It was eaſy for his *Pruſſian* majeſty to perceive the warm ſide which the *Saxons* ſtill retained towards their native ſovereign, and he puniſhed their loyal virtue with the utmoſt rigour, by not only laying them under the moſt oppreſſive contributions, but by obliging them to furniſh 20,000 men for recruiting his armies. He was equally ſevere upon the *Mecklenburghers*, whoſe ſufferings were, if poſſible, ſtill more deplorable than thoſe of the *Saxons*.

His farther ſucceſſes.

The war in *Weſtphalia* ſeemed ſtill to languiſh after the battle of *Warburg*; but the ſuperiority of the *French* upon the *Maine* was evident; for the ſkirmiſh of *Zierenberg* was attended with few or no conſequences. They were ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Gottingen* and *Caſſel*, and prince *Ferdinand* could not expect to diſlodge them from thence, but by cutting off their ſupplies from the *Rhine* and the *Maine*. For this purpoſe, a detachment was puſhed on towards *Marpurg*, under general *Bulow*, which took that town, and incommoded the communication of the *French* with *Frankfort*; but on the 13th of *September*, *Bulow*'s rear was defeated by general *Stainville* in paſſing the river *Ork*, and the whole of the detachment muſt have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince, after a forced march of five *German* miles, arrived to their relief, and obliged *Stainville* to retreat to a ſtrong camp. Another detachment of the allied army, under *Wangenheim*, was ſent to diſlodge the *French* from *Gottingen*; but after paſſing the *Weſer* and making ſome feeble efforts, tho' with ſanguine expectations, he was forced, as we have already hinted, to repaſs it with conſiderable loſs. The *French*, however, to keep their forces as compact as poſſible, entrenched

Operations of the allies and *French* in *Weſtphalia*.

themſelves at *Caſſel*, without being diſturbed by the *German* general of the allies, who kept advancing towards them, that he might obſerve their operations, and cover a very unexpected expedition, the operations of which we ſhall briefly relate, only as they are connected with the affairs of *Germany*, without launching into the many idle ſpeculations to which it gave riſe.

Unſucceſsful expedition of the hereditary prince to the *Rhine*.

The dominions of his *Pruſſian* majeſty upon the *Rhine*, remained ſtill in poſſeſſion of his enemies, and the *French* pretended to hold them for the empreſs-queen. No attempt had been made to relieve him; their revenues were very conſiderable, and the poſſeſſion of them was extremely commodious to the *French*. Many reaſons, foreign to this hiſtory, concurred for putting them again in poſſeſſion of their lawful maſter, who was more affected by the loſs of them, than by any other diſtreſs he ſuffered. The expedition for recovering them, was committed to the hereditary prince, who was now thought equal to any command, eſpecially one, which like this, required rapidity of execution. While he was thought to be in the moſt diſtant parts of *Heſſe*, he, all of a ſudden, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, at the head of 20 battalions and 10 ſquadrons, divided into two detachments. One paſſed the *Rhine* above *Roercot*, on the ſide of *Duſſeldorp*; the other, which had marched by the way of *Munſter*, paſſed the ſame river, a great way below at *Rees*, almoſt half way between *Cleves* and *Weſel*; and the *States General*, who had no reaſon to expect any favour from the allies, began to be in pain about the ſafety of their own dominions. Both detachments moved to meet each other, and in their march ſeized upon all the *French* poſts on the *Rhine*, and every where diſlodged them from their redoubts. Having got together a ſufficient number of boats to tranſport the reſt of their troops, and their artillery, they again divided into two parties; one of which, on the 3d of *October*, took poſſeſſion of *Cleves*, and in three days after of its caſtle, the garriſon of 500 men ſurrendering priſoners of war, while the other diviſion laid a vigorous ſiege to *Weſel*, and great expectations were formed by the allies of its ſurrender, but the rains that fell prevented reinforcements being ſent to the beſiegers, and rendered the prince's communication with them very difficult.

He is defeated at *Campen*.

This interruption, which might have reaſonably been expected at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year, gave time for the marquis *de Caſtries*, a *French* general, to aſſemble an army of 30 battalions from *Heſſe* and the *Low Countries*, with whom he drove the allies from their poſts near *Rhinberg*, which lay in the heart of the prince's late acquiſitions, and then turning to the left he took up a very advantageous camp, with the abbey of *Campen* in his front. The approaches to *Weſel* were made on the right of the *Rhine*, and the prince remained on the left to cover the ſiege, but the operations of *Caſtries* entirely diſconcerted him. All he could do, was to attack *Caſ-*

*tries*

*tries* before he could be reinforced; but in his march he encountered *Fiſcher*'s famous corps of *French* irregulars, and their firing put *Caſtries* on his guard. He drew up his troops in a ſituation of defence, but they were ſo vigorouſly attacked by the *Britiſh* troops under the prince, that they were obliged at firſt to give way; but the *French* ſoon recovered themſelves and retrieved all they had loſt. The fire of muſketry continued without ceaſing from five in the morning till nine at night. The lord *Down*, with a number of brave *Britiſh* officers and ſoldiers were killed; the prince's horſe was ſhot; he himſelf was wounded; there was no probability of ſucceſs, and he gave orders for a retreat, which was made with ſome confuſion and great loſs of men. That of the *Engliſh* amounted to about 1500, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, which renewed the clamours of *England* againſt a *German* war, in which ſo much *Engliſh* blood was ſpilled in a foreign quarrel.

If the hereditary prince had not ſome further views in this expedition, his conduct was not a little unaccountable. He ſeems not to have been ſufficiently apprized of the ſtrength of *Weſel*, the reduction of which he might reaſonably have deſpaired of, after the ſwelling of the waters and the appearance of a *French* army in the field; and yet he ventured a bloody engagement before he had ſecured his repaſſage over the *Rhine*, which, however, he effected without any impediment from the victorious *French* army which lay in ſight, and which was daunted by the remembrance of the *Engliſh* valour. His expedition was fatal, not only by the loſs of the men who were killed, but of thoſe who died of diſeaſes contracted in that damp country and ſevere ſeaſon. Upon the return of the hereditary prince to *Weſtphalia*, an attempt was made upon *Gottingen*, which had been blockaded by the allies, from the 22d of *November* to the 12th of the following month. The *French* repulſed them, and the blockade was raiſed, and never did an army go into more uncomfortable winter quarters than the *Engliſh* did this year into theirs at *Paderborn*, one of the moſt exhauſted diſtricts in *Germany*. This ſcarcity rendered the ſoldiers miſerable, and their officers a prey to *Jewiſh* and other contractors, who raiſed immenſe fortunes from their diſtreſſes. Prince *Ferdinand*'s quarters were far leſs uncomfortable, as he lay in a more plentiful country, and was befriended by the natives; while thoſe of the *French* were more plentifully ſupplied than any they could have enjoyed in their own country, even in time of peace.

Diſmal ſtate of the allied army.

In the mean while, on the 25th of *October*, 1760, *George* II. the great ſupport of the liberties of *Germany* and the foreign ſyſtem in *England*, died, juſt at the time when the body of his people began to be exceſſively uneaſy at the ineffectual progreſs of the continental war in which they were engaged. Their diſcontents reached the throne of his grandſon and ſucceſſor,

Death of *George* II.

ſucceſſor, who was reſolved upon a ſafe and honourable peace; but he declared that he would continue the war till that could be obtained, and he expreſſed himſelf in thoſe terms to his parliament. Prince *Ferdinand* was ſenſible of his own ſituation, and the neceſſity of acting with vigour, ſo as to give him an *eclat* in *England*. He was in a condition as comfortleſs as that of the king of *Pruſſia* had been during the preceding campaign, and he affected to follow his example by ſtriking a bold and unexpected blow to relieve himſelf. The *French* continued to be in poſſeſſion of all *Heſſe*, where they had amaſſed great magazines, and erected ſeveral additional fortified poſts. On the *Lower Rhine* they maintained a conſiderable force; they had the town of *Gottingen* ſtrongly garriſoned on their right, and free acceſs to the electorate of *Hanover*. In this ſituation, (ſhould they preſerve it) it was probable that next campaign they might incloſe the whole of the allied army.

Prince *Ferdinand* takes the field in *February*.

Prince *Ferdinand* ſaw his *Britiſh* troops ſilently ſuffering as much by the famine and diſeaſes they were forced to encounter in uncomfortable quarters, as they could do by a bold ſtroke, however unfortunate. All of a ſudden, he ordered his troops to rendezvous on the *Dymel*, the *Rhume*, and in *Saverland*. The whole of his army was drawn up in three diviſions; one was commanded by the hereditary prince and the marquis of *Granby*, and formed the right; the left, under general *Sporcken*, advanced towards *Thuringia*; and the commander in chief headed the center, which penetrated into *Heſſe*, and advanced towards *Caſſel*. This diſpoſition, if it had any meaning but that of giving food to the troops, was to break off the communication of the *French* with the army of the empire and their garriſon at *Gottingen*, and to open a communication between the allied army and his *Pruſſian* majeſty. But the whole of thoſe ſpecious operations were rather alarming than ſolid. The *French* redoubled their garriſons in *Caſſel* and *Gottingen*, which they knew the allies, whatever progreſs they ſhould make, muſt be obliged to leave behind them. They likewiſe ſtrengthened thoſe of *Fritzlar*, *Ziegenhagen*, and *Marpurg*, which was again in their poſſeſſion. The hereditary prince was repulſed with conſiderable loſs before *Fritzlar*. *Breidenbach*, a *Hanoverian* general, had the ſame fate before *Marpurg*, but loſt his life in the attempt. On the 15th of *February*, more artillery being brought againſt *Fritzlar*, it ſurrendered; and the marquis of *Granby*, with great courage and conduct, after reducing all the troubleſome forts and poſts in the neighbourhood, puſhed on at the head of the *Britiſh* cavalry with ſo much rapidity, that the *French* had not even time to burn their magazines, and retired, or rather fled, almoſt to the *Maine*. By their flight the allies ſeized five capital magazines, one of which contained 80,000 ſacks of meal, 50,000 of oats, and a million of rations of hay.

Loſſes of the *French*.

This

This ſucceſs, which the *German* commander in chief of the allies had no right to expect, kept their men as well as horſes alive. In the mean while, general *Sporcken* on the left diviſion of the allies, was equally ſucceſsful on the ſide of *Saxony*, where, being joined by a body of *Pruſſians*, he diſlodged the *French* from the *Werra* and the *Umſturt*, and drove them to *Bamberg*. The count of *Vaux*, governor of *Gottingen*, cut off his retreat with a ſtrong detachment of that garriſon, and obliged him to rejoin the main army under prince *Ferdinand*, who by this time had formed the ſiege of *Caſſel*, which was left to the direction of the count of *Lippe Schaumberg*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his management of the allied artillery at the battle of *Minden*. The blockades of *Marpurg* and *Ziegenhagen* were formed, as was a chain of cantonments from the *Lahn* to the *Ohm*, and from the *Ohm* to the *Fulda*, while he himſelf watched the motions of *Broglio*'s army, which had retired towards *Franckfort*. All thoſe diſpoſitions plainly diſcovered that it was not yet time to put an end to the *German* war. The two fortreſſes were behind the allies, *Broglio*'s army was in their front, and *Caſſel* on their flank. Inſtead of cantoning out his army into broken detachments, had the *German* general collected it and defeated *Broglio*, *Caſſel* and the two forts muſt have ſurrendered of courſe; but his numbers were inſufficient, had they been greater than they were, for ſuch a variety of operations, and his army, by being divided, became weak. The conduct of *Broglio* was very different; he called in all his troops from the moſt diſtant poſts, and ſuffered the allies to diſſipate their force in ſpecious but uſeleſs operations. Perceiving that, according to the manner of *Ferdinand*'s carrying on war, the hereditary prince was lying near *Grunberg*, at the village of *Strangerode*, with nine regiments of *Hanoverians*, *Heſſians*, and *Brunſwickers*, baron *Cloſen*, a *French* general, attacked and totally routed them at the very firſt onſet, and took 2,000 priſoners, 8 pieces of cannon, and 18 pair of colours; a convincing proof how deſpicable *German* courage was, when unſupported by the *Engliſh*. This ſingle blow overthrew all the promiſing ſchemes of the allies. They withdrew the blockade of *Ziegenhagen*; they raiſed the ſiege of *Caſſel*, and at laſt they evacuated all *Heſſe* by retiring once more behind the *Dymel*. It fortunately happened for the army of the allies that *Soubiſe*, who had an army on the *Lower Rhine*, envied and hated *Broglio*, and refuſed to join him in any meaſure that might decide the fate of the war, even in favour of the *French*; and in this he was privately ſupported by his maſter's miniſters. This conduct correſponded exactly with the views of the allied army's general, who having now procured ſome victuals for his army, remained upon the defenſive at a time when he ought to have been moſt active, while the *French* were buſied in recruiting their magazines.

The allies beſiege *Caſſel*.

Diſagreement between the *French* generals.

The

**The ſtate of the war altered.**

The negociations for peace were now opened at *London*, and the complexion of the *German* war was entirely altered. His *Britannic* majeſty ſeemed, to the great diſappointment and confuſion of the *French*, to have no predilection for *Hanover*, and to make the intereſts of *Great Britain* his capital object. The *French* ſaw, that ſhould they get poſſeſſion of that whole electorate, it would, in a negociation, procure them no abatement of the terms demanded and expected by the people of *England*. A more vigorous exertion of their arms might, however, have that effect. The ſafety or deſtruction of a *Britiſh* army were intereſting conſiderations, and the total defeat of the allies would enable the *French* to aſſiſt the empreſs queen in giving the finiſhing blow to the king of *Pruſſia*'s ruin. *Soubiſe* therefore had orders to put his army in motion, and this occaſioned various ſkirmiſhes between his detached parties and thoſe under the hereditary prince. *Broglio*, at the ſame time, put his troops in motion, and advancing towards the *Dymel* he beat general *Sporcken*, who was poſted with a ſtrong detachment in the front of the allied army to diſpute his paſſage over that river. On this occaſion, a conſiderable number of the allies were killed, 800 were made priſoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 400 horſes, and above 170 waggons were taken by the *French*, who immediately paſſed the *Dymel* and ſeized *Warburg*, *Dringleburg*, and *Paderborn*; ſo that on the 2d of *July* prince *Ferdinand* was obliged to fall back upon the *Lippe*, and take poſt between *Hamme* and *Lipſtadt*. This ſituation was very convenient for cutting off *Soubiſe*'s communication with the *Rhine*, and the detachments of the allies obtained many, and ſome not inconſiderable advantages over thoſe of the *French*.

**Advantages gained by the *French*.**

**Battle of *Kirch-Denkern*,**

It was in *Broglio*'s power, at this period of the war, to have over-run the electorate of *Hanover*, but that was no longer the object of the *French* court, and *Soubiſe* was ordered by all means to join him, and both of them to hazard a general battle. This reſolution was forwarded by the daily advantages which the allied troops under the hereditary prince and general *Luckner* continued to gain, even in the neighbourhood of *Caſſel*. The junction between *Soubiſe* and *Broglio* was effected at a place called *Soeſt*, in the neighbourhood of the allied army, and prince *Ferdinand* altered his diſpoſitions accordingly. He ſecured his communication between *Lipſtadt* and *Hamme*, and his left wing was poſted between the *Lippe* and the *Aaſt*. The body of the army occupied the height of *Wambeln*, and the prince of *Anhalt* the ground between *Illengen* and *Hohenover*. Lord *Granby* kept his poſition upon the heights of *Kirch-Denkern*, and lieutenant-general *Wutgenau*, who was encamped upon the heath of *Untrup*, marched by his right to approach the village of *Kirch-Denkern*, while piquets guarded all the avenues and poſts on the rivers *Aaſt* and *Sultzbach*. On the 15th of *July* the *French* made a ſtrong attack upon the marquis of *Granby*'s out-

out-posts, and drove them back upon his camp, where a moſt obſtinate diſpute was maintained with great gallantry by the *Britiſh* troops. The *German* general ordered the marquis to maintain his poſt to the laſt, till he could be ſupported by general *Wutgenau* from the left. An inceſſant firing was kept up on both ſides till it was dark, and then the *French* retired precipitately into the woods. won by the allies.

Next morning the battle recommenced, and the chief attack of the *French*, which was commanded by *Broglio*, was made againſt *Wutgenau*'s corps, and an inceſſant firing laſted for five hours, without either ſide gaining the leaſt advantage. About nine, the allied general was informed that the *French* were making diſpoſitions for erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the marquis of *Granby*'s camp; upon which he ordered the troops under *Sporcken* to advance and join another body which was neareſt at hand. This diviſion attacked the *French*, who immediately fell into diſorder, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving their dead and wounded, and ſeveral pieces of cannon, ſome of them ſixteen pounders. *Maxwell*'s ſingle battalion made priſoners of the whole regiment of *Rouge*, and the enemy was purſued as far as *Haltrup*, where the nature of the ground diſabled the allied cavalry from acting. This battle is called by the *French* that of *Felinghauſen*, and by the allies that of *Kirch-Denkern*. In it the *French* loſt about 5000 men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners. The loſs of the allies amounted only to 300 killed, 1,000 wounded, and 200 taken priſoners. Its conſequences.

Though in this action the allies were indiſputably victors, yet *Broglio*'s defeat did not take from him the glory of being the beſt general in the *French* ſervice. He was hated by the miſtreſs, becauſe his merit had given him his advancement, and he was both diſliked and envied by *Soubiſe*, who knew he would be ſupported at his court. *Broglio* complained that *Soubiſe* was too tardy, and *Soubiſe* that *Broglio* was too haſty in marching up to the attack. After the battle their armies parted, that of *Broglio* moved towards *Caſſel*, that of *Soubiſe* towards the *Roer*, whilſt each filled the court of *Verſailles* with manifeſtos and recriminations, in juſtification of his own conduct.

The allies, as uſual, found themſelves in a worſe ſituation after their victory than before. The *French* ſoon repaired their loſs, and *Soubiſe* receiving a great recruit of forage and proviſions, repaſſed the *Roer* and the *Lippe*, and pointed his march towards *Munſter*, while *Broglio*'s army, all of a ſudden, paſſed the *Weſer*, with a ſeeming intention to ſeize upon *Hanover*, which, however, was far from his thoughts. *Soubiſe* was more in earneſt about beſieging *Munſter*, and prince *Ferdinand* ſent one diviſion of his army to cover *Munſter*, and with the other he himſelf obſerved the motions of *Broglio*; though by uniting his whole army and attacking either of them, both muſt have been deſtroyed. *Soubiſe*, as well as

Skirmiſhes, in which prince *Henry* of *Brunſwic* is killed.

*Broglio*, was apprehenſive of this, and cautiouſly avoided a battle; upon which the partizan war recommenced, in which the allies had generally the advantage, but they loſt in one of thoſe ineffectual ſkirmiſhes, young prince *Henry* of *Brunſwic*, whoſe early courage and virtues rendered him worthy of having the hereditary prince for his elder brother. Upon *Broglio*'s paſſing the *Weſer*, prince *Ferdinand* made a motion towards *Caſſel*, and the hereditary prince, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, obliged the garriſon of *Dorſten* to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; upon which *Soubiſe* laid aſide all farther thoughts of beſieging *Munſter*. Upon *Ferdinand*'s march into *Heſſe*, *Broglio* again paſſed the *Weſer*, and encamping near *Eimbeck*, laid all the neighbouring country under contribution. The numerous indeciſive operations that filled up the reſt of the campaign we ſhall omit, and confine ourſelves to the capital.

Progreſs of the *French* arms

*Broglio* penetrated into the *Hartz*, where he took and demoliſhed the ſtrong caſtle of *Scharfelts*, and laid a vaſt tract of the neighbouring country under contribution. Prince *Xavier* of *Saxony* appeared with a detachment before *Wolfenbuttel*, which is ſtrongly ſituated; but its houſes being moſtly built of wood, a ſhower of hot bullets ſoon compelled the inhabitants to ſurrender it. Prince *Xavier* then continued his march to *Brunſwic*, the capital of that dukedom, and the reigning duke, who was now conſidered as a party in the war, fled to *Hamburgh*, where he met the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and ſeveral other princes who were in the like undeſirable circumſtances. The danger of *Brunſwic*, and the progreſs of the *French* to the eaſt of the *Aller*, alarmed prince *Ferdinand* to the laſt degree, and he was obliged to ſend the hereditary prince to its relief with all the troops he could muſter. His activity was ſuch, that he forced the *French* to raiſe the ſiege, and likewiſe to evacuate *Wolfenbuttel*, with no inconſiderable loſs both of men and artillery.

in *Weſtphalia*,

Without detracting from the merit of the allied general, we cannot help thinking that he was deſtitute of one great qualification of a commander, and which *Broglio* ſeems eminently to have poſſeſſed, that of being able to form an original plan of operations that was not to be diſconcerted by any little accident. His whole care in the campaigns he made conſiſted in inventing expedients rather for retrieving, than preventing, his loſſes. The moment the hereditary prince evacuated *Heſſe*, *Soubiſe* ravaged *Weſtphalia* in a manner that ſeemed to proceed rather from his orders than his inclination. His troops took *Oſnaburg*, and becauſe the exorbitant

where they take *Oſnaburg*,

ranſom they required was not immediately paid, they plundered that wealthy city. The marquis *de Conflans*, a *French* officer, appeared with a party before the important town of *Embden* in *Eaſt Friſland*, which was garriſoned by no more than 200 *Britiſh* invalids, who would have defended it, but it was given up at the requeſt of its puſillanimous inhabi-

tants, upon an honourable capitulation, which was infamouſly broken, and both the town and its territory were laid under ſevere contributions. A third detachment from *Soubiſe*'s army made an attempt to ſeize upon *Bremen*, after having reduced *Meppen* upon the *Ems*, and making the garriſon of 500 men priſoners of war on the 3d of *October*.

The taking of *Bremen* muſt abſolutely have ruined the army of the allies, at leaſt the *Britiſh* part of it, who depended for the whole of their ſubſiſtence from the *Weſer*. The conduct of *Soubiſe* in not more vigorouſly ſupporting this attempt, can only be accounted for by his hopes that the place would be ſurprized, without his being obliged to run any conſiderable hazard in beſieging it. His troops had almoſt ſucceeded, but the inhabitants joined the garriſon, which was but weak, and repelled the *French*, whom they deteſted. After this repulſe, *Bremen* was ſtrongly reinforced, and guarded againſt any ſucceeding dangers of that kind. *Broglio* remained all this while inactive at *Eimbeck*, but in the beginning of *November* prince *Ferdinand* laid a plan for attacking him, in the execution of which the marquis of *Granby* was to have a great ſhare. That gallant general, accordingly, forced the enemy's poſts at *Cappelnhagen*, in order to intercept a large detachment of *French* under *Chabot*, but through the failure of the *German* general *Hardenberg*, the deſign miſcarried. Soon after this, both armies went into winter quarters, that of the *French* in *Caſſel*, *Duſſeldorp*, and along the *Lower Rhine*. The quarters of the *Britiſh* cavalry were in *Eaſt Frieſland*; thoſe of the infantry in the biſhopric of *Oſnaburg*; and thoſe of the other allies at *Hildeſheim*, *Munſter*, *Hamelen*, and *Eimbeck*. We are now to turn our attention towards *Saxony* and *Sileſia*.

but fail in their deſign upon *Bremen*.

The war in thoſe parts this year was as languid as in the preceding it had been furious. Perhaps, the pacific ſentiments of the *Britiſh* miniſtry contributed to this inactivity. Prince *Henry*'s army was intrenched under *Leipſic*, that of *Daun* near *Dreſden*, while his *Pruſſian* majeſty held a ſtrong camp near *Schweidnitz* in the *Upper Sileſia*. In this ſituation, neither party either gained or loſt any advantage, but his *Pruſſian* majeſty had not troops to ſupply every department of the war he was engaged in. The *Ruſſian* army had been reinforced; one diviſion of it, under *Tottleben*, entered *Pomerania*, and another under *Butterlin* advanced towards *Breſlau*, expecting to be joined by *Laudohn*. *Upper Sileſia* was laid under ſevere contributions by the *Ruſſians*, who cannonaded *Breſlau*, while the active *Laudohn* endeavoured, but in vain, to draw the king from his advantageous poſition. That monarch was the moſt ſecure on the quarter where the ſtorm of war fell the moſt heavy upon him. He thought himſelf ſafe with regard to *Tottleben*'s operations, but *Tottleben*, upon a ſuſpicion of his court that he was in a ſecret correſpondence with his majeſty, was removed from his command, which was filled by general *Romanzow*. Some pecuniary conſiderations of the

Inactive campaign in *Sileſia* and *Saxony*.

ſame

same kind were offered to *Laudohn*, but he rejected them.

*Colberg* again besieged.

A *Russian* fleet now blockaded *Colberg* by sea, and *Romanzow* besieged it by land. The prince of *Wirtemberg* lay with a body of 7,000 men under its fortifications, which had been greatly encreased. His *Prussian* majesty having now lost all dependence upon his pecuniary influence, employed general *Platen* to destroy all the *Russian* magazines that supplied their army in *Silesia*, which he accordingly did with remarkable success, and he pursued his march into *Pomerania*. Upon this, on the 25th of *August*, the *Russians* relinquished their designs upon *Breslau*, and retired into *Poland*, that they might, if possible, secure the means of their future subsistence. *Butterlin* knowing that this could be best done by their taking *Colberg*, struck into *Pomerania*, destroyed the *Marche* of *Brandenburg* and took possession of *Landsperg*, while his *Prussian* majesty, to avert this fresh blow, sent general *Knoblock* to support *Platen*.

In the mean while, his *Prussian* majesty perceiving that provisions must soon fail him in his strong camp near *Schweidnitz*, removed towards the *Oder*, and ordered 4,000 of the garrison of *Schweidnitz* to replace the detachments he had

*Schweidnitz* taken by the *Austrians*,

sent off. *Laudohn* rapidly seized the opportunity, and by a masterly *coup de main*, made himself master of *Schweidnitz*, where he made general *Zastrow* and 3,000 of his garrison prisoners, with the loss only of 600 men, most of whom had been buried in a powder magazine blown up within the place during the heat of the attack. This severe blow was the more deeply felt by *Frederic* as he did not expect it, and despised all the means of preventing it. He bore it, however, with an astonishing composure, and his letter to *Zastrow* on the occasion is worthy of being transmitted to posterity; it was as follows: "We may now say what *Francis* I. of *France* "wrote to his mother after the battle of *Pavia*, *We have lost* "*all except our honour*. As I cannot comprehend what hath "happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment. The thing is "very extraordinary."

and *Colberg* by the *Russians*.

*Colberg* continued to make a most obstinate defence under the brave *Heydon*, but at last was reduced to such extremity that *Platen* quitted the prince of *Wirtemburg* to join *Knoblock*, but was defeated by *Romanzow* in the attempt, and obliged to fly to *Stetin*; while *Knoblock*, who remained in the defenceless town of *Treplow*, was obliged to surrender himself and his detachment of 2,000 men prisoners of war. *Colberg*, through those defeats, was rendered incapable of receiving any further supplies, and its case became so desperate, that the prince of *Wirtemburg* cut his way through the *Russian* army, and left *Heydon* to obtain the best capitulation he could for his garrison and the inhabitants. On the 16th of *December*, *Colberg*, after a siege of six months, being now hopeless of all relief and destitute of provision, submitted to necessity, and *Heydon* and his garrison were made prisoners

of war. The *Ruſſians*, by taking this place, became maſters of the *Baltic*, and a port that freed them from their dependence upon precarious ſupplies from *Poland*. *Stetin* alone ſtood in their way for becoming maſters of all *Brandenburgh*, and for the firſt time they took up their winter quarters in *Pomerania*.

Death of the empreſs of *Ruſſia*.

Hitherto his *Pruſſian* majeſty had been delivered, under providence, by the amazing efforts of his own genius and ſagacity; but now that he was abandoned by all human means of retrieving his affairs, the immediate hand of heaven interpoſed for his deliverance, by the death of his moſt inveterate enemy the empreſs of *Ruſſia*. Before we cloſe this part of his hiſtory, we are to obſerve that while the *Auſtrians* were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Schweidnitz*, a ſcheme had been formed by the baron *de Warkotch*, a *Sileſian* nobleman, and one *Schmidt*, a prieſt, for ſeizing his perſon and delivering him up to the *Auſtrians*. The plot is ſaid to have been diſcovered by one of the baron's domeſtics, who ſuſpecting the contents of a letter he was charged with from his maſter to the prieſt, carried it to his *Pruſſian* majeſty. All we can ſay with regard to the reality of this conſpiracy, is, that *Frederic* affected to treat it as a reality. Both the baron and the prieſt eſcaped, but the king never could be prevailed on to pardon the former. As the public never has been acquainted with any particulars of this pretended plot, they are at liberty to treat it as one of thoſe little ſtratagems invented by one court to blacken another.

Conſpiracy againſt his *Pruſſian* majeſty.

Good correſpondence between the king of *Pruſſia* and the emperor of *Ruſſia*.

His *Pruſſian* majeſty did not at firſt feel the effects of the empreſs of *Ruſſia*'s death, which happened on *January* the 2d, 1762; and the court of *Vienna* was extremely aſſiduous in giving out that her ſucceſſor, *Peter* III. would unvariably adhere to her plan and engagements. All *Europe* was for ſome time in ſuſpence about the part he would act. By the poſſeſſion of *Colberg*, and the other advantages, which his ſubjects had gained in the late war, it was plain that in a few years he would have had it in his power to have given laws in *Germany*, in caſe of any differences between the houſe of *Auſtria* and that complicated body. But on the other hand, this might have involved him in perpetual quarrels with the other powers of *Europe*, ſo that it would have been impoſſible for him to have accompliſhed any farther regulations in the internal ſtate of the empire, which, it is ſaid, he moſt ardently wiſhed for. Perhaps, the treatment he had received during the reign of his predeceſſor, and the very high opinion he entertained of his *Pruſſian* majeſty, contributed to determine him as to his future conduct. The flattering ſcenes, however, of ambition that lay before him, afforded no very comfortable proſpect, even for his *Pruſſian* majeſty, as appears by an extract of a letter which he ſent to a *Britiſh* miniſter. But the reader, to underſtand it, muſt obſerve that his *Ruſſian* majeſty had the order of the Black Eagle, of which the king of *Pruſſia* is

grand maſter. "Is not this (ſaid *Frederic*, with his uſual pleaſantry) a very extraordinary knight to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the Garter did the ſame, your *England* (*England* though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him it is againſt the inſtitutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand maſter."

Pacific diſpoſition of the latter,

*Frederic* was deceived in his apprehenſions, if ever he entertained any. On the 23d of *February*, the emperor of *Ruſſia* declared, in a memorial delivered to the foreign miniſters at his court, "That in order to the eſtabliſhment of peace, he was ready to ſacrifice all the conqueſts made by the arms of *Ruſſia* in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will on their parts equally prefer the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war; but which they cannot obtain but by a continuance of the effuſion of human blood."

who joins with the king of *Pruſſia*.

Though this declaration ſufficiently intimated his intentions to deſiſt at any rate from being farther his *Pruſſian* majeſty's enemy, yet it was ſuch as his allies could find no fault with, as he was the only belligerent potentate who ſacrificed his own intereſts to peace. All he did, in the mean while, was to ſend an order to his generals to undertake no new enterprize againſt his *Pruſſian* majeſty without farther orders. At the ſame time, he communicated to *Frederic* the news of the death of the late empreſs, and his own acceſſion; with certain private intelligence, that immediately induced *Frederic* not only to ſend him compliments of congratulation, but to ſet at liberty all his *Ruſſian* priſoners without ranſom. *Czernichew* was then ordered to evacuate *Sileſia* with his army, and this was followed by an armiſtice, ſettled between the *Ruſſian* and *Pruſſian* troops in *Pomerania*. The treaty of peace between *France* and *Great Britain* was at this time ſo far advanced, that the *Swedes*, fearing to be abandoned at once by *France* and *Ruſſia*, concluded an armiſtice likewiſe; but his *Pruſſian* majeſty did not loſe a moment in improving this reſpite from the diſmal calamities that but a few days before had threatened him. His generals, *Platen* and *Wunch*, who lay at *Leipſic*, put their troops in motion, and not only obliged the *Saxons* to abandon *Eiſenach*, but the army of the empire to quit their quarters at *Naumbourg*, *Zeitz*, *Altemberg*, and *Gera*. To balance thoſe advantages, it was given out that the *Auſtrian* general *Reidt*, had obtained ſome advantages over the *Pruſſians* in the other parts of *Saxony*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty affected great moderation in all thoſe favourable events, and accepted the offer of mediation made by the emperor *Peter* III. by offering terms to the court of *Vienna*.

The empreſs-queen, whoſe ſpirit was always at variance with her fortune, not only rejected thoſe terms with the utmoſt contempt, but as if ſhe had been indifferent about the

defection of *Ruſſia*, ſhe iſſued orders for adding 30,000 men to her armies. *Daun* was ſo much diſguſted with her obſtinacy, and at the perpetual reproaches ſhe had thrown out againſt him for his ſlowneſs, that he begged leave to reſign his command; which even *Laudohn* now refuſed to accept of. The empreſs-queen in conjunction with the *French*, made freſh efforts at the court of *Peterſburg* to recover that emperor to her alliance. This application was ſo far from having any effect, that he required her not only to give over all thoughts of recovering *Sileſia*, but to yield up *Schweidnitz* and the county of *Glatz*, and that the *French* and *Swedes* ſhould likewiſe reſign all their *Pruſſian* acquiſitions. To give the greater weight to this requiſition, orders were ſent to the *Ruſſian* generals to co-operate with thoſe of *Pruſſia*, if neceſſary to recover *Sileſia*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty, without this active operation, muſt ſtill have been inferior to the *Auſtrians* who were then threatening *Glogau* and *Breſlau*. On the other hand, as the weight of the *Ruſſian* arms were now added to thoſe of *Pruſſia*, prince *Henry*, about the 12th of *May*, 1762, obliged the *Imperialiſts*, with ſome loſs, to evacuate *Diepoldſwald*, and made about 4000 priſoners, beſides taking 365 waggons. The *Auſtrians* now experienced the diſadvantages they were under by the defection of the *Ruſſians*. All that his *Pruſſian* majeſty held in *Saxony*, was ſecured to his poſſeſſion, and after he was joined by his *Ruſſian* allies, marſhal *Daun* thought proper to fall back upon the extremities of *Sileſia*, while the *Pruſſians* and *Ruſſians* laid even a great part of *Bohemia* under contribution.

Imprudence of the empreſs-queen.

Prince *Henry* beats the *Auſtrians*.

It does not fall within this head of our hiſtory to recount the particulars of the great revolution, which coſt the czar *Peter* III. his empire and his life, and raiſed his wife to that throne. Whatever irregularities of conduct he may be taxed with in domeſtic affairs, it ſeems to be pretty certain, that his ſyſtem with regard to *Germany* was wiſe and ſolid, and every branch of it was adopted by his empreſs-ſucceſſor. Though his partiality for his *Pruſſian* majeſty was one of the moſt impopular ſteps of his reign, yet ſhe ordered pacific declarations towards *Pruſſia* to be made by her miniſters; nor did ſhe recall her troops till his *Pruſſian* majeſty was out of all danger of being overwhelmed by his enemies. It was on the 21ſt of *July*, that the orders for the ſeparation were emitted, but before it happened, his *Pruſſian* majeſty drove *Daun* from the heights of *Buckerſdorff* with very conſiderable loſs, and thereby cut him off from all communication with *Schweidnitz*, which *Frederic* immediately beſieged. *Laudohn* attempted to relieve the place, but was beat by the prince of *Bevern*; nor ſhall we break the narrative of his *Pruſſian* majeſty's affairs till he enters upon a definitive treaty with the empreſs-queen.

Revolution in *Ruſſia*.

*Frederic* in perſon carried on the ſiege of *Schweidnitz*, while his brother prince *Henry* acted upon the defenſive in *Saxony*.

Irruption of the *Pruſſians* into the empire.

The place was defended with great ſkill and courage, but though garriſoned by 8000, they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, and almoſt all of them were drowned in the mouth of the *Oder*, in repairing to their quarters of confinement. His *Pruſſian* majeſty was now at liberty to ſuccour his brother prince *Henry*, who was ſo hard preſſed by the *Auſtrians* in *Saxony*, that he was driven back to *Freyberg*. On the 29th of *October*, he attacked the *Auſtrians*, over whom he obtained deciſive advantages, for beſides a great number that were ſlain, he took about 6000 priſoners, of whom 240 were officers. After this a ceſſation of arms was concluded between the *Auſtrians* and the *Pruſſians*, for *Silcſia* and *Saxony*, which gave the *Pruſſians* an opportunity of ravaging *Bohemia* to the very gates of *Prague*, laying *Egra* in aſhes, and penetrating through *Franconia* into *Suabia*. This is one of the moſt remarkable periods in the war, and indeed it can ſcarcely be accounted for, how the court of *Vienna* could be prevailed upon, by a partial armiſtice, to expoſe its own dominions and that of its allies to deſtruction. The truth is, the princes of the empire were now tired of the war. The negotiations of peace that were going forward at *London*, and the pacific complexion of his *Britannic* majeſty, left them nothing to apprehend on the part of the houſe of *Hanover*, of which they had been always ſecretly jealous, for one plain reaſon, becauſe they ſaw that elector ſupported by the arms and riches of *Great Britain*. This apprehenſion being removed, they were as unwilling to aggrandize the houſe of *Auſtria* as that of *Brandenburgh*, and each prince gave intimation to the court of *Vienna*, that it was now high time to cloſe the ſcene of war. The diet at *Ratiſbon*, upon the irruption of the *Pruſſians*, was preparing to break up, and the thriving city of *Nuremberg*, which had been long enboſomed in peace, was laid under a contribution which fell nothing ſhort of 200,000 l. ſterling, and which it was obliged to pay. In ſhort it was thought, that by this irruption, his *Pruſſian* majeſty indemnified himſelf for the loſs of the vaſt ſubſidy he had received from *Great Britain*.

The treaty of *Hubertſburg*.

After what has been ſaid, the reader may eaſily comprehend the reaſons that determined the court of *Vienna* to liſten to terms of accommodation, to which his *Pruſſian* majeſty was by no means averſe, provided he was ſecured in his favourite view, the poſſeſſion of *Sileſia*. Both courts were ſoured at the conduct of their allies. His *Pruſſian* majeſty beheld with indignation, the wiſe but pacific diſpoſitions of his *Britannic* majeſty. The *Imperial* miniſtry were diſſatisfied with *France* having made a ſeparate peace with *Great Britain*, and continuing their reſentment, the event of certain conferences that had been opened at *Hubertſburg* was a peace.

Its terms.

By this peace, each party was put in the ſame ſituation it held at the beginning of the war. His *Pruſſian* majeſty remained the poſſeſſor of *Sileſia*, in the moſt ample extent, and applied himſelf

to

to cultivate the arts of peace, with equal abilities, but with more true glory, than he had done thoſe of war. He diſtributed lands to his diſbanded ſoldiers; he gave them his artillery horſes for their cultivation; he inſtituted courts of martial enquiries, for the puniſhment of his officers who had been deficient in their duty, and he rewarded thoſe who behaved well. The court of *Vienna* obſerved the ſame conduct; and it is probable, that as long as the court of *Hanover* ſhall remain a diſtinct body from that of *London*, the tranquillity of *Germany* will be laſting.

The *French* defeated at *Graebenſtein*.

All this while the peace between *Great Britain* and *France* was rather expected than concluded, and their armies in *Germany*, for that very reaſon, ſeemed to redouble their animoſities with each other. *Broglio*, though an excellent general, continued ſtill to be diſagreeable to the *French* king's miſtreſs, and being removed from his command, he was ſucceeded by the prince *de Soubiſe*, and the marſhal *D'Etrees*, while the prince of *Conde* commanded a ſeparate army on the *Lower Rhine*. An impartial reader cannot but ſuſpect that a ſpirit of diſcontent, rather than any regard for their king's ſervice, now poſſeſſed the *French* generals, *Broglio* in particular, who made no advantage of his ſuperiority of numbers. The hereditary prince lay in the biſhopric of *Munſter* with one part of the allied army, another lay behind the *Dymel* under prince *Ferdinand*. The *French* camp under *Soubiſe*, lay near a place called *Graebenſtein*, and was extremely well poſted, while *de Caſtries* commanded a ſeparate detachment. On the 24th of *June*, prince *Ferdinand* made four different attacks upon them in their camp; one was made under general *Luckner*, another under general *Sporcken*; prince *Ferdinand* himſelf commanded the third, and the fourth was led up by the marquis of *Granby*. Thoſe attacks were made with ſuch ſucceſs, that the whole of the *French* army muſt have been deſtroyed, had it not been for Monſ. *Stainville*, one of their generals, who, at the head of a body of infantry, which all, but two battalions, was cut in pieces, made a ſtand in a wood and favoured the retreat of the cavalry, and the reſt of their army, under the cannon of *Caſſel* on the other ſide of the *Fulda*. The body under *Caſtries* eſcaped with little loſs. In this battle, lord *Granby* acquired great honour. Two thouſand five hundred and ſeventy of the *French*, beſides 162 officers, were taken priſoners; the number of killed is not known. It is certain that the army of the allies did not loſe above 300, but thoſe were *Britons*. The *German* general and his countrymen were by no means ſatisfied with the advances that had been made towards a peace; and ſome of the *Britiſh* officers were at this time treated with a degree of ſeverity, that, had the war been expected to laſt, muſt have been conſidered as impolitic.

Though the *French* endeavoured to palliate their diſgrace at *Graebenſtein*, yet they felt it ſeverely. A detachment of the

Bloody dispute at *Annæneberg*.

*English*, under the marquis of *Granby* and lord *Frederic Cavendish*, pushed forward, till, on the 6th of *July*, they found themselves 30 miles behind their enemies, whose communication with *Frankfort* they cut off, and defeated a large body of them, under M. *de Rochambeau*, at *Hamburg*. In short, the allies took possession of the most considerable parts of *South Hesse*, and drove their enemies from *Fritzlar*, *Feltzberg*, and *Lohr*. Towards the north of *Hesse*, they cut off the communication of prince *Xavier*, who was obliged to join the main army from *Gottingen*, which was evacuated on the 16th of *August*. The allies, however, passed the *Fulda* and defeated them, but their retreat was favoured by *Stainville*. Upon this occasion 1100 of the *French* were taken prisoners. They were every where overpowered, and the prince of *Conde* was obliged to make forced marches from the *Lower Rhine* to their assistance. The construction which the public put upon this renewed vigour of the allied general, was, that he wanted to shew how soon he could finish the war if he was in earnest. *Cassel* was uncovered, and the hereditary prince, with the detachment under his command, hung upon the prince of *Conde*'s rear. On the 30th of *August*, he charged them at *Johannisberg*. At first, he drove them from the heights into the plain, but being reinforced from their main army, the prince was dangerously wounded in the hip-bone, and defeated with the loss of 3000 men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Prince *Ferdinand* did all he could to retrieve this loss, and prepared to besiege *Cassel*. While he was making dispositions for covering the siege, the *French* advanced towards *Marpurg*, but on the 26th of *September*, they were so critically attacked by the allies, that they were forced to repass the *Lahn*, with loss and precipitation. The preparations for the siege of *Cassel* then went on, and were productive of many skirmishes, particularly one at *Annæneberg*, in the night between the 20th and 21st of *October*. This was a post of some importance, as it commanded a bridge over the *Ohme*, one end of which terminated in a redoubt, which was possessed by the allies, and the other in a mill, held by the *French*. The peace at this time was known to be as good as concluded, and the dispute that happened at this bridge seemed to be a trial of skill, whether *Britons* or *Frenchmen* could endure being butchered with the greater steadiness. The *French*, at first, endeavoured to dislodge the *English* from the redoubt. The number of each in the beginning of the action was inconsiderable. The marquis of *Granby* could not avoid reinforcing the *English* post, in proportion as the *French* did that of the mill. At last 25 heavy cannon were brought up on each side, and fired at the distance of 300 paces, as their musketry did at that of 30. This desperate firing lasted for 15 hours without intermission; but the *French* carried the post of *Annæneberg*, though with vast loss, that of the allies amounting to near 1000 men.

This

This was the laſt, and the moſt bloody action in the war; *Caſſel* ſurrendered on the 1ſt of *November*, and on the 15th the preliminaries of peace were ſigned. Among other advantages attained by the empreſs-queen by the treaty of *Hubertſburg*, was a ſecret article, by which his majeſty conſented to the election of her eldeſt ſon, the archduke *Joſeph*, to be king of the *Romans*, which election accordingly took place, and upon the death of his wife, a princeſs of *Parma*, he has been ſince married to a princeſs of *Bavaria*.

Concluſion of the campaign and the *Pruſſian* war.

# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

THE ſituation, manners, and character of the people who inhabit this hard earned ſpot of independency, are much better known to the public than their government, and therefore we ſhall beg leave to prefix ſome account of it.

Antient conſtitution of the *United Provinces*,

The phlegm of the people is tempered only by their love of independency, which is indeed the chief character of their exiſtence as rational beings. That love of independency, however, has produced the nobleſt effects of freedom, and, perhaps, is the great animating principle of that induſtry which diſtinguiſhes the *Dutch*. The inhabitants of their provinces, before they became independent, were the leaſt diſtinguiſhed of any of the *Teutonic* race, either for arms or for induſtry. Their common-wealth conſiſts of the following ſeven ſovereign independent provinces, *Guelderland*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Overyſſel*, *Groningen*, and *Frieſland*, which are united in a political confederacy. Each province contains cities that are independent and ſeparately privileged. The ſenate of a city is its ſovereign, and the members fill up the vacancies that happen; ſo that their government is, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, ariſtocratical. This ariſtocracy is not without checks from the annual election of burgo-maſters, but more from the little temptation the members are under either to abuſe or aſpire to power. Thoſe burgo-maſters are indeed elected out of the ſenate; but their offices and authority, tho' great, is detached from their ſenatorial power. They ſupport the dignity of their government and the honour of their city or town upon an income of leſs than 60 *l.* a year; ſo that the reader may eaſily ſuppoſe nothing can be ſpared for pomp, ſtate, or parade.

Deputies


An Accurate Map of the
VII United Provinces
Drawn from the best
Authorities,
and adjusted by
Astronomical Observations.
By Eman: Bowen
Geographer to His late Majesty.
English Miles
5 10 15 20 25 30
THE
NORTH SEA
OR
GERMAN
OCEAN
Der Schelling
Flieland I.
Texel I.
ZUYDER ZEE
FRIESLAND
GRONINGEN
OVER
ISSEL
HOLLAND
UTRECHT
GELDERLAND
VELUWE
ZUTPHEN
ZEELAND
I. WALCHEREN
S. Beveland
Schouwen I.
Goree I.
Voorn I.
Cadsand I.
DUTCH BRABANT
PART OF THE
AUSTRIAN
NETHERLANDS
PART OF
FLANDERS
BENTHEIM
BISHOP.K
OF
MUNSTER
D. OF
CLEVES
PRUSSIAN
GELDER
LAND
D. OF JU-
LIERS
EMBDEN C.
GERMANY
Embden
Leeuwarden
Gromingen
Dockum
Staveren
Enckhuysen
Hoorn
Amsterdam
Haerlem
Leyden
Delft
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Amersfort
Harderwyck
Deventer
Zutphen
Ninmegen
Cleves
Wesel
Dusseldorp
Cologne
Bentheim
Culenburg
Hertogenbosch or Bois le Duc
Breda
Bergen op zoom
Middelburg
Flushing
Bruges
Ostend
Ghent
Antwerp
Hulst
Lillo
Rhine R.
Waal R.
Maes R.
Lippe R.
Roer R.
Schelde R.
Maestricht
Dendermond
East Longitude
from London
3
4
5
6
7
53
52
51

Deputies are choſen by each ſenate from the provincial ſtate. Thoſe deputies are choſen from the nobility, which are here very ancient and claim vaſt pre-eminence, the ſenators, and the magiſtrates. *Holland* has nineteen deputies, of whom the nobles have but one voice, and the cities eighteen; but the great city of *Amſterdam* has but one voice, and the meaneſt in the province has the ſame. Notwithſtanding this, the nobility has vaſt influence, as they have the right of ſending deputies to the *States General*, of naming a counſellor in the two higheſt courts of judicature, beſides influencing the diſpoſal of the chief places in the province, civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical. The penſionary of *Holland* collects the votes of the nobility, and is by far the moſt important civil officer in the province, for he holds his place for life; and in ſome caſes of very high concernment, he can exerciſe a ſort of tribunitial power, and controul even the majority of voices. In that body which is termed the *States General*, reſides the majeſty and ſovereignty of the *United Provinces*. It is compoſed of provincial deputies, who are removable; but no deputy can regularly agree to any general reſolution without the authority of his conſtituents, who muſt be unanimous through all the various departments of their inſtitution. It is true, the provinces are not limited to the number of deputies, but twenty deputies can have but one vote. Every province preſides in its turn for a week, and there is no determinate time for the power of deputation, ſome laſting for a year, others longer, and ſome for life. This conſtitution, however well calculated to preſerve the independency of each province, is liable to vaſt inconveniences upon the whole, when an immediate reſolution upon any important point is to be taken, becauſe the deputies muſt conſult the ſenſe of their conſtituents before they can give their opinions.

exemplified in that of *Holland*.

Out of the deputies ſent from each province, three colleges are conſtituted; the *States General*, the council of ſtate, and the chamber of accounts. The conſtitution of the *States General* has been already deſcribed. The council of ſtate conſiſts of twelve deputies, whoſe voices are perſonal, and not provincial. Of thoſe deputies *Holland* ſends three, as being what we may call the prerogative province, *Guelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, two each, *Frieſland*, *Overyſſel*, and *Groningen*, one each. In this body, the executive part of government, properly ſpeaking, is veſted, as it has a diſcretionary power over the army and the revenue, though in all ordinary caſes ſubject to the controul of the *States General*; and the whole, upon the main, exerciſes pretty much the ſame power as a firſt lord commiſſioner and chancellor of the exchequer in *England*, by preparing eſtimates, and declaring to the *States General* the ſupplies neceſſary to be raiſed for the ſervice of the next year. It muſt be acknowledged, that

this council is an admirable conſtitution for accelerating the diſpatch of public buſineſs in that lingering government.

The chamber of accounts have under its cognizance the ſtate of the revenue, and its department conſiſts of fourteen deputies, two from each province. Its denomination ſufficiently points out its buſineſs, and is well calculated for relieving the members of the *States General* from a moſt laborious part of government.

The above are the conſtant and reſident courts in which the government of the *States General* is veſted. We are now to give an account of thoſe which may be termed accidental or occaſional. Of theſe the council of admiralty is the chief. It ſuperintends all naval affairs, is full of various departments, and contains many checks, the knowledge of which would be ſuperfluous to an *Engliſh* reader. In our opinion, were the *Dutch* to recover their former importance, and to enter into a war, either by land or ſea, they muſt, in many reſpects, new model their conſtitution, as the commencement of it is too late to have a durable conſiſtency. This appears from the repeated neceſſities the *Dutch* have been under of creating a ſtadtholder, whoſe power is partly dictatorial, and in a great meaſure ſuperſedes the ordinary functions of the other governmental departments. It is difficult to define the powers of this extra-conſtitutional office otherwiſe than by the exerciſe of it. When the princes of *Orange* held it, they commanded the forces of the republic by ſea and land, and had the diſpoſal of all military commiſſions; but they were attended by field deputies from the *States General*, and the council of ſtate, whom they were to conſult in all military operations. The *States General*, notwithſtanding this, ſtill exerciſed an independent power, and though they admitted the ſtadtholder to be preſent at their deliberations, they refuſed him a vote in their reſolutions. Thus much we have thought proper to premiſe with regard to the civil government of the *United Provinces*.

Commerce.

The *Dutch* owe their wealth to the poverty of their country, and to the diſadvantages of its ſituation. The taxes they are obliged to pay, as we have already hinted, for the ſupport of their ſovereignty and independency, force them upon habits of induſtry. They ſupply the barrenneſs and diſcouragements of their country's ſoil by inceſſant commerce, which affords a never failing nurſery of ſeamen. When *Philip* II. prohibited his *Portugueze* ſubjects to trade with them, they opened their *Eaſt Indian* commerce, which, with their fiſheries on the *Britiſh* coaſts, gave them more wealth than nature ever beſtowed on any people. Their ſettlement in *Batavia* is the nobleſt that any republic ever could boaſt of, as their governor general there is in fact a powerful monarch, but dependent upon the *States General*. Their *Weſt Indian* trade was formerly more conſiderable than it is at preſent, though it is now far from being deſpicable.

The eſtabliſhed religion of *Holland* is of the proteſtant caſt, but by the *Utrecht* confederacy, each province was left at liberty to ſettle religious points as its government pleaſed; ſo that no country in the world can boaſt of a more free exerciſe of religion of all kinds than can be found in the *United Provinces*. If any particular ſect of proteſtants are eſtabliſhed by law, it is that of *Calviniſm*. The *Dutch*, perhaps, are not the only people in the world whoſe enthuſiaſm for particular and uſeleſs modes of faith has ſettled into a calm acquieſcence with every religion.

Antient hiſtory of *Holland*.

After the death of the emperor *Charles the Great*, commonly called *Charlemagne*, *Thierri*, general of *Charles the Bald*, was the firſt count of *Holland*. Under weak monarchs and in divided ſtates it was eaſy then for any man at the head of an army to eſtabliſh ſovereignty, and that of *Thierri* commenced about the year 868, but upon the moſt bloody found- 868.
ation, as we are told that every man who had any authority in the country was put to death to make room for *Thierri*. His deſcendents, if he had any, were involved in wars with the neighbouring counts and biſhops, and we know very little of them till the year 1062, when *Holland* was invaded 1062.
by thoſe neighbours. Hiſtories mention one *Gertrude*, widow of *Florence*, count of *Holland*, who governed that country, and was the mother of a ſecond *Thierri*, who eſtabliſhed a turbulent biſhop of *Utrecht*. No regular hiſtory of *Holland* can be obtained later, till it fell under the dominion of the houſe of *Burgundy*. All we know is, that the dignity of count was hereditary, but they were obliged to ſwear to the preſervation of the privileges of the barons and the people, whoſe immunities were great, and their taxes eaſy.

By the order of ſucceſſion, which took place in the female as well as the male line, the whole of the provinces united in the houſe of *Burgundy*; the dukes of that family appointed ſtadtholders through the different diſtricts and cities of *Holland*, and they acted under the power of the dukes. The people, on the other hand, aſſerted their antient privileges, one of which was that of convoking their own ſtates, independent of the ſtadtholders, and conſequently of the houſe of *Burgundy*. This diſpute afterwards operated greatly in the revolution which gave *Holland* its liberty.

and *Guelderland*,

*Guelderland*, like *Holland*, had its counts, and *Otho* the Crooked, who was of the houſe of *Naſſau*, was the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them. His reign added the dutchy of *Limburg* to *Guelderland*, which was afterwards erected into a dutchy by the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. During his attendance on this prince, *Guelderland* was invaded by the *Ligeois* and the *Brabanters*, but he defeated them. His heirs male failing, the government devolved upon the females, and at laſt centered in the houſe of *Egmond*, who likewiſe claimed the dutchy of *Juliers*. One of the dukes, *Arnaud*, after governing 48 years, was confined by his ſon *Adolphus*, who, by

means

means of his brother-in-law, the duke of *Burgundy*, was firſt diſinherited of his dutchy, but afterwards recovered it, and united, in his own perſon, *Burgundy*, *Guelderland*, and *Zutphen*. He married *Mary*, the heireſs of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, and upon his being killed in defending *Tournay*, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Charles*, who had been detained fourteen years in priſon by his enemies; but the emperor *Charles* V. employed his great power in annexing the dominions of *Guelderland* to

*Zealand,* the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Zealand*, according to ancient hiſtories, though a diſtinct province before the union of *Utrecht*, depended on the counts of *Holland*.

*Utrecht,* The near connection that formerly ſubſiſted between the eccleſiaſtical and civil power, and the preference which the former obtained in the eyes of the people after ſeveral revolutions eſtabliſhed the ſovereignty of *Utrecht* in biſhops. *Willibrod*, a *Briton*, was its firſt biſhop, but the *Normans*, thoſe ravagers of *Europe*, demoliſhed *Utrecht*, and reduced its cathedral to aſhes. It was rebuilt by biſhop *Baldric*, a favourite of the emperor *Otho*; and, in proceſs of time, he was ſucceeded by one *Adelbold*. At this time, the ſee of *Utrecht* had three capital enemies to contend with; the emperor, who was often provoked by the pride and inſolence of the biſhops, the counts of *Holland*, and the earls of *Guelderland*; but they ſeem to have ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing their own temporal as well as ſpiritual independency upon the credulity of the people, and their reverence for the epiſcopal function.

1288. In 1288, one *William de Naſſau* was biſhop of *Utrecht*, but ſo exceſſively ignorant, that even in that ignorant age the pope refuſed him a bull of confirmation into his ſee, and his people rebelling, he was forced to diveſt himſelf of his dignity. The government of *Utrecht*, for ſome years after, ſeems to have been in lay hands, but ſtill the biſhops kept up their claim to the ſovereignty. About the year 1480, a prince of *Baden* was biſhop, but found himſelf ſo embarraſſed in the exerciſe of his government that he retired to *Mentz*. He was ſucceeded by a baſtard of one of the dukes of *Burgundy*, who was, it ſeems, an able man and an excellent ſoldier. All this while a dormant title to the ſovereignty of *Utrecht* reſided in the dukes of *Burgundy* as counts of *Holland*, a title which was claimed by the emperor *Charles* V. A ſon of the count of *Bavaria* being elected biſhop of *Utrecht*, embroiled himſelf with the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, who carried their complaints before the emperor. *Charles* ſuffered the magiſtrates and the biſhop to go to war together, and the people, rather than ſubmit to the biſhop, after long and bloody diſputes, ſurrendered their liberties to the houſe of *Auſtria*; and,

1534. in the year 1534, *Charles* V. united the biſhopric of *Utrecht* to the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

This union was of a very peculiar kind, for though all the four provinces were to be governed by one ſtadtholder, and were to be united in government, cuſtoms, and laws, yet each

each province reſerved to itſelf municipal privileges, which ſoon created great intricacies; but in 1584, the union was renewed, and notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages under which it laboured, it became the baſis of that of the *United Provinces*. 1584.

*Frieſland.*

The inhabitants of *Frieſland* are, in ancient hiſtory, famous for their love of liberty. They were conquered by *Charles the Great*, who, as uſual, governed them by a count, who was in the *Italian* manner denominated a podeſta. It may be neceſſary here to obſerve, that thoſe counts or podeſtas were the anceſtors of many *European* ſovereigns. One *Forteman* performed ſo many material ſervices to *Charles*, that he in a manner emancipated the *Frieſlanders* from their ſubjection, but they ſtill choſe to be governed by *Forteman*. Towards the year 838, they were harraſſed by the *Danes* and *Normans*, but made a brave ſtand for their liberties againſt the count of *Holland*, who was likewiſe king of the *Romans*, whom they killed in battle about the year 935. One of their moſt illuſtrious podeſtas was *Martena*, who likewiſe defeated the *Hollanders*, and aſſerted the independency of his country. Upon his death, *Frieſland* was torn by factions, and at laſt was ſubdued by *Albert* of *Bavaria*. They continued long in a ruinous condition, divided, and with ſcarcely the veſtige of a civil government among them. About the year 1417, the emperor *Sigiſmund* formed a kind of a title to the ſovereignty of *Frieſland*, the inhabitants of which, tired out with anarchy, ſubmitted to his authority. It afterwards was ſwallowed up by the houſe of *Auſtria*, as repreſentatives of the dukes of *Burgundy*. 838. 935. 1417.

*Overyſſel.*

The inhabitants of *Overyſſel* make a great figure in the annals of liberty, and it is ſaid that from them proceeded the famous *Salians*, but this tradition is unſupported by evidence, as the *Salians* ſeem to have been one of the migrating tribes of the *Francs*. *Overyſſel* fell under the power of *Charles* the Great, of the houſe of *Bavaria*, and laſtly of the biſhops of *Utrecht*. About the year 1028, we find it under the dominion of one biſhop *Barnulph*, but the people were ſenſible that their anceſtors had enjoyed privileges of which they were deprived, and often oppoſed, and ſometimes dethroned their biſhops. About the year 1412, the biſhopric of *Overyſſel* was in a flouriſhing condition, but in the year 1457, the people revolted from their biſhop, who was a natural ſon of the houſe of *Burgundy*, and biſhop of *Utrecht* at the ſame time. The biſhop, whoſe name was *David*, prevailed by the force of family intereſt, and reigned for forty years. Upon his death, which happened in 1497, the biſhops of *Utrecht* continued to aſſert their ſovereignty over *Overyſſel*, which fell of courſe to the emperor *Charles* V. when the biſhopric of *Utrecht* was ceded to him as count of *Holland*. In 1584, the inhabitants of *Overyſſel* ſwore fidelity to his ſon *Philip* II. of *Spain*. 1028. 1412. 1457. 1497. 1584.

The

*Groningen.* The inhabitants of *Groningen* appear to have been the deſcendents of a *Roman* colony, and their government bore a great reſemblance to that of *Rome*. They fell under the ſubjection of the biſhop of *Utrecht*, but often rebelled, and the property of their territory became a matter of diſpute, between thoſe biſhops and the counts of *Holland*. The inhabitants were ſo ſturdy that they attempted to conquer the *Frieſlanders*, but the latter were protected by the emperor *Maximilian*, who employed *Albert* of *Saxony* to beſiege *Groningen*. *Albert* was defeated after a long and bloody war, but the *Gruns*, for ſo the inhabitants of *Groningen* are called, rather than ſubmit to an inferior prince, followed the fate of the other provinces, by bowing their necks to the yoke of the emperor *Charles* V.

*Ommelands.* Adjacent to *Groningen* lay the country of the *Ommelands*, the inhabitants of which had very high notions of liberty, and were long governed by conſuls, who in power reſembled thoſe of antient *Rome*. The quarter in which they lived was called *Fivelingo*, and they were often in danger of being exterminated in their wars with the *Gruns* and other neighbouring people, in defence of their independency and freedom. The biſhops of *Munſter* and thoſe of *Utrecht* long contended for the ſovereignty of the *Ommelands*, who behaved with ſo much ſpirit, that at laſt they made themſelves maſters of *Groningen*. Their misfortune was, that their extreme love of liberty led them into anarchy, for every man was not only independent on another, but upon the whole. The government of *Groningen* having more conſiſtency and durancy, the *Ommelands* was at laſt united with it.

History of the *United Provinces.* The reader in our hiſtory of *Germany*, will find the original of the title which the houſe of *Burgundy* claimed over the *United Provinces*, and that *Philip* the Handſome left his ſon, who was afterwards the emperor *Charles* V. under the tutelage of *Lewis* XII. of *France*. He ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of the *Netherlands*, as being the heir of his grandfather. The different claims of independency, which each of thoſe provinces had, ſometimes created diſturbances, but the power and policy of *Charles* quelled all oppoſition; and perhaps at the acceſſion of his ſon *Philip* II. the *Spaniſh Provinces*, ſmall as the compaſs of their territory was, formed by far the moſt conſiderable ſtate in *Europe*. Their taxes, under the houſe of *Burgundy*, were low, but their trade was immenſe, and the mechanical genius of the natives rendered the *Low Countries* the workſhop of *Europe*. *Philip* II. there poſſeſſed 350 walled cities, with 6300 towns, all in flouriſhing circumſtances, and the inhabitants were in a manner devoted to the houſe of *Auſtria*. But *Philip* was a *Spaniard*. He governed by *Spaniſh* maxims, generals and miniſters. The inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, without the leaſt diſaffection to their ſovereign, greedily imbibed the doctrines of the reformation, and gave ſhelter to all who were perſecuted on that account. This ſpirit of reformation, even in the time of *Charles*, was perhaps puſhed too far, and moderate

moderate as he was, gave him vaſt diſquiet, but in the end he laid aſide all perſecuting principles. His ſon *Philip* reſumed them; he ſuppreſſed many abbeys in order to erect ſeventeen biſhoprics, which alarmed both the nobles and the people; and to curb them, the inquiſition was introduced. *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, ſiſter to the emperor, was then the governeſs of the *Low Countries*; and eaſily foreſaw that the innovations which the erection of the new biſhoprics introduced into the civil government, would be productive of a revolt; but *Philip* II. was inflexible, and the power of the old nobility was eclipſed by that of the upſtart biſhops, who were introduced into their great council, or what we may call their parliament.

Two great perſonages then exiſted in the *Netherlands*, *William-Naſſau* prince of *Orange*, and the count of *Egmond*. The former, a favourite of the emperor *Charles* V. was governor of *Utrecht*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; the latter, a native of the *Netherlands*, was governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*. The prince was prudent and penetrating, the count brave and open, and both of them enemies to *Spaniſh* tyranny and the inquiſition. The prince of *Orange*, who had been a hoſtage in *France*, for the execution of the treaty of *Cambray*, ſaw that a deep deſign was laid by *Philip*, for exterminating civil liberty, by the extirpation of the proteſtants. For this purpoſe, *Philip* had introduced foreign troops into the *Netherlands*, where he had made his natural ſiſter, the dutcheſs of *Parma*, governeſs, and given her for her firſt miniſter, cardinal *Granvel* archbiſhop of *Mechlin*, a man of great, but terrible genius, and deteſted by the nobility. The latter deſired *Philip* to recal his foreign troops, but inſtead of complying he eſtabliſhed three councils; the firſt to regulate the affairs of law and juſtice, the ſecond thoſe of peace and war, and the third the revenue. When the dutcheſs of *Parma*, in 1560, came to take upon her the government, ſhe found the people of the *Low Countries* in a flame; and count *Horn* joined the prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* in the oppoſition, which became ſo violent, that *Granvel* retired to *Spain*. He was ſucceeded in his miniſterial capacity by *Viglius* and *Barlaimont*, who poſſeſſed all his bad qualities without any of his abilities. The dutcheſs of *Parma* was naturally a wiſe moderate woman, but was obliged to comply with the violent meaſures of the *Spaniſh* court. *Philip* for ſome time ſmothered his reſentment, that he might afterwards give it the more dreadful vent. The prince of *Orange* remonſtrated againſt his enforcing the decrees of the council of *Trent* in the *Low Countries*, and ſome reformers who had been ſentenced to be burnt for hereſy, had been reſcued by the populace. At laſt, to prevent a general revolt, count *Egmond* undertook to go to *Spain* as agent for the people. He was favourably received by *Philip*, and matters were for ſome time kept eaſy.

Riſe of the oppoſition to the *Spaniſh* government.

1560.

This

Tyranny and imprudence of *Philip* king of *Spain*.

This moderation, however, was diſſembled, and *Philip*, watching his opportunity, renewed the flames of perſecution, by not only ordering that the decrees of the council of *Trent* ſhould be received in the *Netherlands*, but that all heretics ſhould be burnt at the ſtake. *Henry de Brederode*, ſaid to have been a deſcendent of the old counts of *Holland*, became a fourth capital member in the oppoſition. The noblemen of all denominations, *Roman* catholics as well as proteſtants, formed a confederacy againſt the inquiſition, and the *Spaniſh* government. They preſented their petition to the governeſs, and ſhe informed *Philip* of the danger of a general revolt; but the only ſatisfaction he choſe to give, was, that in time to come, heretics ſhould be hanged inſtead of being burnt. The lower rank of people broke out into violences againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, which produced a raging perſecution, and the prince of *Orange*, rather than take the infernal oaths propoſed by the court of *Spain* againſt heretics, retired to *Germany*. The flames of perſecution now conſumed thouſands of unhappy proteſtants, and the duke of *Alva*, that execrable miniſter of ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm, was ſent, at the head of 10,000 *Spaniſh* veterans, to give the finiſhing blow to the religion and liberties of the *Netherlands*. The dutcheſs of *Parma* made remonſtrances againſt this meaſure, but in vain; and the duke of *Alva*, beſides having the command of the army, was entruſted with powers, which in fact ſuperceded thoſe of the governeſs. He eſtabliſhed a new tribunal of blood, under the direction of one *Vergas*, which annihilated all the antient liberties of the *Low Countries*, and murdered the perſons, or confiſcated the eſtates, of all who durſt oppoſe *Spaniſh* tyranny. The dutcheſs of *Parma*, ſeeing that ſhe was no better than a cypher under *Alva*, reſigned her government, and he ſucceeded her.

No ideas of cruelty can exceed the practice of *Alva* in his government. He impriſoned, and afterwards took off the heads of the counts *Egmond* and *Horn*; he proſcribed the prince of *Orange*, his family, with all the heads of the reformers; and the *Low Countries* were filled with gibbets, whips, and wheels, for putting proteſtants to the moſt excruciating deaths.

Cruel conduct of the duke of *Alva*. 1568.

The prince of *Orange*, during this infernal perſecution, was forming a party in *Germany*, and even the emperor *Maximilian* interceded with his kinſman, *Philip* of *Spain*, for a relaxation of his tyranny, but it could not be obtained. The prince got together ſome troops in the year 1568, but they were defeated by the *Spaniards*. His brother, count *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, defeated the *Spaniards* in *Frieſland*, but could not purſue the advantages he had obtained; and the duke of *Alva* muſtering all his force, was every where victorious, but cruel. His conduct grew ſo deteſtible, that it became the common cauſe of mankind to oppoſe him. The prince of *Orange* raiſed a freſh army of 23,000 men, and challenged the duke of *Alva* to fight

him at *Maeſtricht*. The duke anſwered him by hanging his meſſenger, and behaved with ſo much prudence, that he found an opportunity of cutting off great part of the prince's army, which ſoon diſbanded itſelf for want of money, and he again retired to *Germany*.

The conduct of the duke of *Alva*, upon this, became, if poſſible, more deteſtable than ever, being a continued ſeries of the moſt cruel revenge, which is as diſagreeable as it is needleſs to deſcribe. He thought that exterior appearances had their influence in the affairs of government, and he ordered his ſtatue to be erected in the market-place of *Antwerp* in the attitude of trampling under foot the liberties of the *Low Countries*. He exacted freſh and permanent taxes. They were denied, and the people again addreſſed the throne for relief, but obtained none. The prince of *Orange*, all this while, was concerting with the heads of the proteſtants in *France* and *Germany*, the means of relieving the *Low Countries* from this tyranny, which every day became more and more inſupportable. By their advice he fitted out certain privateers, which did incredible damage to the *Spaniſh* trade. This was an expedient ſuggeſted to him, as it is ſaid, by admiral *Coligni*, on account of the vaſt poverty of the *Low Country* proteſtants, who thereby obtained the name of *Gueux*, or beggars, and his privateers were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame appellation.

The *Netherlanders* fit out a fleet.

While inhumanity and oppreſſion were thus raging in the *Low Countries*, very little attention was given to the public police, and the neglect of the dykes occaſioned prodigious inundations and deſtruction of every kind. In the year 1571, the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, worn out by the repeated oppreſſions of *Alva*, ſeized upon the *Briel* in the iſland of *Voorn*; and one *Lumey*, who commanded the prince of *Orange*'s ſhips in his deſcents, deſtroyed ſome of the prieſts and their ſuperſtitions. They were poor, and therefore they did not ſtrictly confine themſelves to depredations upon the *Spaniards*, ſo that their proceedings were diſowned by queen *Elizabeth*, who in other reſpects wiſhed well to their cauſe. Their taking the *Briel*, though a place of no great conſequence, gave a kind of conſiſtency to their cauſe, and was in fact the foundation of the glorious ſucceſſes that attended it. They defeated *Boſſu*, who was ſent by the duke of *Alva* to retake it, and the *Gueux* by the prince of *Orange*'s advice fortified it. The *Gueux* had now an object. *Dordrecht*, or *Dort*, refuſed to admit *Boſſu*'s troops in their retreat. They butchered or plundered the inhabitants of *Rotterdam*, and the people of *Fluſhing* called upon *Lumey* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Spaniards*, who intended to erect a garriſon in their town. This aſſiſtance was granted, and a *Spaniſh* engineer hanged. The duke of *Medina Cæli* was defeated by the *Zealanders* in a naval engagement, and, as is ſaid, loſt near a million of livres in the action. It was now evident, that the *Spaniſh* government was in dan-

Their ſucceſs. 1571.

ger of losing all the *Low Countries*, by its inattention to maritime affairs. A squadron of ships were ordered to be equipped at *Amsterdam* to supress *Lumey* and his *Zealanders*; but that measure proved too late. The prince of *Orange*, and *Lewis de Nassau*, from the fruits of their privateering, had obtained money, with which they not only purchased arms and ammunition, but engaged in their cause many *British* adventurers, and raised a considerable body of troops in *Germany*. *Lewis* of *Nassau* surprized *Mons*. The count *de Bergues*, one of his friends, seized upon several places in *Overyssel*, *Guelderland*, and *Friesland*. The spirit of revolt prevailed over all the cities and towns in *Holland*. Even the tyrannical heart of *Alva* failed him, and he seemed willing to mitigate the rigours of his government, by convoking the *States General* at the *Hague*. They would not trust him, and they assembled at *Dort*, where they furnished the prince of *Orange* with money to put his army in motion. It consisted of 15,000 foot and 7000 horse, and arrangements were not only made for their future pay, but for the future subsistence of their new formed government, by seizing all the royal revenues, and confiscating the estates of those who adhered to the royal cause, with all the property belonging to the church, and popery itself was now declared by the *States General* to be abolished. The prince of *Orange*, however, had a difficult task to manage the rising spirit of liberty, which is always jealous; but he acted with so much address, that while he governed the reformed confederacy with an absolute sway, the members thought themselves free and independent.

Army of the prince of *Orange*.

His successes.

He took *Ruremond*, *Mechlin*, *Oudenard* and *Dendermond*, but was unable to prevent *Mons* from capitulating with the duke of *Alva*, who besieged it. In the mean while, *Lumey* was by the states of *Holland* employed in reducing *Amsterdam*, which was still in the hands of their enemies; but he miscarried in his attempt, through his own vanity, and want of experience in land operations. The violences committed by the prince of *Orange*'s soldiers, and the horrid massacre of *Paris*, relaxed the spirit of liberty and reformation in the *Low Countries*. *Alva* retook *Mechlin*, put the inhabitants, catholics as well as protestants, to the sword, gave a loose to all other excesses, and plundered the city to the amount of 400,000 florins, while *Dendermond*, *Oudenard*, and other towns surrendered in course. The prince of *Orange* was obliged to confine his operations to *Holland* and *Zealand*, the only provinces which kept firm to their engagement. *Frederic de Toledo*, a *Spanish* general, was employed against them, and he surprized the town of *Waerden*, where he butchered the inhabitants without respect to age, sex, or condition, thereby intending to intimidate those of other places. From thence he proceeded to *Amsterdam*, and summoned *Haerlem* to surrender. The magistrates sent out deputies to treat with *Frederic*, about the surrender of the place; the prince of *Orange* sent troops into

into it to enable the inhabitants to defend it. When the deputies returned, they were ſent priſoners to the prince of *Orange*, who ordered their heads to be ſtruck off. The ſiege of *Haerlem* was formed by *Frederic*, and the place was both aſſaulted and defended with incredible obſtinacy in the depth of a ſevere winter. The town, at laſt, was carried through the perſeverance of the *Spaniards*, and their ſuperior knowledge in military affairs; nor were the cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed here, equal to thoſe of the *Spaniards* on former like occaſions.

The *Spaniards* had every day reaſon to lament the little attention which their government had paid to maritime affairs. The *Zealanders*, on all occaſions, defeated their fleets, with an inferior force, under their admiral *Wertz*. Thoſe and many other mortifications induced *Alva* to publiſh a proclamation, inviting the people to return to their duty, and containing a promiſe of pardon; but they were ſo ſenſible of the faithleſs ſanguinary diſpoſition of the *Spaniſh* government, influenced by religious revenge, that few or none accepted of the proffered clemency. *Frederic* of *Toledo* then beſieged *Alcmar* with 16,000 men, but it was through the perſuaſion of the prince of *Orange*, though deſtitute of proviſions, nobly defended by 300 burghers, and 800 ſoldiers. In the mean while, the *Zealanders* took *Rammekins*, as the prince of *Orange* did *Gertruydenberg*, and the inhabitants of *Alcmar*, after ſuſtaining a moſt deſperate ſiege, forced the *Spaniards* to raiſe it, and the *Zealanders* once more defeated a great fleet equipped by order of the duke of *Alva*, at a vaſt expence. The ſtates of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* met towards the end of the year; the prince of *Orange*, by a remonſtrance, demanded the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, and that all foreign troops ſhould be withdrawn out of the *Netherlands*, as their continuance there was incompatible with the antient privileges of the natives. This remonſtrance was diſregarded. The duke of *Alva* reſigning his government, returned to *Spain*, and don *Lewis de Requeſnes* was appointed to ſucceed him in his government.

The *Spaniards* defeated by ſea;

*Requeſnes*, at firſt, affected popularity, and pulled down the odious ſtatue of his predeceſſor, which had been erected at *Antwerp*; but the court of *Spain* was animated by religious fury and deſpotiſm, while on the other hand, the *Zealanders* became enthuſiaſts for their independency. They took *Middleburg* and the iſle of *Walcheren* under the prince of *Orange*. Thoſe advantages were balanced by the defeat of a large reinforcement, that was marching to the aſſiſtance of the prince, under his brother, prince *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, who with two other brothers were killed in the action. The victory was obtained by the *Spaniards*, who were commanded by *D'Avila*, chiefly through the mutinous diſpoſition of the prince's troops. This ſpirit ſeized the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers in their turn; they depoſed their officers, and forced the city of *Antwerp* to pay

victorious by land.

them 400,000 livres, while the *Zealanders* obtained another ſea-victory over the *Spaniards*. *Requeſnes* made no advantage of the victory he had lately acquired, and by order of his court, he emitted a proclamation of pardon to all who had taken arms, but clogged with ſuch limitations as entirely defeated its intent. *Requeſnes* beſieges *Leyden*, which was but ill provided for a defence. The ſiege was carried on by *Valdes*, the *Spaniſh* commander, and is memorable for the perſevering ſpirit of the beſieged, and their ſufferings; which were ſuch, that they were reduced to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow citizens. When upon the point of periſhing, rather than yielding, they were delivered by a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind, which impelled an inundation upon the works of the beſiegers and deſtroyed them, and *Valdes* was obliged to raiſe the ſiege with loſs and ignominy. The *Spaniſh* ſoldiers again mutinied, and after ſuffering great hardſhips, they were received, upon capitulation, into winter-quarters in *Brabant*.

1575. Diſtreſſed ſtate of the confederates.

Nothing could be more uncomfortable than the ſituation of the prince of *Orange* at this time, and nothing more magnanimous than his conduct. He could, it is true, have raiſed men, but he had no money to pay them, and therefore was in danger of being torn in pieces by them. He oppoſed a prince politic, vindictive, and perhaps, at that time, the moſt powerful of any in the world. By abandoning the cauſe of liberty, he might have commanded his own terms; by perſevering in it he had nothing, in all probability, to expect, but the utter ruin of himſelf and his family. The emperor of *Germany* acted the part of a mediator; and conferences were held at *Breda*, but without effect. The operations of war then recommenced, and many places were taken or loſt on both ſides; and never was there a more raging war confined to ſo narrow bounds. The *Spaniards* had the advantage by land, but it was overbalanced by the prince of *Orange*'s ſuperiority by ſea. *Requeſnes* was ordered to deſtroy the ſea-ports of the *Zealanders*, and the *Spaniſh* general, *Madragon*, reduced *Zuriczee*, and was preparing to complete the conqueſt of *Zealand* with great probability of ſucceſs. In order to account for the deliverance of the *States General* at this time, it is neceſſary to take a ſlight view of the ſtate of *Europe*.

Affairs of the continent.

The emperor of *Germany* was cloſely connected with the court of *Spain*. The proteſtant princes of the empire were well diſpoſed towards the prince of *Orange*, and would have effectually aſſiſted him, if he could have paid their men. It is, however, but doing them juſtice to acknowledge, that they did him very conſiderable ſervices. The *French* court hated the *Spaniards*; but hated proteſtantiſm at the ſame time. Their king, *Henry* III. was weak, poor, and bigotted, but many of his principal ſubjects were proteſtants, and independent enough to favour the cauſe of the reformed, ſo that *Calais* was opened as a kind of free port, where the *Gueux* could diſpoſe of their prizes, which were generally very rich.

*Henry*

*Henry* had a younger brother, the duke of *Anjou*, who like himſelf was needy, but ambitious. The proteſtant princes of the north were at war among themſelves, and could take little or no concern in the affairs of the *Low Countries*. *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*, was the only power to whom the revolters could apply with any propriety, as ſhe was herſelf a firm proteſtant. But though ſhe hated the king of *Spain*, yet ſhe had ſuch high notions of royal prerogative, that in her heart ſhe condemned all reſiſtance to princes. Being naturally frugal, her ſtill more frugal miniſter, *Burleigh*, repreſented to her the vaſt expence with which her eſpouſing the cauſe of the prince of *Orange* muſt be attended, and ſhe was greatly embarraſſed at home, by the faction of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, who were daily threatening an inſurrection.

The confederate ſtates ſaw they could not ſubſiſt without foreign aſſiſtance. They implored the protection of *Elizabeth*, and ſhe declined it; but the duke of *Anjou* would have gladly become their head. He could contribute little or nothing to the common cauſe, and the preſervation of the ſtates at this time was owing to the diſtreſſes of the *Spaniſh* court. *Philip*, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums he received from *America*, was ten millions in debt, without being able to pay the intereſt, and his troops were mutinous. *Requeſnes*, who kept a cloſe correſpondence with queen *Elizabeth*, and had even ordered her popiſh ſubjects to leave the *Low Countries*, demanded a ſupply from the provinces he governed, but without effect, and in the mean time *Requeſnes* died. The prince of *Orange* gained vaſt advantages during the confuſion his death occaſioned. The *Spaniſh* garriſons and ſoldiers every where mutinied againſt the council of ſtate, who had taken upon themſelves the government. The beſt affected of the *Spaniſh* provinces, inſiſted upon the expulſion of all foreigners out of their countries, and declared againſt the *Spaniards* themſelves. The inhabitants of *Bruſſels* even arreſted the members of the council of ſtate, and entered into a confederacy with the provinces of *Artois*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*. Don *John* of *Auſtria* had been, by this time, nominated to ſucceed *Requeſnes*, but he was obliged to remain inactive at *Luxembourg*.

The States implore foreign aſſiſtance.

The new formed confederacy became ſo general, that the chief places remaining to the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, were *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, and *Maeſtricht*. The citadel of *Ghent* was reduced by the confederates, aſſiſted by the prince of *Orange*. The city of *Antwerp*, at that time deemed the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing of any in *Europe*, was beſieged, but a body of *Spaniards* who had mutinied, firſt defended it, and then burned and pillaged it, carrying off an incredible booty. Thoſe outrages united the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, *Roman* catholics and proteſtants, in a common cauſe; and the wiſe prince of *Orange* perſuaded them to enter into the pacification of *Ghent*, as it was called, by which all

The prince of *Orange* reduces *Ghent* and other places.

the provinces united themſelves in the ſame confederacy with *Holland* and *Zealand*, and agreed in the expulſion of foreign troops, and in their demands for recovering the privileges they held under the houſe of *Burgundy*. As to matters of religion, they were to be ſettled by a future meeting of the *States General*; but in the mean while, the execution of all the duke of *Alva*'s rigorous edicts was to be ſuſpended. This glorious effort for public liberty awakened the attention of the powers of *Europe*. The *French* court ſeemed to be inclinable to undertake the protection of the confederates, but their deſigns were ſo artfully counterworked by queen *Elizabeth*, that the negotiation came to nothing. That great princeſs thought, that if the new confederacy could not eſtabliſh its own independency, it was of far greater benefit to *England*, that the ſovereignty of the *Netherlands* ſhould remain in the hands of the *Spaniards*, than in thoſe of the *French*. Her conduct on this occaſion was very particular. She inſiſted upon the confederates, or the Council of States, as it was called, not throwing themſelves under the protection of any foreign power, and at the ſame time ſhe applied, by her ambaſſador, at the court of *Spain*, and to *Don John*, for a conceſſion of all that the council of the ſtates had demanded.

They are befriended by queen *Elizabeth*,

This conduct had wonderful effects, when backed by a loan of 20,000 l. which ſhe advanced to *D'Aubigni*, the ambaſſador from the *States General*. They agreed to put their intereſts in her hands, and they even deſired her to mediate for them at the court of *Spain*. *Don John*, at this time, had a ſecret deſign of marrying the queen of *Scots*, then a priſoner in *England*, and thereby ſucceeding to both crowns. He thought that the pacification of the *Low Countries*, would leave him at liberty to employ the forces of *Spain* in compaſſing this arduous deſign, and he accordingly perſuaded that court to offer to the *States General*, two of the chief terms they demanded, which conſiſted in confirming the pacification of *Ghent*, and the withdrawing of foreign troops out of the *Netherlands*. The majority of the *States General* accepted of thoſe conditions, and a pacification was concluded and proclaimed at
1577. *Bruſſels* and *Antwerp*, on the 17th of *February*, 1577, by the title of the *Perpetual Edict*.

who is alarmed.

Though this pacification had great effects in reſtoring tranquillity and commerce in all the *Roman* catholic cities and provinces of the *Netherlands*, yet it alarmed queen *Elizabeth*, though ſhe advanced 20,000 *l.* to *Don John* to enable him to ſend the *Spaniſh* troops out of the provinces. The artful prince of *Orange* ſaw that he could not be ſupported from *France* without rendering himſelf a cypher; while, at the ſame time, the court of *Spain* offered to the prince of *Orange* any terms he could propoſe. That great man not only was a ſincere friend to liberty and proteſtantiſm, but diſtruſted the *Spaniſh* profeſſions, and now threw himſelf and his cauſe entirely upon the protection of *Elizabeth*. Though he

he and the ſtates of *Holland* and *Zealand* had never agreed to the perpetual edict, yet for ſome time after it paſſed he lived on ſo good a footing with the *Spaniards*, that he diſcovered the great ſecret of *Don John*'s intended marriage with the queen of *Scots*, which he communicated to queen *Elizabeth*. This rivetted his intereſt with her, and they jointly contrived to render the perpetual edict void. The ſtates complained that it had not re-eſtabliſhed them in their antient privileges; that the confirmation of the pacification of *Ghent* was clogged with conditions that rendered it precarious; that no care had been taken to oblige the *Spaniards* to refund the immenſe ſums they had acquired by the plunder and ruin of the *Netherlands*; and that the beſt friends of liberty, the prince of *Orange* himſelf particularly, remained ſtill diſpoſſeſſed of their properties. At the ſame time they made thoſe repreſentations, they agreed to the other articles that were favourable to *Elizabeth*'s views.

*Don John* was at little pains to anſwer, either by his writings or his conduct, thoſe remonſtrances, and through a variety of cauſes that are foreign to this part of our hiſtory, he found that he could compaſs none of his views unleſs he could perſuade the court of *Spain* to violent meaſures. In the mean while, the inhabitants of the provinces ſaw that his truſt was entirely in the *Spaniards*. Mutual animoſities ſucceeded. *Don John* found that the *States General* never could be brought to be ſubſervient to the great point of his ambition, his marriage, and he ſeized the citadel of *Namur*, where he fortified himſelf. The prince of *Orange* fomented the difference, and the breach became irreconcileable. The wider it grew, the higher did the prince of *Orange*'s credit become with the *States General*. *Philip* and *Don John*, by their conduct, diſavowed the perpetual edict, and ordered *Spaniſh* troops to re-enter the provinces, while the prince of *Orange* was triumphantly received in *Breda*, *Antwerp*, and *Bruſſels*. He was then choſen governor of *Brabant*, and preſident of a new council of ſtate that was formed. He was oppoſed by the duke *D'Archot*, governor of *Flanders*, a nobleman of great property in the *Netherlands*, and one who hated the tyranny of *Spain*, but not its government. The prince demoliſhed the caſtle of *Antwerp*, and ſome other forts in the *Netherlands*, which the *Archot* faction found fault with, and called in *Matthias*, archduke of *Auſtria*, to be their governor. This was not done without the privity of *Elizabeth*, and even of the prince of *Orange*, who ſeemed to be ſo forward in the intereſt of *Matthias*, that he was choſen his lieutenant upon his reſigning the government or rutwardſhip of *Brabant*, which was conferred upon *Matthias*. This diſappointed the duke *D'Archot*, who endeavoured to extend his intereſt in the *Low Countries*, but was impriſoned by the populace of *Ghent*, and releaſed through the interpoſition of the prince of *Orange*, who thereby removed all ſuſpicion of his

*Don John* follows violent meaſures.

The archduke *Matthias* called into the *Low Countries*.

being actuated by any other motive than zeal for public liberty. The archduke *Matthias* was a youth of 20 years of age, and equally ſupported by the *Orange* as the *Archot* party; but the former, being proteſtant, obtained vaſt advantages over the latter, who continued to be *Roman* catholic. A proclamation was publiſhed, diveſting *Don John* of his government, and laying his adherents under a kind of proſcription. Both parties concurred in promoting the grandeur of the archduke, becauſe each was in hopes to engroſs his power, being of himſelf no better than a cypher.

Diſagreement among the confederates,

The duke of *Archot*, however, had ſuch a regard for public liberty, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the *Orange* party, that he agreed to a formal deputation ſent to *Elizabeth* to ſollicit her aſſiſtance, and to renew a convention between the catholic and proteſtant revolters, renewing the pacification of *Ghent*, and their engagements to ſupport their privileges. On the 18th of *January*, 1578, the archduke was received into *Bruſſels* as the governor of the *United Provinces*, whoſe deputies apologized to the emperor and the king of *Spain* for their conduct, and repreſented *Don John* as being the cauſe of their revolt. The latter, on the other hand, vindicated himſelf ſo well according to the deſpotic *Spaniſh* maxims of government, that orders were iſſued for aſſembling a large army, and once more reducing the rebels by force. To break this ſtorm, the *States General* ſent the marquis of *Hautree* and *Adolph Metkirk* as their deputies to *Elizabeth*, and to ſollicit from her the loan of 100,000*l.* which ſhe granted them on their engaging to repay it in eight months, and binding certain towns for the ſame. A treaty was likewiſe concluded of the utmoſt importance between the *States* and her; the ſubſtance of which, as it is not to be found in the common hiſtories of the *Low Countries*, we ſhall here give. By the firſt article, the treaties between *England* and the houſe of *Burgundy* are to remain in full force, without any other alteration than ſhall ſeem good to the contracting parties. 2. The *States* are to conclude nothing definitive, either as to peace or war, without the conſent of the queen or her reſident. 3. If the queen is attacked, the *States* are obliged to furniſh her with the ſame aſſiſtance of troops with which ſhe engages to furniſh them. 4. The queen is to be arbitreſs of all differences that may ariſe among the *States*. 5. If the queen ſhall fit out a fleet for the ſafeguard of the ſea, the *States* ſhall be obliged to furniſh 40 ſhips of a reaſonable burthen each (none under 40 tons) with proportionable crews and proviſions. 6. The *States* are to harbour no *Engliſh* traitors and fugitives after they are duly declared to be ſuch. 7. The *States* are to make no league with any foreign prince without *Elizabeth*'s approbation, and without comprehending her if ſhe ſhall think proper. 8. All the future governors of the *States* are to confirm the preſent articles. 9. If the ſtates ſhall enter into any tranſaction with his catholic ma-

who are aſſiſted by queen *Elizabeth*.

jeſty)

jeſty, they are to produce his ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſo much of it as the queen ſhall think proper.

Though no mention is made in the above treaty of the number of men which it ſtipulated to furniſh to the *States General*, yet we learn from *Cambden*, that it was to conſiſt of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horſe, commanded by an *Engliſh* general, who was to be admitted to ſit in their council of ſtate. *Philip* continued to be diſtreſſed for money, and *Elizabeth* ſent him a laboured apology for her conduct, in which ſhe loaded *Don John* with the breach of the pacification. *Philip*, without paying any attention to this apology, expedited freſh orders for the march of his army out of *Italy* to the *Netherlands*, under the command of the prince of *Parma*, the greateſt general of his age; and his troops were worthy of ſuch a leader, being 16,000 foot and 2,000 horſe, all of them veterans and inured to victory. *Don John*, of himſelf, was a man of eminent abilities in the field as well as the cabinet; and by the aſſiſtance of 4 or 5,000 *Germans* had made a ſurprizing ſtand in the provinces of *Luxembourg* and *Namur*, which ſtill continued faithful to *Philip* againſt the confederates. The face of affairs was again changed; though it was in the depth of winter, he declared war againſt the confederates. The prince of *Orange* in vain endeavoured to quicken the reſolutions and the natural phlegm of the *Dutch*; but before they came to any effectual determination, *Don John* took *Gembloux*, and diſperſed the army of the confederates, conſiſting of 10,000 foot and 5,000 horſe, under *Coigny*, a *Frenchman*, and one *Balfour*, a *Scotchman*. *Louvain* and *Bovines* were next reduced, and the garriſon of *Sichem*, after it was ſtormed by the prince of *Parma*, was put to the ſword. *Dieſt*, *Archot*, *Tillemont*, and *Louve* ſubmitted without reſiſtance, but *Nivelle* obtained an honourable capitulation. *Don John* then reduced *Limburg* and *Philipville*, to ſecure his communication with the *Spaniards*. *Amſterdam*, to compenſate for thoſe loſſes, declared for the *States*, upon a capitulation, which was broken by the zeal of the proteſtants, who drove the *Roman* catholics out of that city.

*Philip* offered various terms of accommodation, but they were mixed with ſo much *Spaniſh* haughtineſs, that, though backed by the emperor, they were rejected; and the *States*, ſenſible of the inconveniences of their conſtitution, inveſted the archduke, the prince of *Orange*, and the council, with a power of raiſing what troops they thought proper for their defence. In *Guelderland*, *John* of *Naſſau*, brother to the prince of *Orange*, was choſen governor, and he ſoon expelled the popiſh faction, which was very powerful in that province. In *Groningen*, *Bylly*, a *Portugueze*, and a partizan of *Spain*, was governor, and put to the torture one *Stella*, a deputy from the *States General*, who was ſent to adviſe him to ſign the pacification of *Ghent*. *Stella* behaved with an amazing fortitude, and the people of the province expelled *Bylly*.

Operations of the war in the *Low Countries*.

The confederates reject the *Spaniſh* terms of accommodation.

The

The reader muſt be informed that many *Roman* catholics as well as proteſtants were active in thoſe revolutions, which were not always attended by a juſtifiable conduct on the part of the revolters. After their acceſſion to the common cauſe, the catholics grew jealous of the great number of proteſtants who repaired to the *Netherlands*, and were even favoured by the prince of *Orange*, who thereby became ſuſpected of popery. His principle of conduct was to unite the friends of liberty, without regard to their religious differences; but the *Walloons*, for ſo the *Roman* catholics were called, ſucceeded in inviting the duke of *Anjou* to be their protector, in the room of archduke *Matthias*, who was now become contemptible. The duke appeared in the *Netherlands* at the head of a moſt wretched army, and on the 13th of *Auguſt* he was choſen defender of the liberties of the *Netherlands*, a ſtep which the prince of *Orange* winked at for patriotic conſiderations. *Anjou* was to maintain, during the war, 10,000 foot and 2,000 horſe, to be paid by the *States*; but if the war laſted above three months, he was to pay 5,000 foot and 500 horſe out of his own pocket. In other reſpects the duke was a dupe to ambition and vanity, for he was to have no ſolid advantage but what he was to purchaſe on the point of his ſword, and even that was to depend upon the will or caprice of the *States*. This policy had been concerted between queen *Elizabeth* and the prince of *Orange*, who were equally averſe to the prince's authority. *Elizabeth* even went ſo far as to throw out her own perſon as a bait, by, in a manner, offering herſelf in marriage, that ſhe might induce him to deſiſt from his purſuits in the *Low Countries*. *Caſimir*, a *German* prince of the *Palatine* family, had been prevailed upon by her to levy ſome troops for the aſſiſtance of the revolters, and was upon his march to the *Netherlands*. *Don John* had refuſed to agree to a ceſſation of arms which *Elizabeth* had ſollicited, and had even hanged an *Engliſhman* of quality on a ſuſpicion of his being a ſpy.

who chooſe the duke of *Anjou* for their governor.

The name of the archduke *Matthias* was ſtill made uſe of as commander in chief of the troops of the *Netherlands*, which lay encamped near *Remanant*. *Don John* reſolved to attack him before they could be joined by the duke of *Anjou*, *Caſimir*, or another body of *Germans* who had advanced as far as *Nimeguen*. The prince of *Parma* made ſome objections to the attack, but it was carried in the council of war, and indeed upon very ſound principles. The archduke's army, which was commanded by count *Maximilian*, an old experienced officer, muſt have been cut in pieces had it not been for the intrepidity of the *Engliſh*, and the *Scots* in *Engliſh* pay, who had been ſent over by *Elizabeth*; and though but 3,000, preſſed the *Spaniſh* veterans ſo hard, that it required all the abilities of the prince of *Parma* to bring them off, and prevent their being entirely cut in pieces.

The battle of *Remanant*.

It

It must be acknowledged, whatever praise may be due to *Elizabeth* for assisting the *Dutch* at this time, that the prince of *Orange* was the only great personage who seems to have acted upon principle. *Elizabeth* still kept terms with the court of *Spain*, and even denied that the *English* and *Scots* who fought in the battle of *Remanant* were in her pay. She had given *Casimir* hopes of succeeding the archduke in his government, but both *Casimir* and *Anjou* seeing as yet no vacancy in the command of the army, stood aloof; the former on pretence of securing his retreat, and the latter to pay off his soldiers. Those eventual proceedings had almost ruined the affairs of the confederates. *Casimir* complained that he had been deceived, and retired towards *Ghent*, and the duke of *Anjou* publickly accused him of being his rival. The court of *France*, like *Elizabeth*, denied having any connections with the prince of *Orange* or the confederates, and the *States General* were jealous of all their friends, though their safety depended upon their assistance. Such was the distracted state of the affairs of the *Low Countries* when *Don John* died, and his government, both civil and military, devolved upon the duke of *Parma*.

State of the confederacy.

The internal affairs of *Spain* prevented *Philip* from sending the duke proper reinforcements, nor indeed did he consider himself so much interested for the duke as he had been for *Don John*. The army of the confederates, though vastly superior in numbers, was weak and inactive through the jealousies and disputes that prevailed among the commanders. *Casimir*'s army amounted to 7000 horse and 8000 foot, a force that the prince of *Orange* and the *States General* thought dangerous for their public liberty, and therefore gave them no countenance. *Casimir* had no money, and in *February*, 1579, he went over to *England*, where he was magnificently complimented and treated by *Elizabeth*; but during his absence his troops disbanded themselves, and were by the duke of *Parma* suffered to return home. In the mean while, the prince of *Orange* saw with grief the distressed state of the confederacy, and found only seven provinces firm to the principles of their union; these were *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Groningen*, *Overyssel*, and *Guelderland*. He called their deputies together at *Utrecht*, and here the famous union which goes under the name of that city was formed. This treaty was a kind of a renovation of the original union. It preserved the spirit of the pacification of *Ghent*, but the parties entered into stricter bonds of amity. All the seven provinces, though each retained its own privileges and forms of government, were to be considered only as one in a fœderal capacity, and each was to concur in supporting the independency of another, and of the whole. Their frontier towns were to be fortified at their joint expence. Their public monies and alliances were to be in common; liberty of religion was to be exercised according to former edicts. The inhabi-

1579.

Union of *Utrecht*.

tants

tants from 18 to 60 were to be taught the uſe of arms: the aſſembly of the *States* were to be held in a conſtitutional manner; and if the *States General* could not agree in the interpretation of the articles, it was to be referred to the Stadtholder, the prince of *Orange*.

*Elizabeth* of *England* had been attacked by the king of *Spain* in *Ireland*, and this determined her to embark more heartily than ever in ſupport of the confederates. She ſent over *Daviſon*, one of her ſervants, to ſoften the *Ghentois*, who were too rigid againſt the papiſts, and with other healing propoſitions for the common cauſe. She advanced a conſiderable ſum of money to the *States*, upon the jewels of the houſe of *Burgundy*, which *Daviſon* brought over with him, and thereby freed them from the neceſſity of agreeing to a diſadvantageous peace, which the emperor was then mediating at *Cologne*. The cities of *Ghent*, *Nimeguen*, *Arnheim*, *Leewarden*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, and *Bruges*, acceded to the union of *Utrecht*, as did many other towns, and perſons of great property. The *Walloons*, or catholic part of the *Low Countries*, remonſtrated againſt this union, but without entering upon hoſtilities. *Philip*, who was now intent upon the conqueſt of *Portugal*, endeavoured, by the moſt magnificent promiſes, to bring over the prince of *Orange*, but he remained firm to his engagements, though greatly embarraſſed by the internal diſquiets of the *Ghentois*, and ſome other confederate cities; but he could not reconcile the catholics, either to his religion or principles. The duke of *Parma* took *Marſien*, by aſſault, and to ſhew that the court of *Spain* had not receded from any of its bloody principles, the governor was hanged, and 45 of its braveſt citizens were put to death by tortures. *La Noue*, who commanded the army of the *States*, was forced by the duke of *Parma* to retire under the cannon of *Antwerp*. The duke then beſieged *Maeſtricht*, which was taken, though defended by one *Sebaſtian Tappin*, a brave *Lorrainer*, with ſo much intrepidity, as procured him the unuſual favour from the duke, of being exempted from the general maſſacre, that attended the taking of the city.

*Elizabeth* befriends it.

Deplorable condition of the *States General*.

The great genius of the duke of *Parma* reduced the affairs of the confederates, at this time, to a moſt deplorable condition, but they were ſomewhat retrieved by a fit of illneſs, into which he was thrown by his own fatigue. When he recovered, he found himſelf in circumſtances ſimilar to thoſe of the *States*. His troops were unpaid, and conſequently mutinous. By his treaty with the *Walloons*, he was obliged to diſmiſs his foreign ſoldiers, and he could not truſt the natives. He deſired to reſign his command; but that favour was denied him. As to the *States*, they had now no other reſource but their own intrepidity and determined reſolution to ſuffer every extremity, rather than again ſubmit to *Spaniſh* tyranny. The prince of *Orange* endeavoured to animate them, and ſucceeded

1580. ſo far, that in the beginning of the year 1580, the *United Pro-*

*vinces*

vinces chose for their sovereign *Francis Hercules de Valois*, duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*. This step was greatly owing to the forwardness of a marriage treaty then in agitation, between the duke and queen *Elizabeth*. The duke's sovereignty did not, however, abridge the prince of *Orange*'s power, as Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and indeed that great man laid his schemes with so much foresight and justice, both to himself and the cause of liberty, that the duke's sovereignty over the *Netherlands* was no better than nominal. The moderation of the archduke *Matthias*, was equal to the policy of the prince; for finding himself unsupported, he quietly resigned the government with the approbation of the *States*, who applauded the equanimity and prudence of his conduct. The king of *Spain* now offered 25,000 crowns, to any who would bring him the prince of *Orange*'s head, and his proclamation was answered by order of the prince, in terms which shewed, that there was now an end of all decorum between them.

The duke of *Anjou* created duke of *Brabant*.

In the beginning of the year 1581, the magistracy of *Brussels* banished the monks and popish clergy from their city. Both armies in the *Netherlands* were mutinous for want of pay; but the confederates generals durst not imitate the conduct of the duke of *Parma*, who suffered his soldiers to live on free quarters. He endeavoured to corrupt the *Zealanders*; they took his money, but betrayed his secret to the prince of *Orange*; and he reduced *Nivelle* and *Conde*. On the 26th of *July*, the *States General* published a writing, which they entitled, *The Abdication of Philip king of Spain*, whereby they excluded him from all authority over the *Netherlands*. The duke of *Parma* answered this paper, which was well penned, by blocking up *Cambray*; but it was relieved by the duke of *Anjou*, who forced the duke of *Parma* to retire to *Bouchain*. The *States* pressed *Anjou* to march to *Flanders*. He was unable, as he had no money to pay his troops, who daily deserted; and he embarked for *England* upon the promising, but romantic, scheme of marrying queen *Elizabeth*. During his absence, the confederates suffered greatly. The prince of *Parma* besieged *Tournay*, which capitulated on the 29th of *November*, and the *Spanish* general, *Verdugo*, defeated the confederate army in *Friesland*, which however did not suffer greatly. The prince of *Espinoi*, one of the confederates, reduced *St. Guilain*, and in *February* 1582, the duke of *Anjou* arrived at *Antwerp*, where he was inaugurated, as duke of *Brabant*, by the prince of *Orange*, with unusual splendour.

1581. War in the *Netherlands* continued.

1582.

The proscription issued, and a reward offered, by *Philip*, for the prince of *Orange*'s life, were not without their effects. A *Biscayen*, one *Gaspar Anastra*, was encouraged by a *Dominican*, to whom he confessed himself, to employ one of his domestics, in assassinating the prince of *Orange* while he resided at the castle of *Antwerp*. The murderer discharged a pistol and wounded the prince behind the ear, but was killed by the prince's attendants, and the *Dominican* was hanged; but we know

Attempt on the prince of *Orange*'s life.

know nothing farther with regard to this plot. *Norris*, at this time, commanded the *Engliſh* troops in the *Netherlands*. The count of *Reneberg* beſieged *Steenwick* in *Frieſland*, but he was beat by *Norris*, and the ſiege was raiſed. The proud imperious behaviour of *Norris* diſguſted the *Engliſh*, many of whom left him, and he was, in his turn, beat by *Verdugo*. *Norris* had ſtill 1500 foot and 300 horſe left, and though attacked by the duke of *Parma* in perſon, he made a glorious retreat under the walls of *Ghent*.

**An inactive campaign.**

The duke of *Parma*, to the eternal reproach of his memory, ſeems not to have been ignorant beforehand, of the attempt upon the prince of *Orange*'s life; and at the time it was made, he wrote circular letters to the confederate allies, in a ſtrain that ſhewed that he imagined it had taken effect. On the 23d of *July* he took *Oudenarde*, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the duke of *Anjou*, who, about the ſame time, ſurprized *Aloſt*. *Anjou*'s infantry was commanded by the count *de Rochfort*, who was encamped under the walls of *Ghent*; nor could the duke of *Parma* bring them to a general engagement. It is hard to figure a more deſpicable appearance than both armies, at this time, made in the *Netherlands*. That of the duke of *Parma* was employed in garriſoning places he ſuſpected; nor could he bring above 4000 men to the field; but he had the addreſs to prevail with the *Walloons*, to readmit the *Spaniſh* troops into the *Netherlands*, conſiſting of 5000 *Spaniards* and 4000 *Italians*. The confederates had no money but what they received from *Elizabeth*, and they engaged 4000 *Swiſs* and a body of *French* in their pay; but nothing of any great conſequence was done this campaign; the auxiliaries on both ſides arriving ſo late, that they immediately went into winter-quarters.

**The *States* jealous of the duke of *Anjou*,**

On the firſt of *July*, this year, the *Spaniſh* court exhibited a freſh ſpecimen of its murderous diſpoſition, in a conſpiracy that was formed at *Bruges*, againſt the lives of the duke of *Anjou*, and the princes of *Orange* and *Eſpinoi*. When the plotters were ſeized and tortured, they laid the blame upon the duke of *Parma*. Hiſtorical juſtice, however, obliges us to obſerve, that we are to give no great credit either to confeſſions extorted by the rack, or to the report of ſuch confeſſions. A ſhort time diſcovered, that queen *Elizabeth* and the prince of *Orange* were acting a part unknown to the reſt of *Europe*. *Henry* III. of *France*, privately diſcouraged his brother in his attempt in the *Netherlands*. The prince of *Orange*, by *Elizabeth*'s direction, had rendered the *States* jealous of him; and at laſt, he found himſelf obliged to rely upon the caſual ſupport of *French* adventurers, who, captivated by his ſounding titles of duke of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, had followed his fortunes. He could no longer maintain them without ſome fixed revenue.

**who ſeizes many places,**

The queen-mother of *France*, who governed that kingdom, informed him, that he was to expect no further aſſiſtance from his brother; and he reſolved upon a blow which ſhould make him an actual and independent ſovereign. He employed his

his *French* troops in seizing *Dunkirk*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Vilvorde*; the *States* having made difficulty of admitting the *French* into those garrisons. In other places he failed, and having undertaken *Antuerp* in person, his troops were driven out of it by the prince of *Orange* and the burghers, with the loss of 1500 men killed and taken prisoners. This was a favourable circumstance for the duke of *Parma*, as the *States*, however they dissembled the matter, never afterwards cordially trusted the duke of *Anjou*. They applied to the prince of *Orange* for advice; he privately counselled them to temporize; but to stand on their own footing, and to bid defiance both to the *French* and *Spaniards*.

The duke of *Anjou* threw out to his brother the bait of succeeding him, as duke of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and it had some effect, especially as the duke had surprized *Eyndoven*, which had been besieged for three months, and was now obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The *French* prisoners at *Antwerp* were released; and the *French* gave up the property of the *Flemish* merchants in *France*, with the towns of *Vilvorde*, *Dendermonde*, and *St. Vinox*. In short, a mutual amnesty, between the *French* and the *States*, seemed now to take place. The marshal *Biron* commanded the *French* army; but though he obtained some advantages, he was defeated by the duke of *Parma* near *Bergen-op-zoom*. The duke of *Anjou*, finding his sovereignty not only nominal but unsupported, retired to *France*; and the duke of *Parma* retook *Dunkirk*, *Furnes*, *Neuport*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Menin*. Those successes of the duke of *Parma* were the more alarming, as the prince of *Orange* in the year 1584, was obliged to quit *Ghent*, whose magistracy declared for the *Spaniards*; but were repressed, when ready to deliver up the city to the duke of *Parma*, by a seasonable supply of troops from *Antwerp* and *Brussels*. The prince of *Orange* continued firm, but singular, in the cause of liberty. He had married a daughter of the famous admiral *Coligni* for a fourth wife. The *States* thought him too much attached to the *French* interest to trust him; and imagined, perhaps not entirely without foundation, that he aspired to the Stadtholdership of all the revolted provinces. What the event might have been, had he been spared to longer life, is hard to say; but he was murdered by the pistol of an assassin enthusiast, one *Balthazor Gerard*, or *Guion*, at *Delph*. The murderer was one of the prince's domestics. He accused the prince of *Parma* upon the rack, of being accessory to the assassination; but he appears to have been insane. About the same time died the duke of *Anjou*, partly through chagrin, and partly through intemperance.

but is obliged to quit his government.

1584.

Death of the prince of *Orange*, and the duke of *Anjou*.

## *The History of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

# BOOK II.

THE cauſe of public liberty ſuffered greatly by the loſs of the prince of *Orange*. If he had a fault while living, it was that of being too reſerved, and not ſufficiently communicative; for by his immature death, none was found who was in the ſecret of the mighty deſigns he certainly had in view.

Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* choſen Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

His ſon, prince *Maurice*, though but eighteen years of age, was choſen Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and though his revenue, as ſuch, could not furniſh him with a decent equipage as a private nobleman, yet he was to take the field againſt the duke of *Parma*. All his efforts and thoſe of his friends muſt have been in vain, had not the people been animated by an enthuſiaſm of deteſtation at his father's murderers. *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyſſel*, followed the example of *Zealand* and *Holland*, and the union of *Utrecht* was renewed with a ſpirit that the pangs of deſpairing liberty alone could dictate. The duke of *Parma* took advantage of the prince of *Orange*'s death, by reducing ſeveral places, and cutting off the communication between *Antwerp* and *Holland*, and forming the ſiege of that city. In *October*, after taking *Dunkirk*, he formed the ſtupendous project of building a bridge over the *Schelde*, and the *Engliſh* troops who had garriſoned *Aloſt* entered into his ſervice. Preparations were made for the ſiege of *Antwerp*, but in the mean time, the citizens of *Ghent*, intimidated by the duke's vigour, admitted a *Spaniſh* garriſon on the 17th of *September*. The *Antwerpers* made a noble defence, and it coſt the duke ſeven months to perfect his bridge. It appears as if he had ſecretly correſponded with a party of the citizens, who counteracted all that their governor, *Aldegonde*, propoſed for their defence. The *Zealanders* attempted to relieve the city, but in vain; and by means of the bridge already mentioned, the duke of *Parma* again reduced *Antwerp* to the obedience of the *Spaniſh* crown. The behaviour of the *Netherlanders*, on this occaſion, gives us lively ideas of their ſentiments and manners. Though exaſperated almoſt to frenzy againſt the *Spaniards*, yet they refuſed to advance the money, that could have enabled their engineers to have deſtroyed the bridge, and it was thought that the city of *Amſterdam* was by no means inclined to prevent ſuch a rival as *Antwerp*, from falling under a deſpotic government, which muſt cruſh its commerce.

State of the armies in the *Netherlands*.

In this deplorable ſtate of the confederates, *Henry* III. of *France* offered them his aſſiſtance, but they applied to *Elizabeth*. It appears from the ſtate papers of that time, that the *Spaniſh* force, beſides garriſons, were 3000 foot, and 23 companies of horſe quartered in *Gueldres*; 5000 horſe and foot who lay in or near *Antwerp*; 3000 about *Ghent*, and 500

were employed in the ſiege of *Dermont*. To oppoſe this great force, the *States General* had in the field no more than 3000 foot with 2500 horſe, who lay near *Zutphen*, with 3000 *German* foot, and 400 horſe, whom they had hired. The deputies whom the *States* employed with *Elizabeth*, were *De Gryce* and *Ortel*; and they offered to raiſe 330,000 florins monthly, as follows, *Brabant*, 60,000; *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, 200,000; *Frize*, 36,000; *Gueldres* and *Overyſſel*, 30,000. Some have ſaid, though improbably, that *Elizabeth* was offered the ſovereignty of the *Low Countries*; but had that been the caſe, ſhe certainly would have embraced it. When the propoſal of aſſiſtance was laid before her, ſhe inſtantly ſaw the expediency of preventing the *States* from ſinking under the power of *Spain*. She ſent over *Daviſon*, an able and a truſty miniſter, to countermine *Aldegonde*, who was inclined to the *Spaniſh* intereſt, and inſtead of furniſhing the *States* with 4000 foot and 400 horſe, which they demanded, to offer them 5000 foot and 1000 horſe. The conditions were, "That "*Brill* and *Fluſhing* ſhould be immediately put into her hands, "together with ſome other principal town in each province, "at her choice at any time, when ſhe ſhould thereafter de-"mand the ſame."

*Daviſon* had various other inſtructions, which manifeſt the prodigious abilities of his miſtreſs for government. The *Engliſh* governors of the cautionary towns, were to have no concern with their civil government, and the inhabitants were even to have ſome preferable advantages in their trade with *England*. *Daviſon* at the ſame time declared, that the queen was reſolved to ſend over an *Engliſh* nobleman, to heal the wounds which their government had received by their animoſities, and at laſt the bargain, which was ſtruck, was in ſubſtance as follows: "That *Elizabeth* was to ſend over 5000 foot and 1000 horſe, under an *Engliſh* general, and to pay them during "the war, but to be repaid as ſoon as the peace could be "ſettled. That in the mean while, *Fluſhing*, and the caſtle of "*Ramekins* in *Wacheren*, and the iſle of *Brill*, with the city "and two forts, were to be delivered into the queen's hands "for caution. That the governors of thoſe places ſhould ex-"erciſe no authority over the inhabitants, but only over the "garriſon-ſoldiers, who ſhould pay exciſe and impoſitions as "well as the inhabitants. That the ſaid places, after the "money was repaid, ſhould be reſtored again to the eſtates, "and not delivered to the *Spaniards*, or any other enemy "whatſoever. That the governor-general, and two *Engliſh-"men*, whom the queen ſhould name, ſhould be admitted into "the council of the *States*. That the *States* ſhould make no "league with any, without the advice and conſent of the "queen; neither ſhould the queen, with the king of *Spain*, "without the advice of the *States*. That an equal number of "ſhips ſhould be fitted out, for the common defence, by both "parties, and at the common charge, and be commanded by

Queen *Elizabeth* concludes a treaty with the *States*.

Its terms.

" the admiral of *England*: And that the havens and ports
" ſhould be open and free on both ſides mutually."

Imprudence of the earl of *Leiceſter*, general in the *Netherlands*.

The earl of *Leiceſter*, was nominated by *Elizabeth*, her general in the *Low Countries*. Sir *Thomas Cecil* took poſſeſſion of *Brill*, as Sir *Philip Sidney* did of *Fluſhing* and *Ramekins*. *Elizabeth*, at the ſame time, publiſhed a manifeſto in defence of her own conduct, but was not a little puzzled how to conceal from the world, that ſhe was aſſiſting ſubjects againſt their lawful ſovereign. The moſt ſenſible argument, in fact, in her manifeſto, was, that *Philip* had ſet her the example, by fomenting a rebellion of her own ſubjects in *Ireland*. The earl of *Leiceſter* was received by the confederates, as their guardian angel, and treated with ſuch a profuſion of power and honours, as gave umbrage to *Elizabeth*, partial as ſhe was in his favour. He even affected an independency upon his miſtreſs, which had ſome colour, from the prodigious powers with which ſhe had inveſted him; but he ſoon diſcovered, that he had neither moderation, nor abilities to ſupport the authority he aſſumed. *Elizabeth*, to divide the *Spaniſh* force, fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips, to act againſt them in *America*, under Sir *Francis Drake*; but did not fail to remonſtrate to the *States General*, upon the imprudence of their conduct towards *Leiceſter*. The truth is, that the jealouſy ſhe expreſſed aroſe partly from her apprehenſion, of ſhutting out all poſſibility of reconciliation with the court of *Spain*, and ſhe ſent over *Heneage*, her vice-chamberlain, to be a check upon *Leiceſter*. We cannot poſitively pronounce, whether great part of the reſentment, ſhe ſhewed on this occaſion againſt *Leiceſter*, was not affected, eſpecially, as he reſigned no part of his aſſumed power. Her view, probably, was to have taken upon herſelf the ſovereignty of the *Netherlands*; but her deſign was balked by the imprudence of *Leiceſter*, who filled all places of power, or profit in the *Netherlands*, with his own creatures, oppoſed calling *Germans* in to the aſſiſtance of the *States*, and even erected an arbitrary coinage. To compenſate for thoſe miſmanagements, he affected to introduce diſcipline into the army, and to preclude the *Hollanders* from an illicit trade, a precaution which had almoſt ruined them, becauſe they could not ſubſiſt without it.

Succeſſes of the duke of *Parma*.

In the mean while, the duke of *Parma* was gaining vaſt advantages. He took *Grave*, *Venlo*, and other towns, notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance made by the *Engliſh*, who ſeem at this time to have borne the brunt of the war. After this, he obliged a great number of places to capitulate; but he was beaten from *Birk* by *Morgan*, an *Engliſh* officer, who threw himſelf into the place with 1000 men. *Leiceſter*, in the mean time, beſieged *Zutphen*, which the duke of *Parma* ſuccoured, and the brave Sir *Philip Sidney* was killed in attacking one of his convoys. All that *Leiceſter* did was to reduce *Doeſburgh*, and he retired into winter-quarters, with the moſt contemptible character any man ever held in ſo high a ſtation. He did all

he

he could by his arrogance, pride, and ill-judged partiality, to render himſelf odious to the *States General*, and, at laſt, it plainly appeared, that he aſpired at making the *States* dependent either upon himſelf or his miſtreſs, who he pretended had the ſole right to the ſovereignty. It muſt be acknowledged, that there is ſomething very dark in this part of *Elizabeth*'s conduct, and there is reaſon to believe, that the whole of *Leiceſter*'s management was dictated by herſelf.

Miſconduct of the earl of *Leiceſter*.

*Elizabeth*, it is true, had been offered the ſovereignty of *Holland*; but ſhe was to be bound by terms; *Leiceſter* wanted to give it her without terms. Some of the towns of *Holland*, were influenced by the *States*, to refuſe to admit *Engliſh* garriſons; and *Leiceſter* applied himſelf to the loweſt arts; thoſe of courting the clergy, and the meaneſt part of the people, to take part againſt their magiſtrates. In this he was ſucceſsful; but *Elizabeth*, by her uncommon turn of policy and temper, finding it impracticable to ſupport him under his miſmanagement, left him to his unpopularity, which was as great in *England* as it was in *Holland*. He durſt not own, that he had all along acted by *Elizabeth*'s inſtructions, and he thought of overawing the *States General*, by making a demand upon them from *England*, of 480,000 livres, for the payment of his troops. The *States* anſwered him, by remonſtrating to *Elizabeth* againſt his conduct, and count *Hohenlo*, or as others call him *Hollak*, openly declared himſelf his enemy. The duke of *Parma* made advantage of *Leiceſter*'s unpopularity, by debauching two popiſh *Engliſh* officers, *York* and *Stanley*, to whom *Leiceſter* had imprudently given capital truſts. *York* gave up *Zutphen*, and *Stanley*, *Daventer*; and both of them their regiments. The *States General* ſaw themſelves in a manner deſerted, the duke of *Parma* having made preparations to beſiege *Oſtend* and *Sluys*. The former was ſaved by a reinforcement of *Engliſh*; the latter was reduced, but obtained an honourable capitulation, after a two months ſiege. The earl of *Leiceſter* had, by this time, wrought himſelf again into *Elizabeth*'s good graces, and returned to *Holland*, at the time that the *States General* were about to inveſt prince *Maurice* with the Stadtholderſhip of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frieſland*. *Leiceſter* arrived in *Holland* time enough to have ſaved *Sluys*, and it was owing to his miſmanagement that it was loſt.

His intrigues in the *Low Countries*.

The *States*, devoted as they were to queen *Elizabeth*, could not, with any cordiality, ſee *Leiceſter* reſume the government. They indured him indeed; but a ſtrong oppoſition to him was formed by *Hollak*. *Elizabeth* ſet over the lord *Buckhurſt*, and other commiſſioners as checks upon him; but the clamour againſt him was now ſo great, that ſhe was, againſt her will, compelled to diſavow his meaſures. Notwithſtanding this, *Leiceſter* knew ſhe would patronize him, if he could make his party good, and he found himſelf powerful in *Utrecht*, and many other places, eſpecially among the clergy. A paper war began, in which *Leiceſter* was inconteſtibly foiled, and the

lord *Buckhurſt*, one of the ableſt men in *England*, projected a new plan of government for the *Belgic* confederacy, in which he himſelf was to be the preſident of the council. Queen *Elizabeth* ſecretly diſcountenanced this plan, and the oppoſition to *Leiceſter* went ſo far, that they accuſed him of intended treachery againſt prince *Maurice*, *Olden-Barnveldt*, and thirteen other heads of the *States*, whom he intended to put to death. Prince *Maurice* abſconded, by which the pannic of the public was heightened, and *Leiceſter* made a progreſs through the provinces, but was well received only by the dregs of the people, and the furious ignorant clergy. At laſt, *Leiceſter*, to leave no room for doubting of his arbitrary intentions, endeavoured, by means of one *Coſmo*, an *Italian*, to ſurprize *Leyden*; but the deſign miſcarrying, the conſpirators loſt their heads, upon which *Leiceſter* was heard to declare, that he thought it high time for him to take care of his own, and hurried back to *England*. Upon his return, the *States General* had convincing evidences of his intentions to have ſeized the ſovereignty of *Holland*, in private concert with *Elizabeth*; but they prudently concealed the diſcovery, for fear of diſobliging her.

are diſcovered, and miſcarry.

The court of *Spain* was at this time preparing to invade *England*, with one of the moſt powerful armaments that ever had appeared upon the ſeas, and *Leiceſter* was to command the land troops of *England*. *Elizabeth*, though paſſionately fond of his perſon, ſtript him of his government of the *Low Countries*, but, at the ſame time, ſhe diſgraced *Buckhurſt*, for impeaching his conduct. Her danger from the invaſions obliged her to lay aſide all her deſigns againſt the *States General*, and the duke of *Parma*, received orders from the court of *Spain*, to ſuſpend all operations but thoſe againſt *England*. *Elizabeth* has been blamed for not diverting the blow aimed againſt her own dominions, by vigorouſly ſupporting the *Netherlands*. But ſhe judged better; for though the hand of providence had not interpoſed as it did in defeating the *Spaniſh* invaſion, there is the higheſt probability, that the internal ſtrength of *England* would have been ſufficient Even during the preparations for this invaſion, negotiations of peace were carrying on, between the duke of *Parma*, and the *Engliſh* commiſſaries; but as they were meant on both ſides only to gain time, the particulars are not worth relating. The lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby*, who yielded only to the duke of *Parma*, in abilities, as a general, had ſucceeded *Leiceſter*, in the command of the *Engliſh* army, in the *Netherlands*; but *Elizabeth* bound him up from doing any thing, without the advice and conſent of Sir *William Pelham*. Upon the defeat of the *Spaniſh* armada, *Leiceſter* appeared in greater favour with *Elizabeth* than ever, and procured the diſgrace of all the *Engliſh* who had thwarted his meaſures, excepting the lord *Willoughby*. The duke of *Parma* now returned, with double application, to the affairs of his government. On the 24th of *September*, 1588, he formed the ſiege

Defeat of the *Spaniſh* armada.

1588.

of *Bergen-op-zoom*, but it was ſo bravely defended by lord *Willughby*, that he was forced to raiſe the ſiege.

Though the earl of *Leiceſter* was diveſted of his government of the *Netherlands*, yet by *Elizabeth*'s connivance, he kept up ſo ſtrong a party among the towns, as might have hazarded their independency, had he not died on the 14th of *September* this year. By his death, all of them ſubmitted to the *States General*, excepting *Gertruydenberg*, which joined the duke of *Parma*; while count *Manſveldt*, a *Spaniſh* general, by an unuſual exertion of military abilities, reduced *Wachtendonck* on the 20th of *December*. The duke of *Parma* was but ill ſupported by the court of *Spain*, and chagrin had impaired his health. He had no money to pay his troops, and the ungrateful *Spaniards* blamed him for miſcarrying before *Bergen-op-zoom*. On the other hand, prince *Maurice*, with the counts *Solms* and *Holak* were united, and ſo vigorous that they reduced *Heuſdin*. *Warenben*, the *Spaniſh* governor of *Guelderland*, was defeated by general *Schenk*, in an attempt he made upon *Rhimberg*. He renewed the attempt upon *Schenk*'s death, and though it was defended by the *Engliſh*, under Sir *Francis Vere*, who again defeated him, the *States General* ſuffered the place to fall into his hands. Prince *Maurice*, however, began now to give ſtrong proofs of his military genius. He defeated *Verdugo*, the *Spaniſh* general more than once, and the affairs of the confederates were this year greatly advanced by ſurprizing *Breda*, the key of *Brabant*. The duke of *Parma*, who was returned from drinking the waters of the *Spa*, made repeated efforts for taking this important place, but he was obliged to employ his arms in defending *Nimeguen*, which was threatened to be beſieged by prince *Maurice*.

Death of the earl of *Leiceſter*.

One of the advantages that *Spain* derived from the duke of *Parma*'s government, was the encouraging the privateers of *Dunkirk*, who annoyed the commerce of the *States General*, which was now very conſiderable, and had encreaſed ſo amazingly, that they were not only enabled to check the *Dunkirk* privateers, but to give great aſſiſtance to *Henry* IV. of *France*, againſt the popiſh league, which the duke of *Parma* was ordered to ſupport. He began his march towards *France*, with 12,000 foot and 3000 horſe, and left his command in the *Low Countries* to count *Manſfeldt*. During his abſence, prince *Maurice* gained vaſt advantages, and *Norris*, the *Engliſh* governor of *Oſtend*, reduced the fort of *Blamemberg*, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In the beginning of the year 1591, prince *Maurice* was at the head of 10,000 foot and 1000 horſe, and ſurprized *Zutphen* and *Daventer*, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the duke of *Parma*. He then threatened *Groningen* and *Nimeguen*; but his progreſs was retarded by the duke of *Parma*, who beſieged *Knotſemberg*, but was again ordered to march into *France*. This was the laſt campaign made in the *Netherlands* by that great general, who was worthy of a better fate than that of ſerving ſo ungrateful a court as that of *Spain*.

Encreaſe of the naval power of the *States*.

1591.

The duke of *Parma* retires from the *Low Countries.*

He was, it is true, an *Italian*, and ſtuck at nothing to gain his ends by aſſaſſination or poiſon; but in other reſpects he was generous, and he regarded military merit even in his enemies. He was moſt ſcrupulouſly faithful to his truſt, and even when he left it, he endeavoured to perſuade the citizens of *Nimeguen* to receive a *Spaniſh* garriſon, but he could not prevail.

Succeſſes of prince *Maurice.*

Prince *Maurice* now appeared with great luſtre. On the 25th of *September* he reduced *Hulſt*. After that he threatened *Dunkirk* and *Neuport*; but all of a ſudden he diſcharged ſuch a ſhower of red hot bullets into *Nimeguen*, that that important town ſurrendered, and he gave it magiſtrates. This and many other exploits, raiſed the young prince to the higheſt pitch of credit with the *United Provinces*, whoſe heads were now convinced, that they muſt truſt to the *Orange* family, for continuing independent. The emperor *Rodolph*, in the beginning

1592. of the year 1592, officiouſly offered his mediation between *Philip* and the *States General*; but both parties appeared as irreconcilable as ever. In *July*, this year, prince *Maurice* reduced *Steinwych* and *Oknarſch*, with various other places, and defeated *Verdugo*. The duke of *Parma* had not been permitted by *Philip* to reſign his government, but he took little or no

1593. concern in its affairs. Count *Manſveldt*, in the year 1593, was made governor of the *Spaniſh* provinces; the duke of *Archot* of *Flanders*; the prince *de Chimai* of *Hainault*, and the count *de Aremberg* of *Artois*. Thoſe appointments would have been prudent, had not the real government continued to be veſted in *Spaniards*. *Manſveldt* cut off all communication with the revolted provinces, on pain of death, and they publiſhed edicts, declaring, they would give no quarter to any of the inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, who did not join them before the 1ſt of *February*. Count *Philip* of *Naſſau* carried fire and ſword into the province of *Luxembourg*, and for ſome time the ſubjects of *Spain* as well as of the *States General*, ſuffered the moſt inconceivable miſeries of war, no quarter being given on either ſide. Every day was, at this time, producing ſome new improvement in the art of deſtroying the human ſpecies; and prince *Maurice* beſieged *Gertruydenberg*, in a manner that never before had been practiſed by the ableſt commanders, for his lines of circumvallation extended to near 12 miles. *Manſveldt* at the head of 12,000 foot, and 3000 horſe, attempted to force them, in doing which, he carried on a regular ſiege, in which, however, he was foiled, and the garriſon of *Gertruydenberg* capitulated on the 23d of *July*. *Manſveldt*, after this, was baffled in every attempt, which was the more mortifying to him, as he had always affected to treat prince *Maurice* as a raw boy.

Mutiny in the *Spaniſh* army.

The prince turned his arms next againſt *Verdugo*, who commanded in *Frieſland*, and atteinpted to cut off the communication of *Gromingen* with *Germany*. The campaign was ſpent in various operations, which ſhewed great generalſhip on both ſides.

fides. *Verdugo* attempted to do ſomewhat deciſive, by ſurprizing *Maurice* in his lines, but he was baffled by that prince's vigilance. The campaign ended by a fruitleſs attempt made by *Manſveldt* againſt *Zealand*, and another made by the prince againſt *Bruges*. We have in another part of this work, mentioned the appointment of *Erneſt*, archduke of *Auſtria*, by *Philip*, who was in hopes of thereby reclaiming the revolters to their allegiance. He was deceived. *Erneſt* had no money to pay his troops, and he applied to the *States General*, by writing, to perſuade them to ſubmiſſion. This proceeding diſobliged the *Spaniſh* officers, who amaſſed immenſe fortunes by the continuance of the war, and gained nothing from the *States*. Several conſpiracies were diſcovered, or pretended to be diſcovered, againſt the life of prince *Maurice*, and it was given out that they had been approved of by the archduke, who ſoon became an object, at once of popular contempt and deteſtation. During the winter, *Verdugo* was obliged to raiſe the blockade he had formed about *Coeverden*; and on the 24th of *July* prince *Maurice*, after an obſtinate ſiege, reduced *Groningen*. So many loſſes and diſaſters exhauſted the patience even of the *Spaniſh* army, which became mutinous for want of pay, and the ſoldiers threatened to indemnify themſelves by the plunder of *Bruſſels* and other places dependent on the crown of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*. Notwithſtanding all that the archduke and *Velaſco*, an active *Spaniſh* general, could do, part of the mutineers continued in a body, and were favoured, though not taken into pay, by prince *Maurice*. About this time, *Balagnay*, the governor of *Cambray*, being blockaded by the archduke, declared for the confederates, and *Henry* IV. threatened to take ſevere repriſals for ſome incurſions the *Spaniſh* parties made into *France*.

1595. Diſcontent of the *Flemings*.

In 1595, the animoſities between the *Spaniards* and the *Flemings* in the *Low Countries* had ſilently proceeded to ſuch a height that the archduke was obliged to call an aſſembly at *Bruſſels* for allaying them. The duke of *Archot* headed the oppoſition, and complained in very loud terms of the *Spaniſh* inſolence and tyranny. The ſentiments of the aſſembly were for peace, which the archduke deceitfully ſeemed to favour. It was expected that in this aſſembly the complaints and menaces of *Henry* IV. would have been taken into conſideration. No regard was paid to them; *Henry* was provoked into a declaration of war againſt *Philip*, and ordered the duke of *Bouillon* to join his army with that of the confederate ſtates. In the mean while, the archduke, *Earneſt*, died, and was ſucceeded in his government by the count *de Fuentes*; but the real power was in the council of ſtate, which was wholly *Spaniſh*. *Fuentes* obliged *Bruſſels* to receive a *Spaniſh* garriſon, and his government ſoon became deteſtable from the averſion which he and the *Spaniſh* faction ſhewed for peace. The main ſtrength of the *States General*, at this time, lay in the army commanded by the duke of *Bouillon*; but

prince *Maurice*, though at the head of only a ſmall army, made head againſt *Mandragon*, a *Spaniſh* general of 80 years of age, without obtaining any remarkable advantage over the old man. *Fuentes* endeavoured to recommence the negociations for peace, and was ſo ſucceſsful that he reclaimed the *Spaniſh* mutineers to their duty, and thereby encreaſed his troops. He now ſeemed determined to do ſomewhat that was deciſive. He had four armies in the field; one commanded by *Velaſco* was in *Burgundy*; one under *Waremben* in *Artois* and *Picardy*; old *Mandragon* commanded that which acted againſt the prince of *Orange*, as *Verdugo* did that in *Luxembourg*.

Difference between the *States* and *Elizabeth*.

The *States General* had, by this time, attained to a degree of ſovereignty which was favoured by the riſing and immenſe progreſs of their trade. They ſeemed to conſider *Henry* IV. in the ſame light as they had *Elizabeth* ſome time ago; and this offended both her pride and her ambition. She complained of their diſreſpect, though to ſay the truth, they had been forced into their alliance with *Henry*, by his threatening to make peace with *Spain*, and thereby leaving *Philip* at liberty to employ the whole of his force in the *Low Countries*. A vaſt number of her ſubjects were ſtill ſerving in their armies; a great debt was due to her from the *States*, and ſhe demanded it by her ambaſſador Sir *Thomas Bodely*, not without ſome menaces if the requeſt was not complied with. The *States* pleaded poverty, and that they were not obliged to diſcharge the debt before the end of the war, and even demurred towards diſcharging the original ſum. Upon *Bodeley*'s preſſing them and renewing his threats, they made the following offers: "That they would immediately free the queen from the entire expence relating to the maintenance of the *Engliſh* auxiliaries (computed at 40,000 *l. per annum.*) That they would pay 20,000*l.* ſterling for ſome years, aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips, and conclude no peace or treaties without her conſent. That upon the concluſion of the peace they would pay her a yearly ſum of 100,000*l.* for four years; with this reſerve notwithſtanding, that they ſhould have out of *England* a ſupply of 4,000 men, and a free and full diſcharge of all debts and demands."

Demands of *Elizabeth*.

Thoſe offers were backed by the moſt moving remonſtrances concerning the miſerable ſtate of the *United Provinces*; but *Elizabeth* was not to be impoſed on. She knew the flouriſhing ſtate of their commerce; that they had lent money to the *French* king; and ſhe inſiſted upon her demand, till they were obliged to quiet her by lending her 25 ſail of ſhips of war to act againſt the *Spaniards*. *Philip* was now old and diſguſted with the world, and he committed the government of the *Low Countries* to the cardinal archduke *Albert*, whom we have already mentioned in the hiſtory of *Germany*. His intention was to give the remaining provinces in dowry with the infanta *Clara Iſabella Eugenia*, wife to the cardinal, and that

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they

they ſhould thereby become a ſtate independent of the crown of *Spain*. *Albert*, about the ſame time, obtained the liberty of *Philip* of *Orange*, who had been 28 years a priſoner to *Philip* of *Spain*, and was eldeſt ſon to the great prince *William*. This prince had been educated a *Roman* catholic, and the *Spaniards* propoſed to make great uſe of him in reducing the ſeven *United Provinces*, whoſe independency had been ſo glorioufly eſtabliſhed by his father, but he was diſappointed, for the *Dutch* ſaw the ſcheme, and avoided it.

Encreaſe of the *Dutch* commerce.

The commerce of the *Dutch* was, at this time, at an incredible height. They ſent, at leaſt, 70,000 ſailors every year to ſea. The bloody war they were engaged in ſeemed to encreaſe their wealth, as it heightened their ſpirits, and even *Philip*, their capital enemy, was obliged to connive at their carrying on a moſt gainful trade with his *Spaniſh* and *Portuguese* ſubjects. Archduke *Albert*, when he took upon him the government of the *Provinces* in the year 1596, was in high reputation all over *Europe* for his abilities, but engaged in a war with *France*. His firſt ſtep was to take *Calais*, and had it not been too late in the ſeaſon, he would have beſieged *Oſtend*, which was garriſoned by the *Engliſh*. He, however, beſieged and took *Hulſt*, the garriſon of which had been weakened by a detachment that prince *Maurice* had ſent off to *Breda*. The affairs of that prince was, at this time, in an untowardly ſituation. The vaſt attention of the *States* to commerce had made their armies weak, and they were farther reduced by the ſuccours they were obliged to furniſh to *Elizabeth* of *England*, and *Henry* IV. of *France*. It was therefore thought that the prince gave ſecret orders for the ſurrender of *Hulſt*, that he might ſave its garriſon, conſiſting of 3,000 men, to make head againſt the cardinal, who commanded 30,000. In *November*, the *States* concluded a new treaty with *Henry* IV. of *France*, by which he engaged to pay him 450,000 florins for maintaining 4,000 men in *France*, provided *Philip* did not attack him in his own dominions; and in conſideration of this ſeaſonable ſupply, *Henry* gave the ſubjects of the *States* many valuable privileges in *France*, particularly that of being exempted from the "*droits des aubaines*," by which the goods of their ſubjects dying in *France* were not forfeited to that crown. In the mean while, the *Dutch*, who were commanded by *John de Duvenvoorde*, had a conſiderable ſhare in the glory which the *Engliſh* under the earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* obtained by the taking of *Cadiz*.

1596.

1597. Succeſſes of prince *Maurice*.

In the winter of the year 1597 prince *Maurice* took *Tournhout*, and beat the count *de Vareux*, one of *Albert*'s generals. He owed this advantage to an improvement he had introduced among his cavalry, whom he armed with carbines and horſe piſtols. Though the finances of *Spain* were, at this time, very low, yet *Albert*, in all probability, muſt have overwhelmed prince *Maurice* had it not been for the diverſion given

by *Henry* IV. who laid ſiege to *Arras*, but could not prevent *Dourlens* and *Amiens* from falling into the cardinal's hands. In the month of *September* prince *Maurice* took *Alphen*, *Meurs*, and *Grol*, as he did *Briefort* in *October*. Many other *Spaniſh* garriſons then ſubmitted to his arms before he went into winter quarters. The negociations for peace were renewed before the end of the year; but the confederate *States* could not be ſhaken in their capital demand, that the king of *Spain* ſhould declare them to be an independent, ſovereign, government. The emperor of *Germany* and the king of *Denmark* offered their mediation, but it was rejected, as was that of other ſtates, becauſe that preliminary was not eſtabliſhed. The marriage of archduke *Albert* with the infanta *Clara Iſabella*, and the cutting off the *Provinces* from their dependence on *Spain* were favourable incidents, but not ſufficient to divert them from their purpoſe, and *Philip* applied himſelf to detach *Henry* IV. from his confederacy with the *States* and the queen of *England*. *France* ſtood as much in need of peace as *Spain* did, and *Henry* repreſented this to the *States* by his ambaſſador *Buſenvel*, with the advantageous terms offered him by *Philip*. The *States*, in vain, endeavoured to divert *Henry* from his purpoſe, and the treaty was concluded at *Vervins* on the 2d of *May*.

The peace of *Vervins.*

*Elizabeth* of *England*, as well as the *States General*, affected to be highly diſguſted with the peace of *Vervins*, which was on *Henry*'s part a meaſure equally wiſe as neceſſary. For ſome time, *England* and *Holland* negociated together about carrying on the war, which the *Dutch* ſeemed to be very intent upon, but *Elizabeth* could not be driven from her main point; and treated *Juſtin Naſſau* and *Barneveldt*, their ambaſſadors, with great ſeverity, becauſe ſhe had not been repaid her money, though *Henry* IV. had paid them what he owed them, and though they were now ſufficiently rich from commerce. Two parties at that time divided *Elizabeth*'s councils; one headed by *Burleigh* was pacific, the other, by *Eſſex*, was the reverſe. *Elizabeth* ſecretly inclined to the former, but apparently encouraged the latter, that ſhe might have the better pretext for demanding the payment of the money the *States* owed her, and break off all their intereſted commerce with *Spain*, which enabled her to continue the war with *England*. The *States* were likewiſe informed by *Elizabeth* that their domeſtic conduct was in all reſpects unjuſtifiable; that they neither bore a proportionable ſhare in the expences of the war, and that the expences they did bear were paid in adulterated money; and that, in ſhort, they left no fraud unpractiſed that could advance their intereſt. The death of *Cecil* gave a warlike turn to *Elizabeth*'s councils, and ſhe at laſt agreed, but not without ample ſatisfaction from the *States*, to continue the war, and to renew her treaties with them. The *States* agreed that the treaty made *anno* 1585 ſhould be ratified and confirmed, excepting ſome articles relating to the civil

The *States* treat with *Elizabeth.*

civil adminiſtration; that the confederate *States* ſhould pay to the queen 800,000 *l.* of *Engliſh* money: viz. 30,000 yearly, during the continuance of the war, to be employed againſt the common enemy, until 400,000 *l.* were paid; and if a peace was agreed on between the king of *Spain* and the queen, there ſhould be paid of the remaining ſum 20,000 *l.* yearly, till the 800,000 *l.* were diſcharged; that 1150 ſoldiers, who were in the garriſons of *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, and the adjacent parts, ſhould be paid by the *States*; that they might have the liberty to levy men in *England* under *Engliſh* officers, who ſhould ſerve under their pay; that if the *Spaniards* ſhould make a deſcent on the iſles of *Wight*, *Guernſey*, *Jerſey*, or *Scilly*, the *States* ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the queen with 5,000 foot and 500 horſe; that if it was neceſſary to equip a fleet in *England* to ſerve againſt *Spain*, they ſhould provide an equal number of ſhips; that if any *Engliſh* forces were ſent over into *Flanders* or *Brabant*, they ſhould provide and furniſh out the ſame number of men; as for the money due to *Pallavicini*, the queen ſhould reimburſe herſelf from *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the reſt of the provinces which were not within the union.

By this treaty *Elizabeth* freed herſelf from an annual expence of 120,000 *l.* but at the ſame time *Philip* was left at liberty to direct the whole of his force againſt the *United Provinces*. He ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of beſtowing the government of thoſe which remained faithful to him upon the archduke *Albert*; but the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion ſtumbled him. The archduke *Albert* repaired to *Madrid*, and during his abſence the *Spaniſh* provinces were filled with mutinies and diſcontents. *Albert* arrived juſt time enough at *Madrid* to ſee *Philip* expire, but the marriage between him and the infanta *Iſabella* was ſolemnized, and *Albert* entered upon the poſſeſſion of his new ſovereignty, and laid aſide his eccleſiaſtical character. It is thought that *Philip*'s wars in *Europe* alone, during his reign, coſt him twelve hundred and fifty millions of pounds ſterling. While *Albert* remained in *Spain*, the affairs of the *Spaniſh Low Countries* were directed by his brother, *Andrew* of *Auſtria*, who made ſome freſh advances towards a peace with *England*. *Elizabeth* did not entirely reject the propoſal, but the new government had on foot an army of 25,000 men in the *Low Countries*; where the *Spaniards*, under *Mendoza*, made great progreſs. Prince *Maurice* took the field, but all he could do was to watch the enemy's motions, and take *Rhimeberg*, while *Mendoza* reduced the fortreſſes of *Alphen* and *Bronk*, and to maintain his army by the contributions he raiſed in his conqueſts. This campaign ſerved to diſplay the great abilities of prince *Maurice*, as a general, by throwing ſufficient garriſons into places of the greateſt danger, and his making head with ſo inferior an army againſt *Mendoza*.

The archduke *Albert* married to the infanta *Clara Iſabella*.

Farther progress of the *Dutch* commerce,

If we turn our eyes from the operations of war to those of commerce, the progress made by the *Dutch* is amazing. No dangers nor disappointments could deter them from embarking in new adventures. One *Balthasar Monchuen*, besides carrying on a great trade with *India*, made settlements on the continent of *Africa*, and on the islands of *St. Thomas*, from whence the settlers, however, were driven by the treachery of the *Portuguese*. Other *Dutch* merchants sent ships to *California*, through the *Straits* of *Magellan*, in hopes of discovering a passage to *Japan* and *China*. Besides those private adventures, their great commercial companies sent 30 large ships to trade to the *East* and *West Indies*. The *French* procured them many advantages in the *Levant*; and, above all, their fisheries in the *British* seas, produced them mines of wealth. Even their military men turned merchant-adventurers; and a small squadron fitted out by prince *Maurice* made vast captures. The *Dutch*, instead of applying themselves to privateering, found now their commerce so enlarged, that their shipping became often a prey to the privateers of other *States*, who seized it under *Spanish* colours, till at last they were obliged to give orders for blocking up the harbour of *Calais*.

who intermeddle in the affairs of *Germany*.

The reader, in the history of *Germany*, may see the disordered state of the empire at this time, and the vast outrages committed there by the *Spanish* soldiers, under the command of *Mendoza*, who was an enthusiast in superstition and popery. The princes of the empire, in vain, endeavoured to get rid of those unwelcome guests; but were unable, through the differences that reigned among themselves, though all agreed in their detestation of the *Spaniards*. Prince *Maurice*, in the

1599. winter of the year 1599, surprized *Emmeric*, and made an effort to transfer the seat of war to *Germany*, in hopes of being assisted by the princes of the empire, against the oppressive *Spaniards*. *Emmeric* was retaken, but the *States*, who now proceeded with amazing vigour and spirit, in supporting prince *Maurice*, enabled him to take *Zavenar*; and the money they raised by taxations, was all applied to new levies, and chearfully defrayed by all the *States*, excepting *Groninger*. It was observed that the commerce of the *States*, still encreased as the war continued. Cardinal *Andrew* filled the *Low Countries* with manifestoes on this head, and against the obstinacy of the *States General*. All commerce between them and the *Spaniards*, and the subjects of the *Spanish Netherlands*, was prohibited. They published a counter-edict in their own vindication; a new system of discipline was introduced into their armies by prince *Maurice*, and he was soon at the head of an army, through the assistance of *England*, capable of looking that of the *Spanish* veterans in the face. His operations quickened those of the archduke, who, on the 14th of *April*, passed the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, to invade the territories of the *States*. His general officers were divided among themselves, and disappointed by prince *Maurice* in all their attempts.

*Mendoza*

*Mendoza* prevailed, in laying ſiege to *Bommel*, which was covered by *Maurice*. That prince had taken his meaſures ſo juſtly, that he had reduced the *Spaniards* to deſpair. The *States General*, with ſome ſecret jealouſy of his ambition, ordered him at all riſks to fight *Mendoza*. He remonſtrated againſt this meaſure, which the *States* intended ſhould be deciſive of the campaign. He complained of thoſe prepoſterous orders, but in vain, for they were repeated, and he was ſo far obliged to comply with them, that he twice attacked the *Spaniards*; but was forced to deſiſt, without any very remarkable advantage being gained on either ſide. The prince, however, was ſuperior on the whole, *Mendoza*, after a prodigious expence of blood, was obliged to withdraw from *Bommel*, and the reſt of the campaign was ſpent in inferior operations, with various ſucceſs.

The *States* jealous of prince *Maurice*.

Notwithſtanding the military abilities of prince *Maurice*, the *Dutch*, who ſerved under him, were but raw to the field, compared to the *Spaniards* under *Mendoza*, nor were the laſt equal to the *Engliſh* under Sir *Francis Vere*; and this ſuperiority alone, prevented the army of the *States* from being ruined. Mean while, archduke *Albert* and his conſort, who affected all the ſtate of crowned heads, made a triumphant, but unpopular, entry into *Bruſſels*. The *States* of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* demanded, that the foreign troops ſhould be withdrawn; but the demand was evaded by the archduke, who with great difficulty tempered the deſpotic diſpoſition of his conſort. After the neceſſary preparations, an enquiry was ſet on foot, concerning the miſcarriage of the attempt upon *Bommel*, and it terminated in favour of *Mendoza*, who was continued in his command. Parties run equally high among the *States* of the ſeven *United Provinces*, who complained of the expences of the war, and notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances of prince *Maurice*, and *Henry* IV. of *France*, who remitted them 300,000 francs, they reduced their forces. Happily for them, the *Spaniſh* troops were then ſo mutinouſly inclined, that *Mendoza* could take no advantage of this improvident frugality, and prince *Maurice*, notwithſtanding the mortifications he had received, continued to ſerve the *States* with the ſame ardour in the field as ever.

Conduct of the archduke and his conſort.

While the affairs of the campaign were thus diſagreeably circumſtanced for the *States* by land, they were victorious by ſea. Their admiral, *Vander Does*, inſulted the coaſts, and ruined the commerce of *Spain* in *Europe*. Freſh reſources of wealth were opened in *America*, and their *Eaſt India* fleet continued to bring them in prodigious wealth. *Vander Does*, at laſt, after deſtroying the *Spaniſh Canary* iſlands, proceeded with half his fleet to *America*; but he died on the voyage, and the diſeaſes of the climate made ſuch havock of his men and officers, that this expedition cannot be ſaid to have been fortunate, farther than that it drew the attention of *Spain* from the *Netherlands* to *America*. The affairs of the archduke, at

The *Dutch* victorious by ſea.

this

this time, were in a deplorable ſituation, and for want of money to pay his mutinous troops, he was obliged to aſſign them free quarters in *Brabant*. Even this did not ſatisfy them, and the revolt among them became general. Prince *Maurice* laid hold of that opportunity, to reduce *Wachtendonck*, *Crevecœur*, *St. Andre*, and other places of importance, the garriſons of which, for want of pay, enliſted under him. It muſt be acknowledged, that the *States* behaved in a ſordid manner, and made no allowance for accidents, and the diſadvantages under which their frugality had laid the prince. They were at laſt reanimated by his ſucceſſes, but the inhabitants of *Groningen* and *Frieſland* gave an alarming example to the other members of the confederacy, by continuing to refuſe to pay their contingencies of the public taxes. The neceſſity of the juncture determined their governor, prince *William* of *Naſſau*, to hazard a bold ſtroke, by diſarming the burghers of *Groningen*, and bridling them with a citadel. Their provincial *States* complained to the *States General*; they were anſwered, by being ſhewn the neceſſity of complying with the terms of the original confederacy, and that the diſſolution of it muſt enſue, if *Groningen* did not pay its quota towards its ſupport.

1601. Are checked by the *Dunkirk* privateers.

During the winter of the year 1601, the *States* of *Holland* and *Zealand*, entered with a ſpirit aſtoniſhing to the princes of the *Orange* family, into the farther operations of the war, which was owing to the ſevere checks their trade had met with from the enemy's privateers. They propoſed to attack *Dunkirk*, *Neuport* and *Furnes*; but the plan was oppoſed by prince *Maurice*, who was for attacking *Sluys*, and for tranſferring the ſeat of war to *Flanders*, from whence their enemies drew their principal ſupplies, both of men and proviſions. This plan was rejected, becauſe it was to bring no relief to the merchants. On the 9th of *June*, the prince took upon himſelf the command of the army, which conſiſted of 12,000 foot and 2000 horſe, and a large train of artillery. After arriving at *Rammekins* by water, contrary winds obliged him to march through *Flanders*. In his march, he took the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snaſckeſk*, and *Budeno*; and at laſt, *Fort Albert* in the neighbourhood of *Oſtend*, which was then garriſoned by *Engliſh* ſoldiers. Thoſe forts were all retaken by the archduke *Albert*, who trode upon his heels with a ſuperior army, whoſe mutinous ſpirit, he had found means to ſubdue. *Albert*'s progreſs was ſo rapid, that his troops took poſſeſſion of *Leffingen*, and defeated a ſtrong detachment, which, under prince *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*, came to take it. By *Albert*'s expedition, *Maurice* found all his ſcheme diſconcerted, and the former, on the 2d of *July*, encouraged by the alacrity of his men, reſolved to attack him. *Maurice* was then marching towards *Oſtend*, but *Albert*'s army coming in ſight, he made ready to fight it, before his own army ſhould know of *Erneſt*'s defeat. His vanguard was led by prince *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, but the chief ſtrength

of it lay in the *Engliſh*, commanded by Sir *Frances Vere*. The Prince chief diſpute lay between *Vere* and the *Spaniards*, and he drove *Maurice* back their cavalry; the foot, however, ſupported the latter ſo gains the well, that *Vere* was wounded and in danger of being taken battle of priſoner, when he was diſengaged by the main body, under *Neuport*, prince *Maurice*; the battle then became general; the heat of the action laſted three hours, and the impenetrable diſcipline of the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* veterans, muſt in the end have proved victorious, had not the ſailors, who ſerved the artillery of the confederates, opened the ranks of the enemy, by four field pieces. This firſt put them in diſorder, which prince *Maurice* improved by a vigorous charge in perſon, and thereby gained a complete victory. In this battle, which was fought near *Neuport*, from which it has its name, 5000, others ſay 3000 *Spaniards* were killed, or taken priſoners, while the loſs of the confederates amounted to 1500; but 800 of them were *Engliſh*; archduke *Albert* was ſlightly wounded; the two beſt *Spaniſh* generals, *Mendoza* and *Zapena*, were made priſoners: By this battle, the confederates obtained an undiſputed victory, but with great loſs to themſelves.

Though the ſelfiſhneſs and obſtinacy of the *Dutch* field deputies, who controuled prince *Maurice*, had brought him into the critical ſituation out of which he had eſcaped, yet he diſſembled all the provocation he met with, and applied himſelf to appeaſe ſome tumults that had riſen among the ſoldiers, on account of the diſpoſal of the priſoners. *Zapena* died of his wounds; and *Maurice* was not more beloved for his humanity and modeſty, than he was revered for the piety and devotion of his behaviour. *Albert*, retiring from the battle, had an interview with his archdutcheſs, who behaved with ſurprizing intrepidity on the occaſion, and by collecting together the remains of his army, and ſome troops under *Velaſco*, he reinforced the *Spaniſh* forts that lay in the neighbourhood of *Oſtend*, and the garriſon of *Neuport*, which on the 16th of *July*, was inveſted by prince *Maurice*, but he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and finding himſelf ſeverely reproached by the *States* for not purſuing the enemy, and for remaining three days inactive in *Oſtend*, he ſent his troops into winter-quarters. During the winter, negotiations for peace were renewed, but to no purpoſe, and the *States* of the *Spaniſh* provinces, renewed their complaints with greater vigour than ever, againſt the continuance of foreign troops in their country. The conferences being broken off, the privateering war by ſea was reſumed, and the *Dutch* fiſhing-buſſes met with a ſevere blow from *Wakena*, the *Flemiſh* admiral. This loſs, however, did not impede the vaſt profits, even to the amount of 400 l. *per cent.* which the ſubjects of the *United Provinces* continued to gain upon their *Eaſt India* trade; but their fleet, which was deſtined for the *South Seas*, never could paſs the *Straits* of *Magellan*.

His humane behaviour.

Negotiations for peace broken off.

The

Operations of war during the winter.

The rest of the winter was consumed in surprizing, or buying, little garrisons on both sides, and in settling a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. In the spring of the year, the *States* renewed their imposts, and received a large sum of money from *France*, for carrying on the war with more vigour than ever. Money was borrowed at a vast interest from the *East India* traders, and prince *Eugene*, after defeating a body of the enemy's horse, besieged and took *Rhimberg*. Archduke *Albert* was at this time employed in forming the siege of *Ostend*, the most important of any that happened during that age. By the taking of *Rhimberg*, *Overyssel* was covered from the ravages of the *Spaniards*; and queen *Elizabeth* was so well pleased with the spirit which the *States General* discovered, that she allowed Sir *Francis Vere* to levy some fresh troops in *England*, with whom he threw himself into *Ostend*. It would be difficult to assign any other cause than the obstinacy of *Albert* and his wife, for prosecuting this siege to such extremities as they did. It was open by sea to the succours thrown into it by the *English* and the *Dutch*; its situation, rather than its fortifications, made it next to impregnable by land, and prince *Maurice* commanded the *Flemish* provinces. On the 1st of *November* he besieged *Bolduc*, with 7000 foot and 3000 horse; but the obstinate defence of the besieged, and the reinforcements they received, obliged him to give over his enterprize towards the end of the campaign. The inclemency of the season did not discourage archduke *Albert* from the siege of *Ostend*. The lives of whole armies were thrown away upon it in vain, fresh works seemed to start up behind the ruins that were made by the *Spanish* artillery, and *Vere* encouraged his troops to defend the place, with a spirit next to enthusiasm. *Albert* resolved upon a general assault, of which *Vere* was informed by a deserter. He found means to amuse the archduke with proposals of a capitulation, which might save the lives of many brave men on both sides. The negotiation continued till he had completed the fresh works he was raising, and received new reinforcements, and then the operations of the siege recommenced. *Albert* was incensed beyond measure at having been imposed upon, and resolved upon a general assault, under one *Mexia*, a *Spanish* officer, and though executed with all imaginable intrepidity, proved ineffectual, and cost him 1000 of his best men. The rigorous season coming on, *Albert* was so far from taking the advice of his best generals, that he repaired to *Ghent* to concert measures for carrying it on with redoubled vigour. During his absence, the *Dutch* sent a fresh garrison into *Ostend*, while Sir *Francis Vere*, with his emaciated troops, joined the army under prince *Maurice*.

The siege of *Ostend* formed,

and obstinately prosecuted.

Prince *Maurice* marches to relieve it

It soon appeared, that the *Spanish Netherlands* were as much as ever under the direction of the court of *Spain*. Their *States* remonstrated against the madness of prosecuting the siege of *Ostend*, and refused the sums demanded by the archduke for that purpose. The direction of the siege and war

Was

was now committed to the marquis of *Spinola*, the only general in *Europe*, who was capable to make head against prince *Maurice*. He brought with him, out of *Italy*, 8000 foot, and baffled all prince *Maurice*'s endeavours to intercept him. The prince was then, against his better judgment, obliged to undertake a march through *Brabant* and *Flanders* to the relief of *Oſtend*. The *States* preſſed this march the more obſtinately, as they were not without hopes, that the natives of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* might be excited to inſurrections, by manifeſtoes to be diſperſed by the prince. This expedient failed, and the continuance of the march was found impracticable. Near *Tillemont*, *Mendoza* had, with 14,000 men, taken poſſeſſion of a paſs, by which the prince muſt march; but *Maurice* found he could not force it, upon which a council of war was held, and it was reſolved to beſiege *Grave*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the *Netherlands*. The operations for carrying on the ſiege were ſo judicious, that *Mendoza* could neither raiſe it nor ſuccour the town, which was provided of a ſtrong garriſon, under an excellent officer, and it capitulated.

The wants of the *Spaniſh* court ſtill continued, and their *Italian* ſoldiers in the *Low Countries*, mutinied for want of pay. They put great part of *Brabant* under contribution, took poſt near *Breda*, where they held a correſpondence with the garriſon, as they had another with prince *Maurice*, who encouraged them in their revolt. The garriſons of *Antwerp* and *Ghent* followed their example, and *Mendoza* finding it impoſſible for the archduke to pay his troops, quitted his command. The archduke had recourſe to violent means, and proſcribed the mutineers. This ſeverity ſeemed to confirm them in their revolt; but they proceeded with the utmoſt regularity and military diſcipline among themſelves. The *States* of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* would have ſatisfied their demands, but ſevere meaſures alone would go down with the archduke. He ſent one of his generals, *Frederic de Berg*, with 7000 men to reduce them; but they were relieved by prince *Maurice*. Being ſtrangers, and violent papiſts, they were unwilling, formally, to join the proteſtants, and being in a manner, at laſt, left to themſelves, the pope's nuncio interceded with the archduke, and a conſiderable ſum being advanced to them, they were pardoned.

Mutiny of the *Italian* troops in the *Spaniſh* ſervice.

About this time, an ambaſſador from the king of *Achem*, an eaſtern prince, arrived in *Holland*, in a *Dutch* fleet, laden with the riches of *India*, and the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, which has ſince proved the ſource of ſtrength and riches to their ſtate, was eſtabliſhed. They became in a manner maſters of the iſland of *Ternate*, one of the *Moluccas*, by ſupporting the natives in a war againſt a neighbouring prince; and upon the return of the *Achen* ambaſſador, all the people of thoſe iſlands and countries conceived very different ideas from what they had entertained before of the power of the *States*, which they now believed to be equal to that of the *Portugueſe*

The *States* receive an ambaſſador from the king of *Achem*.

and *Germans*. In ſhort, the more that the wealth and greatneſs of the ſeven *United Provinces* advanced, the more did they forget the original maxims of their conſtitution, which were humble, ſimple and frugal; for their great men breathed nothing now but eternal war againſt *Spain*. *England* was likewiſe making a progreſs in foreign commerce, but it was far from being ſo conſiderable as that of the *Dutch*; and *France* was preparing to imitate the example of both. As the ſucceſſes of all three depended on the ruin of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* trade, each of them concurred in maintaining the war.

The ſiege of *Oſtend* continued.

The *Spaniards* were all this while gaining inch by inch upon the garriſon of *Oſtend*, which, by ſtill ſubſtituting new works, inſtead of thoſe they had loſt, was now reduced into a very narrow compaſs. The governor was a *Dutchman*, one *Vander Noot*, and one *Rivas* carried on the ſiege with more effect than ever. *Pompey Targou*, an excellent engineer in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, raiſed amazing works for cutting off the communication of the garriſon with the ſea, but they were ſoon deſtroyed by the fury of the winds and waves. *Rivas* diſcouraged, reſigned his command to *Spinola*, and his thirſt of glory

1604. induced him to accept of it in *October*, 1604. As he proceeded upon different principles from thoſe of his predeceſſors, and was poſſeſſed of a far ſuperiour genius, prince *Maurice*, as well as the *States General*, thought that the loſs of *Oſtend* muſt be inevitable, unleſs ſome vigorous effort was made to give *Spinola* a diverſion. The ſiege of *Sluys* was propoſed, and undertaken

Prince *Maurice* takes *Sluys*.

by *Maurice* and other princes of the houſe of *Orange*. *Maurice* proceeded in it, though with great abilities and vigour, in a manner that encreaſed the ſuſpicions of the *States* deputies, that he was not in earneſt about finiſhing a war, on the continuance of which, the future greatneſs of his houſe depended. He proceeded ſtep by ſtep, inſtead of rapidly falling all at once on the main body of the place, which being unprovided for a ſiege, muſt have ſurrendered, and *Spinola* being cut off from his proviſions, muſt conſequently have abandoned the ſiege of *Oſtend*. At laſt, however, *Spinola* made an attempt upon prince *Maurice*'s army, but without effect, and without relaxing in his operations before *Oſtend*, which were farther advanced by him in a few weeks than they had been by his predeceſſors in two years. Upon *Spinola*'s retreat, the garriſon of *Sluys*, which conſiſted of 4000 men, but emaciated with famine and ſickneſs, capitulated. The reduction of *Sluys* did vaſt honour to the military character of prince *Maurice*, but raiſed ſuch an emulation in *Spinola*, that after the moſt amazing effects of mining and engineering, in which ſeveral ſucceſſive ſets of *Dutch* governors and officers were killed, the ſurvivors ſent a meſſage, to prince *Maurice*, for leave to ſurrender. This was granted, and on the 20th of *September*, 1604, *Oſtend* obtained an honourable capitulation, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of three years, which, beſides incredible ſums of money, coſt the lives of 100,000 of the braveſt troops in

*Europe*.

*Europe.* But we are now to attend operations of a different kind.

On the 24th of *March*, 1603, died queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, the friend and protectreſs of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, though their governors ſecretly thought her their tyrant. They were ſtrangers to the character of her ſucceſſor, *James* I. which, at his ſucceſſion to the crown of *England*, was rather favourable, than otherwiſe, in the eye of the public. *Henry* IV. of *France* knew it better, and endeavoured to bring *James* over to a league againſt both branches of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The *States General* ſent a deputation, with *Barneveldt* at its head, to co-operate with the *French* ambaſſador, the marquis *de Roſni*, afterwards the famous duke of *Sully*; and the duke of *Aremberg* was reſident at the ſame court, from archduke *Albert*, who had now no hope of iſſue by *Iſabella*, and conſequently his dominions were to revert to the crown of *Spain*. *James* gave a favourable reception to them all; but was ſhy of declaring his ſentiments upon foreign affairs. He was ſo far ſwayed by *Roſni*, that he gave licence for *Buccleugh*, a *Scotch* gentleman, to raiſe 2000 men in *Scotland*, for the ſervice of the confederate *States*; he aſſigned to them a conſiderable ſum, due to his crown from *Henry*, and he entered into a defenſive league with *France* againſt *Spain*. The deputies of the *States* behaved to him with great ſubmiſſion, and laid before him the expences they had been at in equipping a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips, then lying in the *Downs*, at the requeſt of his predeceſſor. Though *James* returned only general anſwers to their applications, yet it is certain the *Engliſh* and *Scots* auxiliaries were the chief inſtruments of prince *Maurice*'s ſucceſſes in the *Low Countries*; but the deputies ſoon diſcovered, that *James* had an irreſiſtible biaſs towards peace with *Spain*, and that a moſt magnificent deputation for that purpoſe was already arrived in *England* from that king, and the archduke. This occaſioned the *States* giving *James* ſome marks of diſreſpect, which he reſented, and which at laſt manifeſted their ingratitude, particularly their affronting his general, Sir *Francis Vere*, who, thereupon, left their ſervice.

Death of queen *Elizabeth*.

The *States* apply to her ſucceſſor, *James* I.

*John de Velaſco*, conſtable of *Caſtile*, was at the head of the *Spaniſh* deputation, and he demanded at firſt, that the *Engliſh* ſhould break off all communication and commerce with the ſubjects of the *United Provinces*. Failing in this, he offered to lay down the money that had been advanced for the cautionary towns, provided they were put into his maſter's hands. The *Engliſh* plenipotentiaries ſeemed not to diſcourage this propoſal, if their ſubjects were admitted to a ſhare of the *Spaniſh Weſt India* trade. This was rejected on the part of the *Spaniards*, but the peace was at laſt concluded, in terms which left the honour of *James* entire, as to any imputation from the *Dutch*, of breach of faith, though it is certain, that by ſome of its articles, he ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to continue the de-

who negotiates with the *Spaniards*.

pendence of the *States* upon *England*, and to force them, if he ſhould think proper, from their warlike ſyſtem.

The war continued

After the reduction of *Oſtend*, which was now a heap of ruins, where ſcarcely the veſtige of a fortification remained, *Spinola* repaired to *Spain*, and perſuaded that king to a new plan of operations, by carrying the war acroſs the *Rhine*, inſtead of attacking the *Hollanders* on the ſide of *Zealand*. *Spinola*, after obtaining all the honours and powers he could wiſh for from *Philip*, with large ſums of money for paying his troops, upon his return, found them far gone in a mutiny, and that many of them had actually entered into the ſervice of the confederate *States*; the power of the archduke, through his poverty, being now deſpicable among all parties. The money *Spinola* brought along with him reclaimed them to their duty, and his activity, with his high reputation, ſoon put him at the head of a formidable army. The prize of war was now diſputed in the *Low Countries*, between the two greateſt generals of their age, prince *Maurice*, and *Spinola*, who had been declared commander in chief of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* troops. *Maurice* attempted to ſurprize *Antwerp*, but failed in the execution, through no fault of his own. He then attempted to carry the war into *Flanders*, that he might diſconcert *Spinola*'s plan, but he was every where counteracted by that able general. *Buquoy*, who commanded under *Spinola*, ſeized upon *Keiſerſweart*, which obliged *Maurice* to ſend off a large detachment towards the *Rhine*. *Spinola*, all of a ſudden, abandoned his propoſed operations, and in a moſt maſterly manner, on the 24th of *July*, he croſſed the *Rhine*, with an intention of traverſing the dutchy of *Cleves*, and attacking the provinces of *Frieſland* and *Overyſſel*, which by an unaccountable fatality had been left uncovered by the *States*. In his march through *Cleves*, his diſcipline was ſo exact and regular, that he extorted praiſe even from his enemies, and with great rapidity, before prince *Maurice* could march to their relief, he ſeized *Linguen*, and many other places of importance in *Overyſſel*. If *Spinola* committed any fault during this expedition, it was his being too ſollicitous in ſecuring his retreat, in caſe he ſhould be beat in the field. Upon the arrival of prince *Maurice* in *Overyſſel*, the progreſs of *Spinola* was checked, but the prince failed in an attempt to ſurprize the *Spaniſh* army, in which the loſs was pretty equal on both ſides. The victory, however, certainly fell to *Spinola*, for he ſoon after beſieged and took *Wachtendonck*.

between *Spinola* and prince *Maurice*.

Operations by ſea.

Thoſe two great men were not only ſimilar in their martial genius, but in their political ſituations; for each had enemies with their reſpective principals. The court of *Spain* was prevailed upon by thoſe of *Spinola*, to retard the payment of his troops, and the *States* of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* would contribute nothing towards paying his army; both which circumſtances, rendered it every hour liable to freſh mutinies. Prince *Maurice* was in a ſtill more undeſirable ſituation, being not only

only distrusted, but controuled by the *States* deputies in all his operations, and an unsuccessful attempt he made upon *Guldres*, threw him under still farther disadvantages. The *Dutch* commerce this year, was carried to an inconceivable height. They had made vast captures of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* ships in the *East Indies*, and the ships which arrived in their ports this year, were more rich and numerous than those of the preceding. *James*, since the late treaty with *Spain*, had permitted his subjects, both by sea and land, to enter into the service of that crown, and of the archduke, and had even suffered them to raise levies in his dominions. The *English* harbours were, by the late treaty, open equally to *Spanish* and *Dutch* ships; but the *Dutch*, without any regard to that, treated all *English* ships which were in the service of the *Spaniards*, or the archduke, as enemies. A fleet of transports, with troops on board for *Spinola*, were intercepted coming from *Lisbon*, by the *Dutch*, who sunk five of them and drove the other five into the harbour of *Dover*, and even there the *Dutch* admiral proceeded to hostilities. *James* affected to resent those violences, but the *States General* defended themselves under the plea, that most of the transports were *English*, and therefore ought not to be employed in that service.

The disregard of the *States* towards *James* was encreased, by his giving leave to count *Arundel* of *Wardour*, to command a regiment of 1500 *English*, and the lord *Hume* 1000 *Scots*, in the archduke's service. The *Dutch* treated the *Dunkirk* privateers, of whatever nation they were, as pirates, by hanging them up as soon as they were caught, and justified themselves by the law of nations; and the *States General*, through *Henry IV.* of *France*, knew that the friendship of *James* was now held cheap at the court of *Spain*. In the beginning of the year 1606, the frugality of the provincial deputies of the confederates refused to raise the sums necessary for terminating the war in their favour; while *Spinola*, who had conquered all opposition at the court of *Spain*, was so plentifully supplied with money, that had he not been prevented by a fever which seized him, and the dilatory proceedings of the *Spaniards*, he would, probably, that year have given a considerable, if not a fatal, blow to the independency of the confederate *States*. *Spinola* having recovered, took the field with two armies well provided in every respect. One commanded by himself, consisting of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, and the other headed by *Bugoy*, of 10,000 foot and 1200 horse. *Maurice*, though inferior in numbers, frustrated many of *Spinola*'s schemes, but could not prevent him from taking *Grol* and *Rhimberg*.

*James* I. favours the *Spaniards*.

1606.

After those conquests, the disappointment of remittances from *Spain*, created fresh discontents in *Spinola*'s army, 2000 of whom actually marched towards *Breda*, where they were sure of being protected. *Maurice* endeavoured to avail himself of this mutiny, but through the vigilance of *Spinola*, he

*Spinola* distressed for money.

failed in an attempt he made to retake *Grol*, and his prudent backwardneſs to fight *Spinola*, who relieved the place, augmented the clamour of his enemies againſt his conduct and deſigns. It happened, fortunately for *Maurice*, that the mutinous ſpirit which ſtill continued in *Spinola*'s army, obliged him to diſcontinue his operations, and to return to *Bruſſels*, where his perſonal credit and character with his troops, were ſo great, that he perſuaded them, on promiſing that they ſhould be ſpeedily paid, to return to his ſtandards; but the court of *Spain* not enabling him to diſcharge his engagements, he comforted himſelf with the reflection, that *Maurice* was under the like difficulty, and from the like cauſes; and thus the campaign ended.

on account of their ſhips taken by the *Dutch*.

The indigence of the court of *Spain* was owing in a great meaſure to the numerous captures at ſea by the *Dutch*, who intercepted and deſtroyed their fleets coming from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. The *Spaniſh* admiral, by his maſter's orders, hanged, by way of reprizal, all the *Dutch* ſeamen he took. This brought on a war, that was advantageous to neither party, but by the ruin of the other. The *Spaniards* ſuffered their richeſt ſhips to be ſunk or blown up, rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of the *Dutch*, whoſe admiral, *Hautain*, with their grand fleet, was diſappointed in an attempt he made upon the *Caracca* flota in the *Tagus*, and was preparing to return home, when he diſcovered eight capital galleons bound for *Spain*. On their being attacked by *Hautain*, ſix of them eſcaped, and two periſhed upon the rocks, without being of any ſervice to the *Dutch*. After this, *Hautain*'s ſquadron was reduced to thirteen ſail by a ſtorm; but a new booty appeared of eighteen *Spaniſh* gallcons, under *Don Faiſardo*, eſcorted by nine men of war. The greatneſs of the booty animated the *Dutch*. *Claſſen*, one of their admirals, being beſet by five of the enemy's ſhips, and reduced to a wreck, choſe to blow it up, with its brave crew of ſoldiers and ſailors, rather than fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; and *Hautain*, being unable to continue the fight, the *Spaniards* proceeded on their voyage.

The vaſt remittances that *Philip* received from the *Weſt Indies*, could neither diſcharge his debts nor his engagements, and he began now to give way to pacific councils towards the *United Provinces*; it being more eligible for *Spain*, that they ſhould remain independent, than that they ſhould put themſelves under the protection of the houſe of *Bourbon*, which muſt have been the caſe, had they been rendered deſperate. Thoſe ſentiments were cheriſhed by the archduke, his wife, and *Spinola* himſelf; and it now appeared that the principal difficulties of a peace aroſe from the *Dutch* traders, who had made immenſe fortunes by war. Commiſſioners arrived at the *Hague*, from the archduke, to propoſe a congreſs; but they were received by the *States* deputies in ſo diſcouraging a manner, that they returned to *Bruſſels* without opening

A peace propoſed between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*.

their inſtructions. They renewed their applications, but in the beginning of the year 1607, the archduke's deputies were informed by the *States*, that they would enter into no new negotiation of peace, in which their independency was not eſtabliſhed as a preliminary. One *Neyen*, an eccleſiaſtic, was by the archduke employed in renewing the negotiation, but was unable to get over that obſtacle, though his perſonal intereſt was very great with the *States*. The reader may eaſily form a judgment of the arguments made uſe of by both ſides on this occaſion; it is therefore needleſs to repeat them. The firmneſs of the *States* prevailed; and *Neyen* was ſent back with full power to treat with them as a free ſtate, over whom, neither the king of *Spain* nor the archduke had any ſovereignty; provided his propoſals were accepted in eight days. On the 13th of *March*, and the 24th of *April*, the point of ſovereignty was adjuſted, and agreed upon by both parties. The conſequence was, that a ſuſpenſion of arms for eight months was publiſhed on both ſides, without either the kings of *France* or *England* knowing any thing of the matter, and a congreſs was appointed for a definitive treaty; but in the mean while, limits and boundaries were ſettled. 1607.

The kings of *France* and *England*, though nettled at this great event, agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to the future congreſs. *James*, at the ſame time, reproached the miniſters of *Spain*, for their having kept him ſo long in the dark, and they were aſhamed to juſtify the archduke in what he had done. The ſprings of the negotiation, on the part of the *States*, ſoon appeared. The *States*, though fond of wealth, were afraid, leſt the continuance of the war ſhould render prince *Maurice*, who was already ſtadtholder of four of their provinces, their ſovereign. Their jealouſy of the power of *France* encreaſed in proportion, as their dread of the houſe of *Auſtria* declined. *England*, it is true, might ſtill have been formidable to them, through the great debt they owed her, and her being in poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns; but they knew the puſillanimity of *James* too well to fear him. The pacific part of the *States General*, therefore, met with their chief oppoſition from prince *Maurice*, and the *Orange* family, whoſe intereſt it was that the war ſhould be continued, and they puzzled every ſtep of the negotiation. The party for peace choſe *Barneveldt* the penſionary and chief magiſtrate of *Holland*, the wiſeſt and worthieſt man of the confederacy, to be their head; and at laſt, a declaration, confirming what the archduke had done, came over from the court of *Spain*; but it was objected to, on the part of the *States*, and a copy of one more preciſe, was given by them to *Verreiken*, the archduke's ambaſſador, as being what they required. This copy was dictated by the influence of the *Orange* faction, and contained articles relating to religion, which bade fair to ſtop all farther proceedings. Various other expedients were practiſed by the *Orange* faction, to embarraſs the treaty; and the *German* emperor pre- Progreſs and diffi-culties of the negotiation.

tended, that as the *United Provinces* had formerly belonged to his empire, they could not be declared free without his conſent; but this claim was treated by the *States* with contempt.

A ſhort armiſtice concluded.

In the mean while, the king of *Spain*'s ratification of what had been concluded on, arrived at the *Hague*; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the houſe of *Orange*, on account of ſome omiſſions, it was voted by the *States* to be a ſufficient ground for a definitive treaty. By this time, the term of the armiſtice was expired, and the archduke required that it ſhould be prolonged for a month, and at the ſame time, he nominated his plenipotentiaries for the congreſs, the chief of whom was *Spinola* himſelf. They arrived at the *Hague*, in the beginning of the year 1608, and were well received by the *States*, who had beforehand engaged the *French* king to be guarantee of the future treaty, in caſe it ſhould be violated by the *Spaniards*. *William* of *Naſſau* and *Brederode*, were appointed by ſix of the provinces, to confer with the *Spaniſh* deputies; but the intereſts of *Holland* were committed to *Barneveldt*; and before the conferences were opened, the *Dutch* deputies obtained a formal acknowledgment, that they were treated with, as repreſenting a free and an independent *State*. After various points had been given up by the *Spaniſh*, and the archduke's deputies, the *Dutch* demanded, that they ſhould either have liberty to trade with both the *Indies* after a peace was ſettled, or during the time that the truce ſhould be concluded for, or that the war might continue on the other ſide of the tropics, though a peace ſhould be agreed upon on this ſide. The *Dutch* deputies ſtood out ſo firmly for having one or other of thoſe conditions granted, that the *Spaniards* would have then broken off the treaty had it not been for the moderation of *Spinola*. At laſt a truce for a number of years was propoſed, but that the independency of the *States* ſhould be acknowledged by *Spain*, even after its expiration. Prince *Maurice* was afraid that this condition would be agreed to, and did all he could to interrupt the negociation; but his moſt popular arguments aroſe from certain articles, with which it was clogged by the *Spaniards* in favour of the *Roman* catholic religion.

1608.

The negociation interrupted,

Theſe altercations employed the deputies ſo long, that, at laſt, the conferences actually broke off. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to bring the *French* king over, but in vain, to their intereſts. His ambaſſador, the preſident *Jeannin*, was for a truce, in which he was ſeconded by *Barneveldt*, who laid open, in very ſtrong terms, the ambition of prince *Maurice* and the *Orange* family. Both parties appealed to the preſs; the life of *Barneveldt* was threatened, and it was only at the earneſt requeſt of the deputies that he returned to the aſſembly of the *States*. When he reſumed his ſeat, his arguments and eloquence were ſo irreſiſtable, that all the provinces, excepting *Zealand*, agreed to accept of a truce for twelve years; but ſo high

high did diſputes run, that the finiſhing hand was not put to the negociation till the 9th of *April*, 1609.

1609.

The tedioufneſs of this negociation diſcovered the original and the fatal conſtitution of the *United Provinces*, in the neceſſity they were under of being unanimous in their public reſolutions. *Zealand* had oppoſed the negociation becauſe it was entirely devoted to the *Orange* family, and the natives had acquired immenſe riches by the war, eſpecially at ſea. By the treaty of truce, the archduke, in his own and the king of *Spain*'s name, renounced all right of ſovereignty over the *States*. Each party was to poſſeſs, during the truce, what they then held. A general amneſty, on both ſides, was ſtipulated, and a freedom of trade by ſea and land, conſequently in the *Indies*, was eſtabliſhed. By other articles of the treaty, the reciprocal commercial duties to be paid on both ſides were ſettled. The houſe of *Orange*, prince *Maurice* in particular, was nobly rewarded by the *States* for their ſervices in the cauſe of public liberty and the head of it, and *Philip* now reentered into poſſeſſion of his patrimonial eſtates in *Burgundy* and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

declared an independent people.

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## *The Hiſtory of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

## BOOK III.

DURING the long diſputes that ſucceeded the firſt propoſal of a pacification between *Spain* and the *States-General*, the *Dutch* loſt no opportunity of diſtreſſing the *Spaniſh* commerce and improving their own. They planned a *Weſt-India* company that was to trade to *Africa*, and ſuggeſted the firſt idea of an *African* company in *England*. Their famous admiral *Heemſkirk* attacked a rich *Spaniſh* fleet in the bay of *Gibraltar*, and loſing his life in the engagement, he was ſucceeded by *Verhoef*, another brave commander, who killed the *Spaniſh* admiral and ſaw his fleet deſtroyed by its own ſailors and the garriſon of *Gibraltar*, ſo that no part of it fell into the hands of the *Dutch*. The ocean was now covered with their fleets and armaments, and the period between the year 1560 to that of 1609 is, perhaps, the moſt remarkable in hiſtory, upon many accounts, all which took their riſe from the revolt of the *United Provinces*, till then containing but a ſmall and deſpicable portion of territory. The arts of commerce, navigation, and war by ſea and land, were now brought to a perfection which, perhaps, they have not ſince exceeded. Seminaries of learning were founded and flouriſhed in the *United Provinces*, amidſt the horrors of war; new countries were explored; new channels of trade were opened; the *Low Countries* was the ſchool in which the moſt illuſtrious pupils from all parts of *Europe* were fitted for the ſervice of their own

General reflections

own countries, in the field; nor was their education thought compleat till they had borne arms under either a *Spaniſh* or a *Dutch* general. This concourſe of noble perſonages from different quarters had a conſiderable effect in ſoftening the manners and diſſipating the prejudices which the ſeveral nations of *Europe* had, till then, againſt one another; but, on the other hand, the return of ſo many experienced officers to their ſeveral courts and countries had afterwards a fatal effect upon the quiet of *Europe*.

Obligations of the *Dutch* to *James* I.

As the *Dutch* are by no means famed for national gratitude, their hiſtorians have carefully concealed that the acquiſition of their independency and tranquillity was owing chiefly to the ſteadineſs of *James* I. It appears from unqueſtionable authorities, that *Spain* had negociated ſo effectually with *Henry* IV. of *France*, that he adviſed the *States* to conclude a truce without any direct acknowledgment of their independency, and this meaſure was ſtrongly inforced by the preſident *Jeannin* to the *States*. *James* continued the firm friend of their independency, notwithſtanding the tempting baits thrown out to him by *Spain*. This conduct of *France* had encouraged the *Spaniards* more than once to retract the acknowledgment of the independency of the *States*, and that they obtained it at laſt through the generous friendſhip of *James* is proved by his concluding in the year 1608 two treaties with the *States*, the ſubſtance of which we ſhall here give, though omitted by *Dutch* hiſtorians.

Contents of two treaties between them.

By the firſt article of the firſt treaty, all treaties between the two parties were confirmed. By the ſecond, *James* engaged to furniſh 20 ſhips from 300 to 600 tons, well victualled armed and manned, and 6,000 foot, with 4,000 horſe, to be paid by him, and employed againſt any power whatſoever who ſhould diſturb their peace with *Spain*, in caſe it ſhould take place. By the third article, the expence of thoſe auxiliaries was to be defrayed within five years after the war was finiſhed. By the fourth article, *James* engaged himſelf, inſtantly, to furniſh his aſſiſtance, if the parties attempting to break the peace could not be prevailed with by fair means to deſiſt in three months after they were required ſo to do. By the fifth article, the *States General* are bound, in caſe *James* is attacked, to aſſiſt him with the ſame number of ſhips of the like force, 4,000 foot, and 300 cavalry, and the like terms are ſtipulated for their re-payment. By the other articles, this treaty was to be perpetual; nor was either party to make peace with the aggreſſor without the conſent of the other; nor was the treaty to be prejudicial to the defenſive one made between the *States* and the king of *France*.

By the other treaty, concluded between *James* and the *States* at the ſame time, it was agreed, that the liquidated debt of 818,408 *l.* ſterling ſhould be defrayed by the *States* in half yearly payments of 30,000 *l.* and all the privileges of the

the *Engliſh* merchants in the *United Provinces* were to be inviolably confirmed.

*James* drew many reproaches upon himſelf not only from *Spain*, but *France*, on account of this treaty, and for ſome time he was addreſſed by the *Dutch*, as being their only ſupport and dependence. But the return of tranquillity had almoſt ruined the *Dutch*, whoſe independency was born, and whoſe glory flouriſhed amidſt the tumults of one of the moſt conſuming wars that hiſtory can produce.

The *Dutch* intermeddle in the affairs of *Germany*, but miſcarry and are humbled.

They began now to be infected with pride and ambition; their independency inſpired them with inſolence towards the other ſovereign powers of *Europe*, and impelled by the princes of *Orange*, they took part in their quarrels. The reader, in the foregoing hiſtory of *Germany*, will find a detail of the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and the conduct of the *Dutch* in that affair. Prince *Maurice*, at the head of their troops, took and garriſoned *Juliers*; but the more maſterly operations of *Spinola* (whoſe maſter, the archduke, thought that their conduct was an infraction of the neutrality) in taking *Weſel*, obliged them to ſeek to return to a good underſtanding with their new ally, who had now opened a way into their provinces. They were obliged to have recourſe to the mediation of *England* and *France*, and to make the moſt abject ſubmiſſions to *Albert* before he would admit them to a reconciliation. The truth is, they had been drawn, with ſome reluctance, into the war, by the overbearing authority of *Maurice*; and their moſt ſenſible members were not ſorry that he was mortified, though it was through the ſides of the *States*. The aſſaſſination of *Henry* IV. of *France* probably ſaved the houſe of *Auſtria* at this time, and occaſioned a great turn in the affairs of *Europe*, but did not alter the ſteady conduct of *James* towards the *States*, who had now a more dreadful enemy to contend with than ever, we mean civil diſſention, which ſecretly aroſe from ambition and revenge, but publickly from the moſt abſurd and ridiculous motive, the controverted and inſcrutable points of religion.

Origin of *Armenianiſm* in *Holland*,

The profeſſional chairs in the univerſities of the *United Provinces*, ſince their foundation, had been filled generally by *Calviniſts*. One *James Armenius*, a *Hollander*, getting poſſeſſion of the divinity chair at *Leyden*, taught the doctrine of free agency, which was conſidered as a ſchiſm in the church of *Holland*. As no diſputes are more cruel than thoſe of religion, the ſubjects of the *States General* were ſoon ſplit into two parties, the *Armenians* and the *Gomariſts*; ſo called from *Gomarus*, another profeſſor, who taught predeſtination. *Barneveldt*, in his private opinion, was a *Gomariſt*, and prince *Maurice* an *Armenian*; but *Armenianiſm* being eſpouſed by the moſt ſenſible and reſpectable members of the *States*, and *Gomariſm* by the clergy and common people; prince *Maurice* headed the *Gomariſts*, as *Barneveldt* the *Armenians*, though each acted

in

in direct contradiction to his private opinion. The acrimony and bitterneſs with which the diſpute was carried on, eſpecially by the *Gomariſts*, ſoon affected the civil government. *Grotius* and *Voſſius*, both of them celebrated authors, wrote admirably in favour of the *Armenians*. *James* I. and the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, oppoſed them with great zeal, and ſupported prince *Maurice*. In a ſhort time, the diſpute came to be political as well as theological, and the forms of the republic added to its misfortunes. Each city poſſeſſing within itſelf independent powers, puniſhed or protected either the *Armenians* or the *Gomariſts*, as the people or their magiſtrates were affected towards either, till the priſons of *Holland* were filled with the profeſſors and diſciples of both. Among the *Gomariſts* were a great number of *French* and *German* proteſtants, who had imbibed, even to enthuſiaſm, an averſion towards *Spain*; and prince *Maurice*, well knowing the effects of popular clamour, encouraged them in declaring that the *Armenians*, whoſe principles were more moderate, were friends to that court, and enemies to the liberty of their country. Matters ſoon came to ſuch a head, that the military power interpoſed. Prince *Maurice* was befriended by *James*; he was at the head of the army, and he was ſure of the people, who were every where rebelling againſt, and depoſing, their *Armenian* magiſtrates and ſubſtituting others in their room, ſo as to ſecure a majority in the *States General*. In thoſe violences they were protected and encouraged by prince *Maurice*, whoſe conduct on this occaſion was indefenſible.

which is filled with religious diſputes.

In the populous city of *Utrecht*, the people diſplaced their magiſtrates, and ſeemed to be actuated by no principle but fury againſt the civil power. Their tumults ran ſo high, that prince *Maurice* and deputies from the *States* repaired to their city, but they could not obtain a hearing, and were expelled out of it with ignominy. The *Utrechters* were cenſured for this conduct by the *States General*, but this ſeemed only to encreaſe their fury, and the *States*, at laſt, ordered a body of troops to inveſt their city. This reduced the rioters to order; they made their ſubmiſſions to the *States General*; their magiſtrates were depoſed, and tranquillity was reſtored to the city. This did not continue long; the people formed a conſpiracy to become maſters of the garriſon, but it was diſcovered, prevented, and puniſhed. Some buſy heads now ſuggeſted doubts of a new and more dangerous kind. It was debated, how far the civil power had a right to reſtrain either the tongues or the conſciences of the clergy, or indeed to intermeddle at all in religious affairs. This partly aroſe from a propoſition made by *Barneveldt*, that the *States* ſhould enact certain eccleſiaſtical laws, which would have given a mortal blow to the authority and intereſt of the *Orange* faction, and it required all the abilities and power of prince *Maurice* to prevent his project from taking place. The two parties had now loſt their names; that of the *Armenians* were called remonſtrants,

Their fatal effects on the public peace.

monſtrants, and that of the *Gomariſts* contra-remonſtrants. This change of denominations ſeemed to re-kindle their animoſities. The venerable character, the diſintereſted conduct, the wiſdom and moderation of *Barneveldt*, continued to balance the power of prince *Maurice*, who endeavoured to make him his friend. *Barneveldt* ſpoke of the prince's family in the moſt reſpectful terms, and profeſſed himſelf ready to exert all his power in aggrandizing it, provided he could do it conſiſtently with the duty he owed his country. *Maurice*, after this, had recourſe to the moſt profound diſſimulation, and pretended to agree to all *Barneveldt*'s moderate propoſals for a general toleration in religion; but at the ſame time he was meditating the old man's ruin. The contra-remonſtrants, though they could be familiar with *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Mahometans*, who lived among them, made it a matter of conſcience to exterminate the remonſtrants. Volumes of treatiſes, and thouſands of pamphlets, were every day publiſhed on each ſide of the queſtion. The *States*, with *Barneveldt* at their head, continued to labour with indefatigable moderation, but all their endeavours came to nothing, through the pride and obſtinacy of divines and diſputants, and the ſecret practices of the houſe of *Orange*. The demagogues of faction directed their moſt envenomed ſhafts againſt *Barneveldt*, whom they accuſed of treaſon towards his country. The nobles and magiſtracy of *Holland* were treated with equal ſcurrility, and it was now plain, that the liberty of the preſs was the root of all the licentiouſneſs that had engendered and fomented the public commotions.

*Barneveldt* heads the *Arminians*, and prince *Maurice* the *Gomariſts*.

A people whoſe government, like that of *Holland*, had been founded upon reſiſtance to their former ſovereigns, could not eaſily adopt any idea of limiting that reſiſtance in the caſe of their preſent magiſtrates. *Barneveldt* ſhewed the neceſſity of this, and of enacting ſome public law againſt libels and ſeditious publications. He was oppoſed by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* upon the principle we have hinted at, and though by the dint of reaſon and eloquence he afterwards obtained ſuch a law, yet it never was put in execution, and ſome towns even refuſed to receive it. Prince *Maurice* thought it was now time to declare himſelf without the reſerve he had before affected. The populace of *Amſterdam* had treated the remonſtrants in a moſt atrocious manner, without their being able to procure any redreſs for their wounds. *Maurice*, finding the firſt town of the confederacy declare ſo openly in his favour, ordered a *French* contra-remonſtrant preacher to be introduced into the *French* chapel at the *Hague*. This ſtep, with the high declarations of the prince, intimidated the ſtates of *Holland* from exerciſing their authority, and both they and *Barneveldt* were ſo groſsly inſulted, that they were forced to implore the protection of the prince, which was refuſed them. They endeavoured, according to the original plan of their conſtitution, by their own authority, to encreaſe their guards

*Maurice* prevails.

Makes attempts on the liberty of his country.

and

and garriſons for their protection, but were intimidated by *Maurice*, who declared, that he would look upon ſuch a proceeding, to be an invaſion of his rights, as governor of the province, and in contempt of the remonſtrances of the magiſtrates, he ſeized upon *Brill*, and ſoon after upon *Delf* and *Scheidam*.

**His violence.**

This violent and illegal proceeding was equally detrimental to the intereſt, as the reputation, of *Maurice*, becauſe the moſt ſcrupulous now could have no doubt, that his true intention was to ſubvert the conſtitution of *Holland*, and the confederate provinces. The magiſtrates of *Leyden*, *Haerlem*, *Torgau*, and other towns, prepared either to divert him from his deſign, or to reſiſt his attempts. He new modelled the magiſtracy of *Nimeguen*, and received the thanks of the *States* of *Guelderland* for the ſame. In ſhort, he confounded all diſtinctions between the civil and military power; his ſword gave law to the conſtitution of *Holland*, where he was reſolved to obtain a majority of the *States*, that he might reach *Barneveldt*'s head. That patriot was ſo much affected by the proſpect of the ruin of that liberty, which he had aſſiſted in eſtabliſhing, that he was ſeized by a fever. Upon his recovery, he begged his diſmiſſion from his office; but being prevailed upon by the *States* to keep it, he ſeemed to redouble his aſſiduity in the public ſervice; and by the aſſiſtance of the *French* ambaſſador, *Maurier*, he reſtored tranquillity to the *States* of *Holland*, by eſtabliſhing a general toleration in matters of religion. But it is proper in this period of our hiſtory, to premiſe certain facts, that the ſubſequent part of it may be the better underſtood.

*Barneveldt* attaches himſelf to *France*, and why.

From what we have already ſaid, it is plain, that prince *Maurice* attempted to render himſelf maſter of *Holland* and the *Dutch* republic. *Barneveldt* and its other patriots, might eaſily have bid him defiance, had they attached themſelves to *England* inſtead of *France*; and they had many reaſons, beſides thoſe of gratitude, for purſuing ſuch a meaſure; but they conſidered *England* now as the rival of their trade, and, that if they required her protection, they muſt ſubmit to her dictates, in the only object that made even independency deſirable to them. They had no rivalſhip of this kind to dread from *France*, whoſe ſituation was more convenient for their protection, than even that of *England*, poſſeſſed as they were of a great ſea force; and by cultivating the friendſhip of *France*, they promoted their commerce, and had a far more ready and advantageous vent for their manufactures and commodities, than they could have by their connections with *Great Britain*. Such were the real motives of the two parties, the *French* and the *Orange*, that were now formed in the *Dutch* government; but little did their patriots then foreſee, that a time would come, when the houſe of *Bourbon* would be as formidable to their liberties, as that of *Auſtria* had ever been;

been; and that they would at laſt be ſaved by the family of *Orange*.

*Maurice* propoſed to the *States*, at *Overyſſel*, that a national ſynod ſhould be held; but he was now too much ſuſpected by the *States* of *Holland*, to be attended to, as formerly. He continued to be ſupported and countenanced by *Carleton*, the *Engliſh* miniſter, and the attacks upon *Barneveldt*'s perſon and reputation being renewed, that great man condeſcended to vindicate himſelf in print, by an admirable apology for his own conduct, in a ſtate that ought to have erected ſtatues to his honour, even before his death. He was anſwered only by railing accuſations, which raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the *States* of *Holland*, that they directly attacked *Maurice*'s conduct, and laid before him the late attempts that had been made upon their liberties, and adviſed him in very ſpirited terms to deſiſt from ſuch for the future, to reſtore their conſtitution to its original principles, and to redreſs public grievances; but above all, to relinquiſh his purpoſe of calling a national ſynod, which they ſaid, was inconſiſtent with the terms of the union of *Utrecht*. The prince employed ſome of his furious ignorant divines to anſwer this remonſtrance, which they did; but their reaſoning was expoſed, and deſtroyed by the excellent pen of *Grotius*. Various were the propoſals for accommodation; but all of them were defeated by the obſtinacy of *Amſterdam*, which, in conjunction with *Zealand*, *Groningen*, and *Frieſland*, was rivetted to the intereſt of prince *Maurice*, and inſiſted upon a national ſynod; but were firmly oppoſed by the council of *State*, which very juſtly reſented the diſregard which the prince had here ſhewn for their authority. He had no recourſe but the ſword to carry his point of erecting himſelf the ſovereign of the *United Provinces*. His ſuperior power prevented them from augmenting their guards and garriſons, and he threatened to proceed againſt them as rebels, if they inſiſted upon that meaſure.

*Maurice* propoſes a national ſynod, which is oppoſed by the *States General*.

He, and the *States* of *Holland*, had audiences before the *States General* on that ſubject, but this ſerved only to accelerate his ambitious projects, and to enforce his ſcheme of a national council, where he was ſure to carry his point. The deputies of *Holland*, though convinced of his intentions, waited upon him in *Utrecht*, where he had met with a ſevere oppoſition, as the magiſtrates had raiſed guards for their own defence. He had recourſe to arms, diſarmed them and their garriſon, and in effect annulled their privileges in their own town-houſe, by aboliſhing their annual council, and introducing one of his own chuſing, which, by the plenitude of his own power, he declared to be perpetual. *Ledemberg*, the ſecretary, and faithful ſervant of the *States*, for thirty years, was obliged to reſign his office, and to fly to the *Hague*, where, by *Maurice*'s orders, he was arreſted. The ſituation of the *States*, at this time, was deplorable, but not ſingular. They oppoſed remonſtrances, compacts, provincial and civil privileges,

His diſputes with the *States* of *Holland*.

leges, to arms, but in vain. Prince *Maurice* having ſubdued *Utrecht*, returned to the *Hague*, where he carried every thing by power, againſt authority. *Aerſens*, ſecretary of ſtate, a man of abilities, was the ready prompter and tool of his ambition, before which every thing plied; and in the month of *November*, the long conteſted ſynod aſſembled at *Dort*. The pretexts of the *Orange* party were ſo plauſible, and that of the *Arminians* ſo unpopular, that the ſynod of *Dort* opened with great ſplendour. Deputies repaired to it from the *States General*, the provincial *States* of the *Seven Provinces*, the kings of *England* and *France*, the elector *Palatine*, and almoſt all the proteſtant *States* in *Europe*. The *Armenians* were cited to appear before this ſynod, but they declined it, and publiſhed a conſtitutional vindication of their declinature. *Aerſens* took up the pen againſt them, and the popular tide ſet ſo ſtrongly againſt the *Armenians*, that *Maurice* ventured to impriſon *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, and their other heads, in the caſtle of *Louveſtein*. It may be uſeful to the reader to obſerve, that from this time the friends of *France*, in the *United Provinces*, went by the name of the *Louveſtein Faction*; nor is either their party or their principles extinguiſhed to this day.

His chief adverſaries committed to priſon.

*Barneveldt* loſes his head.

Even the ſteadineſs of the *States General* was ſtaggered by the power of *Maurice*, and they appointed a commiſſion, the members of which conſiſted of the *Orange* faction, to try the venerable old patriot for his life. The charge againſt him was founded upon the facts we have already mentioned, and which were conſtrued as ſo many attempts againſt public liberty, and for deſtroying the tranquillity of his country. All the defence his innocence could make was diſregarded by the judges, who were themſelves afraid of being put to death, if they did not find him guilty, which they did, and his head was cut off in the caſtle of *Hague*, on the 13th of *May*, 1619.

1619.

His character.

Thus fell *Barneveldt*, after living 72 years, fifty of which he had ſpent in ſucceſsful, but laborious, ſervices for his country. As a patriot, he poſſeſſed virtues both public and private, equal, if not ſuperior, to any that antient hiſtory can produce. His early zeal for the independency of his country coſt him his head, by agreeing to inveſt the houſe of *Orange* with powers, which he had long foreſeen would be converted to his deſtruction. *Maurice*, though otherwiſe a perſon of great moderation and of a moſt amiable character in all matters where ambition was not concerned, rendered himſelf deteſtable even to many of his own party, by *Barneveldt*'s execution. His ſon, whom *Maurice* had made governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, continued ſtill in his poſt, which is an evidence, that the enmity which *Maurice* had conceived againſt the old man was confined to his perſon only. As to *Grotius*, it does not appear, that he was treated with any farther rigour, than that of an eaſy confinement. This gave his wife an opportunity of furniſhing him with the means of his eſcape, which he effected by concealing himſelf in a cheſt, inſtead of the books

books which he was allowed to read; and he thereby eluded the vigilance of his guard, by the cheſt being carried unſearched out of the caſtle.

The *Dutch* loſt no opportunity of improving the breathing time, which the truce allowed them, for extending and protecting their commerce. They were now conſidered as a powerful and independent ſtate, and all *Europe* felt either their arms or their influence. *England* might have rivalled them, as no age ever produced a race of more hardy enterprizing *Engliſh* adventurers than this did; but the diſcoveries they undertook were not ſufficiently encouraged by their indolent court. *James*, was by *Spain*, lulled into a ſtate of ſhameful inattention to maritime affairs. It would be doing him great injuſtice to ſay, that under him the trade of *England* did not amazingly encreaſe; that he was not even zealous for its proſperity, and that he did not give it great countenance. But his ſpirit did not ſecond his inclinations. His indolence rendered him inactive. He was ſhy of giving umbrage to *Spain*, or the powers of the continent, and, in ſhort, he wanted ſpirit to protect the commerce which he ſought to extend, and through that failing he omited more than half of what he might have effected. The conduct of the *Dutch* was the reverſe of this. Their ſhips of war gave laws from the *Baltic* to the *Levant*. They forced a trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*; and beſides the inferior flouriſhing colonies, which they ſettled in the *Eaſt Indies*, they raiſed that of *Batavia*, which was the moſt ſplendid, as well as the richeſt, the moſt populous, and powerful, that any ſtate ever founded; and in a ſhort time, it outvied, in all thoſe reſpects, their *European* republic. It cannot, however, be diſſembled, that the *Dutch* carried the excluſive maxims of trade in thoſe countries to moſt deteſtable lengths; and that they never omited practiſing fraud, treachery, and the moſt atrocious cruelties, to accompliſh their ends.

Proſperous ſtate of the *Dutch* marine.

The temper of *Albert*, and that of the court of *Spain*, at this period, were very different. The former, wiſe, moderate and reſigned, was glad to gain a reſpite from war. He beheld with amazement the power of the *Dutch*, and the more it grew, the more happy he thought himſelf in being able to retain, in their duty, the ten remaining provinces which he ſtill ruled. *Philip*, on the other hand, the more the *Dutch* (whom he ſtill conſidered as rebels) proſpered, he thought them the more worthy objects of his avarice, ambition, and revenge, and though he diſſembled his intention, he was daily laying ſchemes for reducing them. The time now approached when the treaty of truce ought to be renewed. *Philip* obliged *Albert* to demand of the *Dutch* ſuch terms, as he had exacted in the infancy of their revolt. The *Dutch* merchants beheld the magnificence of *Albert*'s ambaſſador with contempt, and the *States* diſmiſſed him with diſdain. They did not ſufficiently attend to the means of ſupporting this

Violent meaſures of the court of *Spain*.

ſpirit, however noble it was in itſelf. Prince *Maurice* continued at the head of their army, but they beheld him with an eye of deteſtation and jealouſy; his ranks were thin and his
1621. troops ill ſupplied. *Spinola* knew his diſtreſſes, and in 1621, the truce being expired; he penetrated into the country of *Juliers*, where he reduced that city, which had been ſtill held by the *Dutch* troops, ſince the death of the duke of *Cleves*.

Death of *Philip* III. The archduke *Albert*, and *Philip* III. of *Spain* (leaving behind him a minor ſon) died about this time. The circumſtances of the court of *Spain* directed that miniſtry to a peace with the *Dutch*; but the jealouſy ſubſiſting between the *States* and prince *Maurice*, encouraged *Spinola* to perſuade the archdutcheſs, and the council of *Spain*, to continue the war. His motions ſoon convinced *Maurice* of his intention, and a *Scotch* officer, one *Henderſon*, in the *Dutch* pay, deceived the vigilance even of *Spinola*, by throwing himſelf with 700 men into *Bergen-op-zoom*, but he was killed next day, fighting gallantly at the head of a ſally. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Germany*, will find great lights as to the concomitant circumſtances of this war, and the reaſons of *Maurice* being diſappointed in the aſſiſtances he expected from count *Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunſwic*. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the prince finding himſelf too weak to fight *Spinola*, made an attempt upon *Bois-le-duc*, in which he failed; but the reſiſtance made by *Bergen-op-zoom*, the ſtrongeſt town in *Dutch Brabant*, if not in all the *Netherlands*, obliged *Spinola* to raiſe the ſiege, with the loſs of 10,000 of his beſt troops. In the mean while, *Borgia*, the governor of *Antwerp* was baffled in an attempt he made upon *Sluys*, and the ſturdy burghers of *Haerlem*, and other towns of *Overyſſel*, drove an army of *Spaniſh* veterans out of that province, with the loſs of their artillery. *Spinola* had retired towards *Antwerp*, where he received reinforcements, that rendered his army ſuperior to that under prince *Maurice*, who had by this time reduced *Steenberg*. *Spinola* thought his character had ſuffered, by his miſcarriage before *Bergen-op-zoom*, and to repair it he offered *Maurice* battle. The latter coolly replied, that he had relieved *Bergen-op-zoom*, and taken *Steenberg*, the two objects he had in view when he took the field, and he was ſatisfied. *Spinola* admired the wiſdom, and equanimity of the prince, who was then meditating a blow, which had it ſucceeded, muſt have ruined the *Spaniſh* poſſeſſions in the *Netherlands*. This was no leſs than the ſurprize of *Antwerp*, which he propoſed to effect, by a ſea and land armament. The ſeaſon of the year proved unfavourable to the enterprize. Some of the *Dutch* ſhips were frozen in, others were ſhipwrecked, with the loſs of two regiments, and the undertaking miſcarried.

Siege of *Bergen-op-zoom* by *Spinola*.

Is raiſed.

*Maurice* fails in an attempt upon *Antwerp*.

Prince *Maurice* was uncommonly dejected at this failure, becauſe he had expreſſed himſelf in terms, as if he had been ſure of ſucceſs. He returned to the *Hague*, where he narrowly eſcaped

escaped being assassinated by the *Arminians*, instigated by one of *Barneveldt*'s grandsons. He had communicated his design to his brother, who rejected it with horror; but not having discovered it, through fraternal tenderness, he was beheaded, while the assassin escaped. This conspiracy gave infinite advantages to the *Gomarists*, who accused all the sect of the *Arminians*, as being concerned in it, and the flames of persecution were lighted up afresh. It was in vain for them to make the most solemn appeals and applications to God and their country, concerning their innocence, however, some particular persons of their persuasion might be guilty. The *States* of *Utrecht* declared them rebels to their country, and a reward of 600 livres was offered to any one who should swear a treasonable matter against them, and lodge his charge, whatever the issue might be, in a public court. The *Arminians* applied to the *States General*, but they durst not attempt to relieve them, because prince *Maurice* was at the head of the persecution, which a fine apology, composed for them by *Grotius*, served rather to augment than allay the tempest. Thus a set of men, for the original crime of having asserted the dignity, and the free agency of mankind, were by their country proscribed from all rights of society, and all means of redress. The rack and the axe had constant employment, and to be thought an *Arminian* became capital.

A conspiracy against him discovered and punished.

The *Dutch* commerce, at this time, suffered severely from the piratical *States* of *Barbary*, who are under the protection of the courts of *Constantinople* and *France*. The *Dutch* bought a peace with them, and concluded a treaty, by which the *Barbarians* assisted them in interrupting the *Spanish* commerce. The war in the *Low Countries* still raging, *Tilly*, at the head of the catholic *Germans*, was preparing, by order of the emperor (though he had made no formal declaration against the *Dutch*) to enter *Friesland*, and he, and *Gonzales de Cordova*, general of the *Spaniards* in the dutchy of *Juliers*, were ordered to join *Spinola*, that the republic might at once be crushed. The *States* took *Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunswic* again into their pay; they contracted an alliance with *Bethlem Gabor*, and to avert the impending blow, they made a war of diversion. *Gabor* acted in *Hungary*, *Mansfield* in *Westphalia*, and the duke of *Brunswic*, or as he is called, the bishop of *Halberstadt*, upon the *Rhine*. The reader will find in the history of *Germany*, the measures taken by the princes of the empire, to prevent the prodigious ravages of those several armies, who had no pay but plunder. *Tilly* beat the bishop of *Halberstadt*, but 6000 of his troops were taken into pay by the *States General*. The conqueror, and *Gonzales*, then marched towards *Embden*, where the precautions of the *Dutch* defeated all their schemes; but turning off, they took *Lipstadt*, the garrison of which had committed great ravages upon the catholic party.

The *Dutch* make peace with the *States* of *Barbary*.

Prepare for war.

*Dutch* shipping seized.

The treaty between the *Dutch* and the *States* of *Barbary* was soon broken, by the temptation of a ſquadron of the *Barbarians* falling in with four *Dutch* ſhips richly laden, three of which were taken, after a bloody engagement, and the ſailors of the fourth blew her up. The reader, during the courſe of the *Dutch* hiſtory, is to carry one uſeful obſervation in his eye, which is, that the ſubjects of the *United Provinces* were generally at peace with the powers whom their maſters were at war with. They traded with the *Spaniſh* ports, and they even ſold proviſions and ammunition to their armies, fleets and garriſons, though beſieged by their own countrymen. This practice had been ſo long carried on, that they thought themſelves as ſafe in the harbours of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as in thoſe of *Holland*. They were miſtaken, for the *Spaniards* this year, ſeized 100 of their ſhips in their ports. This loſs, however, was amply repaid, by the prodigious ſucceſſes of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*, where they deſtroyed their enemies colonies, took or ſunk 60 of their beſt ſhips, and ſent the plunder home, to the amount of two millions ſterling. In *South America* they had two ſquadrons, one in *Braſil*, under *Willekens* and another under *Hermit*, who were ordered to penetrate into the *Spaniſh* ſettlements. The viceroy of *Lima* had a far ſuperior naval force to *Hermit*, and was preparing in the ports of *Callao* to purſue the *Dutch*, when they attacked him with irreſiſtable fury. In an hour's time eleven of the *Spaniſh* capital ſhips were deſtroyed or taken; that of their admiral being blown up with 800 men on board, and that of their vice admiral burnt. The victory was complete, and *Lima* muſt have ſurrendered, had not the attack been deferred till next day. *Willekens*, in the mean while, entered the town of *St. Salvador*, in the bay of *All Saints*, and forced the garriſon to ſurrender. The town was plundered with the niceſt ſcrutiny of *Dutch* rapine and avarice. A garriſon was placed in it, under one colonel *Van Dort*; and by hoiſting *Spaniſh* colours in the harbour, eight rich merchant ſhips fell into his hands, beſides great numbers of other captures made by *Willekens'* ſquadron, ſo that the *Dutch* now talked of the reduction of the *Braſils* as a certainty.

Their ſucceſſes in *America*.

Operations of war.

In *Europe*, *Mansfield*, though his mercenaries were paid by the *Dutch*, obliged them to buy the places he took in *Eaſt Frieſland*, at the rate of 300,000 florins. During a hard winter, the *Spaniards* entered *Holland* upon the ice, and were preparing to invade the province of *Groningen*, but they were diſappointed, through the precautions taken by prince *Maurice*. The count *de Berg*, a *Spaniſh* general, however, over-ran *Dutch Guelderland*, and beſieged *Arnheim*, which he could not take; ſo that upon advice of the prince's approach, he was obliged to repaſs the *Yſſel*, with the loſs of half his army, through the fatigue of his expedition. In ſhort, this winter campaign, which the *Spaniards* were in hopes of rendering deciſive, terminated in their ſhame and loſs. The *Spaniards*

ſtill refuſed to give up the places they held in the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; and the *Dutch* did the ſame, notwithſtanding all the projects of accommodation ſet on foot by the two competitors, the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the duke of *Neuburgh*. The archdutcheſs, who ſtill continued to govern the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, galled the *Dutch* trade by the *Dunkirk* privateers, who were protected by men of war. The latter were attacked by general *Lambert*, and he loſt his life in the engagement, which, though not remarkably ſucceſsful, curbed the privateers for ſome time. The ſucceſs of the *Dunkirk* privateers may be accounted for, by the genius of the *Dutch*, who employed their naval power in making captures of very rich prizes upon the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, one of which, belonging to the viceroy of *Sicily*, yielded them 150,000 l. The *Dutch*, about the ſame time, took advantage of ſome differences ſubſiſting between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, in forming nearer connections with the former, and made a new treaty with it, by which *French* ſubjects were to be aſſociated with *Dutch* in the *Eaſt India* trade. They concluded, at the ſame time, another treaty with *James* I. which extended to the *Eaſt Indies*, and gave them an opportunity of committing the moſt ſhocking barbarities againſt the *Engliſh* in thoſe quarters, which never were ſufficiently reſented by the *Engliſh* government.

*Dunkirk* privateers troubleſome to the *Dutch* trade.

The mention of thoſe barbarities, naturally leads us to a few obſervations upon their maxims and conduct towards the *Engliſh* in that part of the world. Their adventurers, by their amazing ſagacity, perceived that nothing was ſo effectual to reconcile the natives to their government as ſplendid appearances, magnificent guards, attendants, and equipages, and above all, a regular, uniform, face of juſtice. They cultivated thoſe particulars with prodigious attention, and gained ſo much upon the inhabitants, that ſome of their princes and chiefs, entruſted the company with the education of their ſons, whom they ſent over to *Holland*, where they were treated by the prince of *Orange* with great politeneſs and tenderneſs. This management had a double effect, for it rendered not only the prince of *Orange* (whom the barbarians believed to be king of *Holland*) their friend, but the *States General* likewiſe, who thought they could not do enough for the encouragement of ſo rich, and ſo reſpectable a company, compoſed of their own ſubjects. From thoſe circumſtances, the reader muſt naturally believe, that the members of that company were willing to conceal, even from the *States General*, the riches of their ſettlements, and the maxims on which they proceeded, particularly that of extinguiſhing all rivalſhip in commerce, eſpecially from the *European* nations. In 1623, they beheld with an evil eye, the ſettlement of the *Engliſh* in the little iſland of *Amboyna*, where the agent of their company reſided; but the *Dutch* were provided with four good garriſon forts, particularly that of the town of *Amboyna*, where the *Engliſh* were

Maxims and barbarities of the *Dutch*

1623, at *Amboyna*,

suffered to live and trade, in consequence of the treaties between their company and that of the *Dutch*. The latter had been already guilty of massacring, and inhumanly torturing, the members and agents of the *English* factory at *Lantore*; but the facts, though plainly proved, were hushed up by a treaty. The excessive hardships and extortions which the *English*, who lived in the town, suffered from the *Dutch*, who commanded in the citadel, occasioned many complaints from the former, which were at last carried to *Europe*; but the *Dutch* now formed a most horid scheme of revenge.

where the *English* are tortured and put to death.

They pretended that the *Japanese*, who were in their pay, but were not suffered to continue in the garrison all night, intended to seize the citadel, and some of them by the force of exquisite tortures, confessed, that they had been set on by the *English*. A drunken *English* surgeon being apprehended, was put to the like tortures, and said whatever the judge required of him. Upon this, captain *Towerson*, the head of the *English* factory, and the other members of it were seized, with all their effects, and put in irons. The *English* in the neighbouring factories underwent the same fate, and were brought to *Amboyna*. The tortures they separately underwent exceed all description. They are too shocking to be particularized, and were too exquisite to be borne. Some of the unhappy wretches confessed every thing the *Dutch* fiscal suggested to them, but not till their torments became too dreadful to be longer endured. Having finished their terrible operations on the rack, the prisoners were condemned to death, which many of them suffered, but all of them protesting their innocence. Mr. *Towerson*, among the rest, was put to death; and the *Dutch* governor affected to make a public rejoicing, for the discovery and punishment of the conspirators. Nothing, perhaps, could have convinced the public of the barbarity of the *Dutch* in this proceeding, so effectually, as the lame apologies they made, when the directors of their company were charged with it in *Europe*. But the most incredible part of the whole is, that well authenticated and proved as the horrid transaction was, the *European Dutch* found means to elude giving any satisfaction to the sufferers.

The *Spaniards* renew the war with more vigour than ever.

It is almost incredible that the *Spanish* monarchy, after the immense losses in the *Low Countries*, should have still had resources sufficient to enable the archdutchess to place *Spinola* at the head of a stronger army, than he had ever yet commanded. *James* I. was, at this time, in a most despicable situation, through the delusion in which he was wrapped by the court of *Spain*, the miscarriage of his son-in-law's affairs in the *Palatinate*, and the unspeakable insolence of the *Dutch*, who, through long indulgence, in fishing on the *British* coasts, now claimed an exclusive privilege of fishing upon them as their own. Upon the whole, *James* continued neutral, and the army of the archdutchess was this year supposed to amount to 50,000 men, divided into three bodies. The strongest was given

given to *Spinola*, who laid ſiege to *Breda*. The count *de Berg* commanded the next, and led it againſt the places held by the *Dutch* in *Juliers*, while the third was to form a flying camp, to harraſs the *Dutch* territories, under one *Lagunas*. The army of the *States* conſiſted of no more than 13,000 foot and 4000 horſe, who under prince *Maurice*, were to oppoſe *Spinola*, and 18 troops of dragoons, with 6000 foot, who, under prince *Henry* of *Naſſau*, were to cover the *Dutch* poſſeſſions in *Juliers*.

The ſiege of *Breda*.

The garriſon of *Breda* was commanded by *Juſtin Naſſau*, natural ſon to *William* prince of *Orange*. *Spinola* found the place ſo well provided to receive him, that he prepared to reduce it by famine, before he would venture an attack. While he was making diſpoſitions for this purpoſe, the count *de Berg* had, notwithſtanding all that prince *Henry* could do, taken *Mundeberg*, the city of *Cleves* itſelf, *Giret* and *Genep*, and leaving ſtrong garriſons in them all, he marched to aſſiſt *Spinola*, who had intercepted a conſiderable convoy coming by water to the garriſon. The *Spaniards*, however, were confounded, when it was known that the prince of *Orange* had retaken *Cleves*, and made its *Spaniſh* garriſon p iſoners. The prince after this, made another attempt upon *Antwerp*, as the beſt means of relieving *Breda*, but it failed, through the vigilance of a *Spaniſh* centinel; nor could the preſence of the prince himſelf re-animate his troops, who were ſtruck with a panic. The danger in which *Breda* was, affected him the more, as great part of his patrimonial eſtate lay in that city and territory, and upon his return to the *Hague*, care and concern, added to the weight of 88 years, put an end to his life. We have ſufficiently deſcribed his military capacity, and ambition, which alone prevented him from being one of the moſt amiable, as he was, in all other reſpects, one of the ableſt men of his age.

Its progreſs.

Death of prince *Maurice*.

Prince *Henry* ſucceeded to him in his command, and had been inſtructed by his brother, to attempt to raiſe the ſiege of *Breda*, as ſoon as he ſhould be joined by the auxiliaries he expected from *France*. *Spinola* improved the juncture, by carrying on his approaches againſt *Breda*, where the brave colonel *Morgan* commanded a body of *Engliſh*. *Spinola* was in hopes from the conſtant fire of the beſieged, that their ammunition would fail them, but *Juſtin* had provided a reſervoir of water, which he broke open, and deluged the *Spaniſh* camp to ſuch a degree, that their ſoldiers could not continue their operations, and the dampneſs of their ſituation produced among them ſuch diſeaſes, as before the month of *September*, from 32,000 men reduced the army of *Spinola* to 12,000, who could do duty. Notwithſtanding this, he continued to perform all the duties of an able commander. By his cares, many of his ſoldiers recovered; he received a reinforcement of 8000 foot and 1500 horſe, and, in a ſhort time, his army amounted to 33,000 excellent troops.

Succeeded by prince *Henry*.

Siege of *Breda*,

which is bravely defended,

Prince *Henry*, by this time, had not only ſucceeded to the eſtates and command of his brother in the army, but had been choſen Stadtholder of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyſſel*. Having received reinforcements from *France* and *Germany*, he attacked *Spinola*'s lines, but was repulſed, and was forced to retire towards *Bois-le-duc*, from whence he ſent permiſſion, but not under his hand, for *Juſtin* to ſurrender *Breda*, if he thought proper. The letter was intercepted, and ſent open to *Juſtin* by *Spinola*, with the offer of an honourable capitulation, but was refuſed by that ſteady commander, though his garriſon was now by diſeaſes, fatigues, and famine, reduced to half its original number. *Spinola* threatened to come to extremities; but *Juſtin* knew the deſperate ſtate of the *Spaniſh* army, the mutinies that prevailed in it, the blowing up of their magazines by the mutineers, and other diſadvantages they lay under, but was ignorant of all that had happened, ſince the attempt made by prince *Maurice* upon *Antwerp*. He was ſoon apprized of the deaths of *Maurice* and *James* I. and the ineffectual efforts made to relieve them, in a letter ſigned by *Henry*, who repeated his permiſſion concerning the ſurrender. *Juſtin* called a council of war; but

but is forced to ſurrender,

*Morgan* ſaid he was anſwerable for the honour of his nation, and refuſed to ſurrender without a particular order from the prince addreſſed to himſelf. This was obtained; and all who refuſed to ſurrender were threatened with capital puniſhments. The vigilance of *Spinola* ſoon informed him of the reduced ſtate of the garriſon, where ſcarcely a man could ſtand upon his legs. He again offered, though againſt the ſentiments of the *Spaniſh* barbarians, who commanded under him, an honourable capitulation, which was accepted on the 6th of *June*; the ſiege having laſted ten months, and only one third of the garriſon left alive. *Spinola*, when the garriſon marched out, drew up his army, and received both officers and ſoldiers with the higheſt marks of honour, and proofs of humanity; and, as if the ſurrender of *Breda* had given the finiſhing glory to his military character, he reſigned his command. The archdutcheſs made a triumphal entry into *Breda*, but the *States* prohibited all commerce with that city, becauſe of the exceſſive kindneſs ſhewn to them by *Spinola*. The archdutcheſs iſſued the like prohibition to her ſubjects, but inſtead of calling the ſubjects of the *States* rebels and traitors as formerly, ſhe only called them enemies.

and *Spinola* reſigns his command.

1625. Succeſſes of the *Dutch* in *America*.

The ill fortune of the *Dutch* by land, was partly counterbalanced by their ſucceſſes at ſea; *Hermit* deſtroyed a great number of the *Spaniſh* ſhipping at *Callao*; but was too weak to take a galleon in the port, worth above 500,000 l. He was more fortunate at *Guayaquil*, on the coaſt of *Peru*, where he took an immenſe treaſure, but his men ſetting fire to the place, the inhabitants had the courage to attack them in their retreat, killed 500 of them, and recovered great part of the treaſure. *Hermit* made a freſh attempt upon *Calloa*, but was baffled,

baffled, and the diſappointment had ſuch an effect upon his ſpirits that he died of melancholy; upon which his command devolved upon vice-admiral *Hugues*, who proved a brave and ſucceſsful commander in the cruizes he made againſt the *Spaniards* in *South America*. The conqueſt of *St. Salvador* was, by the *Dutch*, juſtly conſidered as a prelude to the reduction of all the *Braſils*. When *Willekens* ſailed to *Europe*, he left 2000 men in ſix ſhips of war to defend it, under *Van Dort*. They were attacked by a fleet of 56 ſail and 12,000 *Spaniards*, commanded by *Frederic de Toledo* and *Juan Faxardo*, who preſſed the ſiege with great vigour. Many *Dutch* ſhips being deſtroyed, the ſailors mutinied, and *Van Dort* dying of a fever, in the mean while, they, and the garriſon, obliged his ſucceſſor, who ſteadily refuſed it, to ſurrender it without any other capitulation, than that of being carried to *Holland*. There the governor was received, but his officers were broke with ignominy, and his ſoldiers and ſailors whipped out of the ſervice of the *States*.

The loſs of *Breda*, the death of *James* I. and the great ſcenes that were opening in *Europe*, when *Charles* I. ſucceeded to the *Britiſh* throne, gave a new turn to public affairs. The governing paſſion of *Buckingham*, the favourite of *Charles*, was to reduce the houſe of *Auſtria*, eſpecially the *Spaniſh* branch of it. He would have entered into new connections with the *Dutch* for this purpoſe, but he durſt not propoſe it to his maſter, who was highly exaſperated at the *States*, for their cruelties in the *Eaſt Indies*, and their inſolence on the *Britiſh* ſeas. *Richelieu*, the firſt miniſter of *France*, ſuſpected *Buckingham*'s intention to divide the *States General* from *France*, and he out-bade him in his terms, though it does not appear that *Buckingham* had ever opened himſelf to any but the prince of *Orange*, and that too with the greateſt reſerve and ſecrecy. Though the friendſhip of *France* was neceſſary for accompliſhing *Buckingham*'s views, yet from private cauſes he became the irreconcilable enemy of *Richelieu*, who drew the *States* in to conclude a moſt unnatural treaty; by which they obliged themſelves to aſſiſt the *French* king in oppreſſing and reducing his proteſtant ſubjects. The *Dutch* having joined their fleet with that of *France*, were attacked by the proteſtant prince *de Soubiſe*, and their admiral was blown up, almoſt to the joy of the common people of *Holland*, who deteſted the conduct of their ſuperiors, and in *Amſterdam* they pillaged the houſes of thoſe who commanded their fleet. In ſhort their ſpirit pointed ſo ſtrongly towards a general inſurrection, that their government durſt not attempt to check it.

They enter into an alliance with *France* againſt the *French* proteſtants.

The ſtate of affairs in the *Low Countries*, obliged the government of *Holland* again to take their expenſive general *Mansfield* into their pay, and likewiſe the biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, who made a uſeful diverſion for them againſt their enemies in *Weſtphalia*, till he was defeated by *Wallenſtein*, and the biſhop died at *Wolfenbuttel*. The *States*, in the *Low Countries*, made

Religious diſſentions revive in *Holland*.

made no figure in the field this year, their ſubjects relapſing into their religious frenzy. *Henry*, prince of *Orange*, was thought to be more moderate, than his brother had been, towards the *Arminians*, who were now inſtigated to return ſome of the ſeverities they had ſuffered. He heard their complaints with moderation, and expreſſed his eſteem for ſome particular perſons of their party. The violent *Gomariſts* oppoſed this with ſuch fury, that a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when all parties was forced to unite in their common preſervation.

*Spinola* preſident of the *Flemiſh* admiralty.

Prince *Henry* exerted himſelf in making preparations for the next campaign, and was ſoon at the head of 6000 foot and 4000 horſe, beſides 12,000 men commanded by count *Erneſt Caſimir*, who took *Oldenzeel*. The prince of *Orange* miſcarried in ſeveral excellent deſigns he laid, and count *Stirum*, who commanded under him, while he was heading a detachment upon an expedition, was attacked, defeated, and taken priſoner by the count *de Berg*; but the *Spaniards*, in their turn, were repulſed with loſs, in a ſpirited attempt they made to ſurprize *Sluys*. *Spinola*, at this time, acted as the preſident of a new court of admiralty, erected in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the privateers of *Dunkirk* ſtill continued to diſtreſs the *Dutch* trade. *Charles* I. through the injuſtice his ſiſter, the queen of *Bohemia*, ſuffered from the houſe of *Auſtria*, and by ſome ſlight ſubmiſſions made to him by the *Dutch* in the affair of *Amboyna*, ordered his fleet to join that of *Holland*, and to intercept that of *Spain* from the *Weſt Indies*; but four of their ſhips were deſtroyed, by thoſe under the direction of the new court of admiralty, in the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, though the *Dutch* afterwards deſtroyed two of their capital galleons. *Spinola*, in his marine department, appeared as great as he had done in his military, and encreaſed the naval power of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, ſo as to find employment for the combined fleets of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*.

1627. The *States* threatened with an invaſion.

In 1627, the prince of *Orange* reduced *Grol*, by which he narrowed the contributions of the *Spaniards*. The place was nobly defended, and the ſiege laſted from the 20th of *July* to the 18th of *Auguſt*. This was followed by ſeveral important acquiſitions which the prince made, while the *Spaniards* miſcarried in various deſigns they had formed againſt *Zealand*. The loſs of *Spinola* in the field, was now ſeverely felt by the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, and about this time he was recalled to *Spain*. The cardinal *de Cueva* now directed the civil, as the count *de Berg* did the military, affairs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Count *Tilly* and the prince of *Anhalt* threatened the dominions of the *States* with an invaſion, and they were oppoſed by an army of 18,000 men, under count *Erneſt*. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in operations, which, though indeciſive, were generally in favour of the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, while the *Dunkirk* privateers ſtill continued to commit exceſſive depredations upon the *Dutch* ſhipping.

ſhipping. The finances of the *States* were, at this time, in diſorder, chiefly through the parſimony of their great men, whoſe exactions in the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves* drove the inhabitants there into the arms of the emperor, who received them moſt cordially, and *Imperial* mandates were formally iſſued, requiring the *Dutch* to evacuate thoſe two dutchies, and that of *Berg*; and *Tilly* was charged with the execution. In the hiſtory of *Germany* the reader will meet with the event of thoſe proceedings. In the year 1628, the *Dutch* continued 1628.
to hold their garriſons in that country, and the *Spaniards* did the ſame, notwithſtanding the *Imperial* mandates. This ſummer the *Dutch* garriſons obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Spaniards*, whom they attacked in ſeveral detachments, and laid their country under contribution for their own intereſt, the *States* not being able otherwiſe to pay them.

The depredations of the *Dunkirkers* brought on ſo many bank- Operati-
ruptcies at *Amſterdam*, that the *Dutch*, to a man, agreed to ons of the
block up the harbour, and beſiege the town of *Dunkirk*. *Dutch* by
Thirty ſhips of war were fitted out, and a ſquadron of eight ſea
of them defeated ſix *Dunkirkers*, by which the homeward bound *Dutch Eaſt-India* fleet arrived in ſafety. Upon the whole, however, the blockade of *Dunkirk* did not ſucceed, but the growing commerce of the *Dutch* in all parts of the world, enabled them to keep at ſea a naval force which checked the privateers as ſoon as they came out of their harbours. We have already mentioned the formation of the *Dutch Weſt-India* company, which for ſome time proved as fortunate as their *Eaſt-India*, and had deſtroyed vaſt numbers of the *Spaniſh* ſhips in the *European* harbours. *Peter Adrien* took twelve of the richeſt *Weſt-Indian* merchantmen in the bay of *Honduras*. Admiral *Peter Heine* had ſtill greater ſucceſs, for he deſtroyed in the bay of *All-Saints* a *Spaniſh* fleet, and brought home ſuch a quantity of ſugar as lowered the price of that commodity in the *European* markets. He then commanded a ſquadron of thirty-one ſhips, with inſtructions to intercept the *Spaniſh Plata* fleet, which he did, after ravaging the coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the booty he carried home amounted to above fifteen millions of livres, the greateſt the *Dutch* had ever made. They received *Heine*, whoſe prudence was equal to his good fortune, with a profuſion of the moſt ſplendid honours, and he was raiſed to the poſt of admiral of *Holland*. As if the encreaſe of wealth had rendered the *Dutch* more intractable than ever, (the *Gomariſts* in particular) a riot happened at *Amſterdam*. The prince of *Orange* had widened the foundations of his government, by admitting all into it who were capable of ſerving their country, eſpecially the *Arminians*. The *Gomariſt* citizens of *Amſterdam* refuſed to obey the *Arminian* magiſtrates, and their diſobedience produced a tumult, which was with difficulty quelled by the prince and the *States General*, with the help of the army. This diſturbance was ſucceeded by another among the ſailors who had ſerved under *Heine*,

and

and who complained that they had been defrauded of their prize-money. There is reaſon to believe there was but too much ground for their complaints; but after a conſiderable ſum was diſtributed among them to prevent their pillaging the whole, they returned to their duty, and entered on board a fleet of 60 capital ſhips, which were deſtined for the reduction of all the *Spaniſh* empire in *America*.

The ſucceſſes of the *States General* by ſea proved to be the moſt ready means of diſtreſſing their enemies by land. The *Spaniſh* ſoldiers were on the point of an univerſal mutiny. The nobility and chief ſubjects of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were equally diſſatisfied, and threw the blame of all their grievances upon the pride and miſmanagement of the *Spaniſh* counſellors, which had driven from their ſervice *Spinola*, their guardian and protector. The prince of *Orange*, on the other hand, was at the head of a fine army of *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and *French*, with which he laid ſiege to *Bois le Duc*, called the *Maid of Brabant*, becauſe ſhe never had ſurrendered to an enemy. Its ſtrength was ſuch, that it was deemed to be impregnable, and it was defended by one *Anthony Schets*; but the low condition of the *Spaniſh* finances, and the poverty of the court of *Bruſſels* left him no hope of aſſiſtance from without, excepting 800 men who ſlipped into his garriſon from *Breda*. *Schets*, who was an officer of great character and experience, made an excellent defence, and it was here that the young viſcount of *Turenne* gave the firſt ſpecimens of his great genius for war. At laſt, the court of *Bruſſels* found means to put 25,000 men in motion under *Berg*, to raiſe the ſiege; but in three attacks he made he was repulſed. He then drew off, to join *Montecuculi*, in a war of diverſion, but they were oppoſed by count *Stirum*, who was defeated, and the *United Provinces* were thereby expoſed to moſt imminent danger. The prince of *Orange* flew to their relief at the head of 22,000 men, leaving troops ſufficient for carrying on the ſiege of *Bois le Duc*; but in the mean while, the *Dutch* governor of *Emmeric* ſurprized *Veſel*, where the *Spaniards* had all their magazines. This ſeaſonable blow loſt the *Spaniards* all the great advantages they had obtained. They were obliged to re-paſs the *Yſſel*, and *Bois le Duc* ſurrendered upon an honourable capitulation. A conqueſt which put the reputation of prince *Henry* on a parallel with that of *Maurice* himſelf.

and land.

Succeſſes of the *Dutch* in the *Netherlands*.

By this time, the *Spaniards* and *Imperialiſts* were preparing again to invade the *United Provinces*, but they were oppoſed by count *Erneſt Caſimir*, who drove them into the dutchy of *Munſter*, while *Hauteſive*, the *French* general in the *Dutch* ſervice, paſſed the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with the *Dutch* garriſon in *Weſel*, took *Duiſburg*, and all the places poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, almoſt without reſiſtance. When the biſhops of *Munſter* and *Paderborn* ſeemed inclinable to take part againſt the *Dutch*, they thought proper to deſiſt upon the menaces of count *William* of *Naſſau*, who took

*Berg*,

*Berg*, *Solingen*, *Ongermunde*, and a great number of other places in the dutchy of *Juliers*, where the *Dutch* were befriended by the natives. In the year 1630, the operations in *Juliers* and *Cleves*, againſt the *Spaniards* recommenced; but the latter were every where defeated by prince *William* of *Naſſau*, who, however, failed in two attempts he made upon *Duſſeldorp* and *Mulheim*. His progreſs gave ſuch jealouſy to the *Imperial* court, that the emperor endeavoured to form a catholic confederacy againſt the *Dutch*, who refuſed to give up any of their conqueſts on the ſide of *Germany*, even to their undoubted owners, unleſs the *Spaniards* would evacuate theirs at the ſame time. The archdutcheſs complied with the terms, but the *States General*, though they ceded all their other conqueſts, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of *Emmeric*, *Rees*, and *Weſel*. 1630.

The court of *Bruſſels* (which was at this time in a wretched ſituation) and the archdutcheſs, propoſed to renew the truce for 34 years. The affair was propoſed and debated in the aſſembly of the *States General*, where *Richlieu*'s influence not only carried it for a continuance of the war, by means of *Bougay* the *French* ambaſſador, but renewed their alliance with *France*; and a vigorous continuance of the war on all ſides was reſolved on. The archdutcheſs applied to the court of *England*, which ſhe wanted to intereſt in her favour, by giving *Charles* hopes of his nephew being reinſtated in the *Palatinate*. *Charles* ordered his ambaſſador at the *Hague* to co-operate with the party which was for a truce, but the *Dutch* coldly declined his mediation. The truth is, that ever ſince the *States General* had redeemed from *James* I. their cautionary towns, the *Engliſh* influence had declined amongſt the *Dutch*. About this time, the war was renewed between the *Dutch* and the *Dunkirkers*, and three *Spaniſh* ſhips of war which protected the latter, were taken, after an obſtinate engagement, in which the brave *Dutch* admiral *Heine* loſt his life. Nothing could have prevented the inhabitants of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* from taking arms againſt their government at this time, but their extream miſery and weakneſs. All that they could do was to ſend the archbiſhop of *Mechlin* and the duke of *Archot* to the archdutcheſs with their complaints; ſhe heard them with compaſſion, but could give them no relief. Propoſals for renewing the truce.

*Richelieu*, notwithſtanding the prodigious things that the family of *Orange* had performed for the *States General*, was, at this time, in effect, their chief miniſter, and endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of the city of *Orange*, the patrimony of prince *Henry*, by bribing its governor, one *Walkenbourg*. The prince, and his friends within the city, had an intimation of the conſpiracy, and it was defeated by one *Kunyth*. *Walkenbourg* was killed, and the citadel ſurrendered to *Kunyth*, who had the prince's commiſſion to be governor of the city. It is from this incident that we may naturally date the rooted averſion which the princes of the houſe of *Orange* ever after retained towards Treachery of *Richlieu* to the *Orange* family.

the

the *Bourbon* family. It is certain, no prince ever deſerved better of a people than prince *Henry* did of the *States General*. He was averſe from the very appearance of giving them umbrage, and they thought their liberties ſo ſafe in his hands, and thoſe of his family, that they made the ſtadtholderſhip hereditary in the houſe of *Orange*; and they raiſed his ſon, though no more than five years of age, to be general of their cavalry. The archdutcheſs, by this time, had loſt all the promiſing hopes ſhe had entertained of a truce, and prepared to renew the war in the beſt manner ſhe could; but the *Flemings* were exaſperated anew when they underſtood that her army was to be commanded by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, a *Spaniard*, and that the chief commiſſions under him were given to foreigners. Prince *Henry* having drawn immenſe magazines from *Dantzic*, took poſt on the *Rhine*, from whence he ſurprized three *Spaniſh* forts, with an intention to attempt *Ghent*; but in that he was deceived and obliged to retire. The emperor, the *Roman* catholic princes in *Germany*, and the court of *Spain*, ſeeing the deſperate ſtate of the archdutcheſs, furniſhed him with troops to defend *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and receiving remittances of money, ſhe formed a deſign, by means of flat-bottomed boats, of cutting of the communication between *Holland* and *Zealand*; the execution of which was committed to *John*, count of *Naſſau*, who was furniſhed with 90 boats, 5,000 land troops, and 1,300 marines, the principal officer under him being a capuchin, who had planned the enterprize. Having proceeded as far as the iſland of *Tolen*, they were encountered by a fleet of *Zealanders*, commanded by *Hollart*, and an engagement followed in the night, which laſted ſix hours, but ended in the total defeat of count *John*. Of all the officers he had with him, only himſelf and ten more eſcaped, of whom one was the capuchin, who had performed wonders during the engagement; 76 boats and barks were taken, the reſt being deſtroyed; and of 5,000 men who were made priſoners, the greateſt part entered into the ſervice of the *States*.

The prince of *Orange* miſcarries in an attempt upon *Ghent*.

The *Dutch* worſted by ſea.

The marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who was at the ſame time to have penetrated as far as *Gertruydenberg*, was blamed for this miſcarriage; but ſome advantages which the *Dunkirkers* gained over the *Dutch* ſhips, with many pretended victories given out to have been obtained by the *Spaniards* in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, brought the *Flemings* into temper. The only foundation for thoſe reports was a dear bought victory which *D'Oquendo*, the *Spaniſh* admiral, had gained over *Pater*, on the coaſt of *Brazil*; but the conqueror was in return beat by the *Dutch*, with conſiderable loſs, in his return to *Europe*.

Succeſſes of the prince of *Orange*.

The reader, in the hiſtory of *Germany*, will find a full account of the progreſs which *Guſtavus Adolphus*, at this time, made in the empire; and he concluded a treaty, by his chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, at the *Hague*, with the *States General*, who undertook to make a powerful diverſion in his favour upon the *Rhine*,

*Rhine*, where the prince of *Orange* commanded a ſtrong army, and reduced *Venlo* and *Spaniſh Guelderland* after a briſk ſiege, which coſt him no more than two men. He then reduced *Stralen* and *Ruremond*, but the brave count *Erneſt Caſimir* was killed by a muſket ball at the ſiege of the latter, and upon his death the provinces of *Groningen* and *Frieſland* continued the Stadtholderſhip in the perſon of his ſon, prince *Henry*. Upon the *Schelde*, prince *William* of *Naſſau* made a vaſt progreſs, and by the aſſiſtance of *Scotch* and *Iriſh* auxiliaries, he gained a compleat victory over 5,000 *Spaniards*. About this time, the count *de Berg*, who had ſo long and ſo bravely ſerved the *Spaniards*, and had very near connections with the prince of *Orange* and count *Stirum*, reſigned his commiſſion and retired to *Liege*. He was earneſtly preſſed by the archdutcheſs to reſume it, but declined it, becauſe of the vaſt power which the count *de Olivarez* had in all the affairs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and even intimated that he was ready to raiſe an army to reſcue them from foreign tyranny. This produced a proclamation from the court of *Bruſſels*, declaring the count a traytor, and he was obliged to take protection under the prince of *Orange*, with whom it was now plain he had long acted in concert.

*Maeſtricht* taken by the *Dutch*.

Nothing can exhibit a ſtronger proof of the juſtice and moderation of the archdutcheſs, than the attachment which her *Flemiſh* ſubjects continued to ſhew towards her perſon, notwithſtanding the vaſt provocations they had received under her government. A few *Flemiſh* ſoldiers followed the example of the count *de Berg*; but towards the middle of *June*, the prince of *Orange* laid ſiege to *Maeſtricht*, which was defended by 2,500 men under the young baron *de Leda*. *Leda* at firſt, by his vigour and courage, gained ſome ſignal ſucceſſes and made a brave defence, till *Cordova*, a *Spaniſh* general, came to its relief. He was followed by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who arrived about the 22d of *July*, and he was followed by *Pappenheim*, one of the beſt *Imperial* generals. The attention of all *Europe* was turned to the event of a ſiege in which ſo many illuſtrious commanders were concerned. Their preſence ſeemed to redouble the courage and the aſſiduity of the prince of *Orange*, in which he was favoured by a jealouſy which had ſprung up between *Pappenheim* and *Santa Cruz*. During a great number of bloody attacks and ſallies, the *Spaniard* and his troops remained cool ſpectators of the combats. *Pappenheim* required *Santa Cruz* to advance to the attack; his anſwer was, that his maſter had employed 400,000 ducats to fill the ditch of *Maeſtricht* with *German* carcaſes. This brutiſh reply did not diſcourage *Pappenheim* from making incredible efforts, and it is ſaid he was amazed that they were not ſucceſsful, as he and his troops had before been always victorious. The brave garriſon favoured him by a ſally, in which they were repulſed; and *Pappenheim*, in the laſt attempt he made, having loſt 2,000 men killed, and 900 wounded

ed or taken priſoners, drew off in good order, leaving the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* equally well pleaſed at his retreat. The garriſon continued ſtill to make a glorious reſiſtance, and the *Britiſh* troops without, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, ſprung a mine, which laid open great part of the ravelin. A ſtorm was attempted, but without ſucceſs, and 300 *Britons* were killed in the breach. A ſecond attempt proved more ſucceſsful, and *Leda*, after performing all that a brave commander could for the defence of the place, complied at laſt with the prayers of the inhabitants, and accepted the ſame honourable capitulation that had been granted to the garriſons of *Venlo* and *Ruremond*.

Negociations for peace renewed.

The taking of *Maeſtricht* in the ſight of three great generals at the head of their armies, crowned the glorious reputation that prince *Henry* had acquired. He made the duke of *Bouillon* governor of *Maeſtricht*; he ſpread conſternation all along the coaſt of *Flanders*; *William* of *Naſſau* advanced with 8,000 men to *Lillo*; and *Pappenheim*, by deſire of the archdutcheſs, aſſerted his maſter's paramount right to the few places which ſtill remained in the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*. Prince *Henry* refuſed to pay any regard to this claim, and not only reduced *Limburg*, but impoſed ſevere contributions upon the duke of *Neuberg*, and all the *German* princes who had aſſiſted *Pappenheim* when he marched to relieve *Maeſtricht*. The above, and other noble ſucceſſes, too numerous to be recounted here, obliged the courts of *Madrid* and *Bruſſels* to agree to renew the negociations for a truce. They were communicated from the archdutcheſs to the prince of *Orange*, who ſent them to the *States General*; and they offered to treat with the ſtates of the *Netherlands*, provided they would ſeparate themſelves from the *Spaniards*. The archdutcheſs cloſed with this propoſal, and ſent the archbiſhop of *Mechlin* and the duke of *Arſchot* to open the conferences. It was ſoon conjectured (as happened to be the caſe) that the conferences muſt come to nothing, through the dependence the archdutcheſs had on the court of *Spain*, and the connections of the *States General* with *France* and *Sweden*. In the mean while, the prince of *Orange* beſieged and took the important town of *Rhimberg* on the *Rhine*, by which the provinces of *Friceland* and *Groningen* were relieved from a heavy ſcourge. The archdutcheſs, in like manner, continued her warlike preparations; but the duke of *Bouillon* defeated *Mottery*, one of her generals, in the diſtrict of *Liege*, while 12,000 *Swedes* joined prince *Henry* in *Brabant*.

Strength of the *Dutch* army.

The *Dutch* had now the greateſt army on foot they had ever ſeen of their own, conſiſting of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horſe, which was thought ſufficient, under ſuch a general as the prince of *Orange*, to have compleated the conqueſt of *Spaniſh Brabant* in one campaign. He took the field for that purpoſe, but the rains that fell, the ſickneſs of his army, the ſcarcity of proviſions, inundations, and many other inconveniences,

veniences, obliged him to put his army into winter quarters; without his even attempting a blow of any conſequence. Count *William* of *Naſſau* commanded the *Dutch* marine, which was to alarm the coaſt of *Flanders*; but he likewiſe did little, to anſwer the public expectation, beſides taking fort *Philippin* in the *Sas van Ghent*. During the winter, the conferences were reſumed at the *Hague*. The *Dutch* aimed at a re-union of the ten provinces, excluſive of the *Spaniards*; this was defeated by the intrigues of the court of *Madrid*, and the tenderneſs of the archdutcheſs in point of honour towards his catholic majeſty, and *Richelieu* perſuaded the *States General* to break off the conferences abruptly. This was by no means agreeable to ſome of the *States*, or the provinces of *Holland* and *Weſt Frieſland*. *French* promiſes broke down all oppoſition, and in the mean while, the archdutcheſs, *Clara Iſabella Eugenia*, died, after her rectitude, prudence, and moderation had endeared her to all parties, however diſcordant in other reſpects. The *Spaniſh Netherlands* now reverted to that king, and the cardinal infant *Albert* was to have ſucceeded the archdutcheſs in the government; but in the mean time, the marquis *D'Ayetone* was declared governor and captain-general in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

Death of the archdutcheſs.

The court of *Madrid* now reſumed its tyrannical principles, and *Ayetone* impriſoned all the *Flemiſh* nobility who were thought to be inclinable to a re-union with the *States General*. This ſeverity muſt have created an univerſal inſurrection, had it not been prevented by an act of amneſty. The count, to counterbalance the alliance between the *French* king and the *States General*, on the 4th of *May*, 1634, concluded a treaty with *Gaſton*, brother to *Lewis* XIII. and the count ſoon after took the ſtrong fortreſs of *Argentau*, between *Maeſtricht* and *Liege*, which had been unaccountably left without any means of reſiſtance by the prince of *Orange*. The truth is, the prince was, at this time, amuſed by a vaſt variety of treaties ſet on foot after the death of *Guſtavus Adolphus*; but at laſt he took poſt with his army upon the frontiers of *Brabant* and *Guelderland*. The marquis *D'Ayetone* laid ſiege to *Maeſtricht*, which was bravely defended by the duke of *Bouillon*; and the marquis drew off towards *Breda*, threatened by the prince of *Orange*, who had ſtrengthened his garriſons ſo that the *Spaniards* could make no impreſſion upon them. The duke of *Orleans*, by this time, was again reconciled to his brother, but the arrival of the cardinal infant *Albert*, who declared for a neutrality towards the *States General*, produced a deputation from the latter, promiſing him aſſiſtance if he was attacked on account of his neutrality. In 1635, the *States* were diverted from all their pacific intentions, by a treaty of partition of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* concluded between them and *France*, by which the dutchy of *Luxemburg*, the earldoms of *Namure*, *Hainault*, *Courtray*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, were to be the portion of *France*; *Brabant*, *Gaelderland*, the diſtricts

1634. Alliance between the *States* and the *French* king.

1635.

of *Ghent*, *Mechlin*, and the reſt of *Flanders*, were to fall to the *States*.

This treaty, when the contents of it came to be known, made a ſtrong impreſſion upon *England* and the prince of *Orange*. *Charles* I. expreſſed his jealouſy of it by fitting out a fleet for the expreſs purpoſe of chaſtizing the inſolence of the *Dutch*, upon which, the combined fleets of *France* and *Holland* withdrew towards their own harbours. This renewed the good underſtanding between *Spain* and *England*, which is ſo natural and neceſſary for the proſperity of both kingdoms. *Charles* fitted out another great fleet, the command of which he gave to the earl of *Northumberland*, and which the combined fleets of *France* and the *States* were in no condition to withſtand. The earl of *Northumberland*, in *May*, 1636, put to ſea, and ſunk all the *Dutch* ſhips he met who refuſed to leave the *Britiſh* coaſts, or to diſcontinue their fiſhing. The *Dutch* were diſmayed by this ſpirited conduct, and they were ſo far from ſupporting their unjuſt uſurpations on the *Britiſh* ſeas, that they agreed to pay *Charles* 30,000*l.* for liberty to fiſh that year, till a new regulation could be eſtabliſhed.

excites the jealouſy of the *Engliſh*.

1636.

Had it not been for this vigour of *Charles*, the partition treaty between *France* and the *States* muſt, in all probability, have been fatal to the liberties of *Europe*. The *French*, having gained their ends, would have ſoon made themſelves maſters of *Holland*, and the prince of *Orange* looked upon the treaty in that light. *Lewis* XIII. declared war againſt *Albert*, on account of his detaining the elector of *Triers* priſoner. The prince of *Orange* durſt not openly oppoſe *Richelieu*'s ambition, who marched an army of 20,000 foot and 7,000 horſe into *Brabant*, to join that of the *States* under the prince. *Albert*'s army, under prince *Thomas* and other *Spaniſh* generals, endeavoured to prevent the junction, but were defeated by the *French* at *D'Avien* in *Luxemburg*, with the loſs of 4,000 killed. The prince of *Orange*, who was to have commanded both armies, gave the *French* generals *de Breze* and *Chatillon* but a cold reception at *Maeſtricht*; but his army, now amounting to 30,000 men, took St. *Trou*, *Linden*, and *Hallem*, and committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities at *Tillemont* becauſe its garriſon dared to reſiſt. On the 10th of *June*, the prince marched towards *Bruſſels* to make head againſt *Albert*, and the *French* reduced *Diſt*. When the armies rejoined, the ſecret diſſatisfaction of the prince, and the inſolence of the *French*, broke out in a perpetual courſe of altercations and diſputes between them, which gave the archduke leiſure to provide for the ſafety of *Louvain*, into which he threw himſelf with 5,000 foot and 200 horſe. A motion of the prince towards *Bruſſels* brought the archduke back to the defence of that capital. *Louvain* was defended by the baron *Grobendenck*, and was inveſted on the 25th of *June*. The barbarities exerciſed by the allies at *Tillemont*

Warlike operations in *Flanders*.

*Isent* ſerved only to render the defence of the brave garriſon more determined; and mutual jealouſies ariſing among the allies, they found themſelves in no condition to continue the ſiege, which was accordingly abandoned. The *French* went into exhauſted winter quarters at *Ruremond*, where 6,000 of them died of want and diſeaſes, and the ſurvivors appeared like patients rather than like ſoldiers.

Neither the effects nor the cauſes of the miſunderſtandings among the allies were unknown at *Albert*'s court. He had been reinforced by a fine army under *Picolomini*, and one of his officers ſurprized the ſtrong and important fortreſs of *Schenck*, which coſt the allies a vaſt expence of time and men to retake. It is ſaid, on good authority, that the *French* army, by this time, was reduced to one third of its number, by the ſecret malevolence of the prince of *Orange*; that when it returned to *France*, which it did this winter, the ſoldiers were obliged to beg their way home, and their officers were forced to ſell their cloaths from their backs for bread. The blame of all was thrown by *Richelieu* on the prince of *Orange*, and the haughty prelate would have declared war againſt the *States* had he not been diverted by the circumſtances of the times; while the prince defended himſelf by reproaching the *French* court for not having tranſmitted the ſums neceſſary for maintaining their ſoldiers. The prince of *Orange* provokes *Richelieu*.

While the remainder of the year 1636 was ſpent in a number of briſk, but unimportant, expeditions by land, young *Evertzen*, afterwards the famous *Dutch* admiral, defeated the *Spaniards* and *Dunkirkers* by ſea, by which he ſecured the growing and immenſe trade of his country from the *Eaſt Indies*. The *Dutch* had not been ſo fortunate in the *Weſt Indies*, where they now executed a plan which they long had in view, that of eſtabliſhing a government in the *Brazils*, every way equal to that in *Batavia*. This important charge was beſtowed upon prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, who was appointed commander in chief of *Brazil* and *South America*; and on the 25th of *October* ſailed from the *Texel* with 12 ſhips of war, 20 of an inferior force, and 2,700 land forces on board. His inſtructions were to complete the conqueſt of the *Portugueze Brazils*, part of which had been for ſome time in poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*, who had gained vaſt advantages over the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts. When the prince landed, he defeated the *Portugueze* general *Bagnola*, took *Porto Calco*, *Operada*, with other places, and ſtrengthened his conqueſts by fortreſſes. In ſhort, he left no part of the duty of a brave and wiſe governor undiſcharged. The *Dutch* defeat their enemies by ſea.

In 1637, cardinal *Richelieu*, notwithſtanding the groſs provocations he had received, was reconciled to the prince of *Orange*, and perſuaded the *States General* to renew their engagements with *France*. His attention to the prince ſeemed to win him over, but his ſecret ambition was to recover *Breda*, the patrimonial inheritance of his family; and on the 23d 1637. The prince of *Orange* recovers *Breda*,

of *July*, the day on which *Landreci* and *Hanau* ſurrendered to the *French*, the prince formed the ſiege of *Breda*, which was defended by *Fourbin*, an officer of the greateſt and moſt amiable qualities. The ſiege was carried on with great vigour by the prince and his ſon, prince *William*, though then but thirteen years of age. Cardinal *Albert* advanced to the relief of the place, but was obliged to draw off, though he took *Venlo* and *Ruremond*. *Fourbin* made a glorious defence, till his garriſon was reduced to ſo weak a ſtate, that it muſt have been worſe than madneſs in him, not to have admitted of an honourable capitulation, which was accordingly granted him.

The reduction of *Breda* was attended with the happieſt conſequences to the *States*; but the *Dunkirkers*, towards the end of the year, gained ſome advantages by ſea over the 1638. *Zealanders*. In the beginning of the year 1638, the prince of *Orange* miſcarried, in a well laid plan, for ſurprizing *Antwerp*, which had coſt the *States* large ſums. After a variety of military operations, he made another attempt upon *Gueldres*, which was likewiſe unſucceſsful. In the *Braſils*, prince *Maurice* had laid ſiege to St. *Salvador*, but was obliged to abandon it with conſiderable loſs, and the brave *Dutch* admiral, *Jol*, being deſerted by his cowardly officers and ſeamen, failed in an attempt he made upon the *Spaniſh Plate* fleet in the bay of *Honduras*.

but miſcarries in an attempt upon *Antwerp*.

1639. *Tromp* obtains a glorious victory over the *Spaniards*.

The campaign of 1639, in the *Low Countries*, opened with vaſt expectations on the ſide of the *Spaniards*, who were immeaſurably elated by their ſucceſſes of laſt year. The prince of *Orange* took the field, and being joined by 4000 *Heſſians*, he would have made a freſh attempt upon *Gueldres*, had he not found it too well fortified and reinforced, and the campaign by land, this year, produced nothing conſiderable. It happened otherwiſe by ſea, where the famous *Van Tromp*, vice, or lieutenant, admiral of *Holland*, under the prince of *Orange*, having the command of the *Dutch* fleet, attacked a *Spaniſh* ſquadron, of ten large men of war, off *Graveline*, on the 18th of *February*. The fight was bloody and laſted for ſix hours, but ended in a complete defeat of the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniſh* admiral, and three of his largeſt ſhips, were taken, after being driven aſhore. The *Spaniſh* vice-admiral was burnt by her own crew, four frigates were likewiſe taken, and the *Spaniards*, upon the whole, loſt 2000 men in the engagement. Notwithſtanding this blow, a moſt tremendous *Spaniſh* armament put to ſea, from *Cadiz* and *Corunna*, conſiſting of 67 capital ſhips, beſides tranſports, with 20,000 land troops on board, under admiral *D'Oquendo*. The intrepid *Tromp* engaged the van of this fleet, ſunk *D'Oquendo*'s own ſhip, and took four more, but a fog prevented him from purſuing. Next day, *Tromp* having received reinforcements, would have deſtroyed the reſt of the *Spaniſh* fleet, had it not been protected in the *Downs* by the *Engliſh* admiral. *Van Tromp* was ordered

dered not to renew the engagement under ſuch circumſtances, until he could be joined by *Evertzen*. He was then to deſire the *Engliſh* to withdraw their protection, and if that was refuſed, to fight both fleets. *Charles* I. durſt not hazard this event, being afraid of the fidelity of his own ſeamen, and well knowing that the *Spaniſh* ſhips were miſerably ill provided both in arms and ammunition. He gave orders to his admiral, Sir *John Pennington*, who commanded 34 *Engliſh* men of war in the *Downs*, to declare for a neutrality; but that he ſhould join the fleet which ſhould be attacked. *Charles*, in the mean while, adviſed *D'Oquendo* to eſcape, if he poſſibly could, but it was no longer in his power; and *Pennington*, under pretence, that the *Spaniards* had broken the neutrality, which they ought to have obſerved, while under the protection of the *Engliſh* forts, withdrew his protection. Upon this, *Van Tromp* attacked the *Spaniards* in ſix diviſions of his own fleet, and entirely defeated them. Fourteen *Spaniſh* men of war were deſtroyed, among which was the *Tereſa*, the admiral of *Portugal*'s ſhip, which mounted 100 braſs guns, and her crew, conſiſting of 800 men, periſhed by the waves or the enemy. The vice admiral of *Spain*, and the admiral of *Galicia*, ſhared the ſame fate, 16 *Spaniſh* ſhips were taken, with 4500 priſoners on board; 14 were loſt near *Boulogne* and *Calais*; the miſerable remains were ſaved by the interpoſition of the *Engliſh*, and of all this mighty armament, no more than eight ſhips under *D'Oquendo* reached *Dunkirk*. Eight thouſand *Spaniards* are ſaid to have been killed in this engagement, and the victory was complete on the part of the *Dutch*, who, with the *French*, loſt only 10 ſhips.

A naval victory, with ſo many glorious circumſtances attending it as did this, raiſed the reputation of the *Dutch* arms by ſea to a prodigious height all over *Europe*, and no honours that could be beſtowed, either by *France* or his country, were thought too great for *Van Tromp*. In the beginning of the year 1640, the prince of *Orange* invaded *Flanders*, but through the diſpoſitions that had been made by the cardinal, he was every where unſucceſsful and obliged to retire, leaving *Albert* at liberty to relieve *Arras*, then beſieged by the *French*. The prince of *Orange* took the opportunity of his abſence to beſiege *Hulſt*, but in this attempt he was likewiſe defeated by the *Spaniards*, and obliged with loſs to abandon his enterprize. The operations in *Braſil* this year, were diſadvantageous to the *Spaniards*. Their admiral, count *de la Torre*, had been diſpatched thither with 46 ſail of large ſhips, of which 27 were double manned galleons, but before he arrived at St. *Salvador*, he had loſt 3000 of his land troops, and the ſurvivors, who conſiſted of 2000 men, were ſo ſickly that they could not do duty. The *Dutch* fleet in thoſe parts, conſiſted of 41 ſail, but generally of an inferior ſort to thoſe of the *Spaniards*. They had the advantage, however, of being well commanded by two admirals, *Loeff* and *Huggens*, and their want of bulk

1640. The prince of *Orange* invades *Flanders*.

Affairs of *Braſil*,

was amply compenſated by the quickneſs and dexterity of their manoeuvres. *Looff* was killed by a cannon ball, at the beginning of the engagement, which laſted for ſeveral days, and though *de la Torre's* fleet, by the reinforcements he had received from the *Portugueſe Braſils*, conſiſted of 94 ſail, with 12,000 land troops on board, *Huygens* obtained over him a complete victory; 4000 *Spaniards* were killed and wounded, 12 of their largeſt ſhips were deſtroyed, and their crews periſhed, and peſtilential diſeaſes ſwept off half the ſurvivers, while *Huygens*, during the whole long engagement, ſcarcely loſt 100 ſoldiers and ſeamen. Thus prince *Maurice*, who upon the firſt appearance of this armament, had entertained thoughts of abandoning the *Braſils*, before the end of the year, beheld it reduced to four galleons and three merchant ſhips.

After *Portugal* had thrown off the *Spaniſh* yoke, *Maurice* repaired the *Dutch* fleet, under admiral *Jol*, which had ſuffered ſeverely by ſtorms, while cruizing for the *Spaniſh Plate* fleet. He gave *Jol* orders to enlarge the *Dutch* conqueſts on the coaſt of *Angola*, where he was to ſecure the negro trade. He had with him 2200 land ſoldiers, commanded by one colonel *Henderſon*, who beſieged *Santo Paolo* on the coaſt of *Congo*, defeated the natives in a pitched battle, cut in pieces the army of the *Portugueſe* governor, and took the town, where he found abundance of plunder, and which *Jol* fortified for a ſettlement. The governor remonſtrated againſt this, and in anſwer, *Jol* drove him, and his people, out of the iſland of *Loanda*, and then conquered that of St. *Thomas*, where he died. In the mean while, prince *Maurice* conquered the province of *Maranhaan*; in conſequence, half the *Braſils* were reduced to the ſovereignty of the *Dutch*; but the new king of *Portugal*, *John* IV. concluded a ten years truce with the *States*, for their reſpective dominions all over the world; but this did not prevent the *Dutch* from driving the *Portugueſe* out of *Japan*.

where a truce is concluded with the *Portugueſe*.

The young prince of *Orange* marries *Mary*, a princeſs of *England*,

In *Europe*, *William*, the young prince of *Orange*, eſpouſed the princeſs *Mary Stuart*, daughter to *Charles* I. of *England*. After this, the elder prince of *Orange* beſieged and took *Gemp*, notwithſtanding the brave defence made by its garriſon, and the vigorous efforts of *Albert* to relieve it. *Cantelme*, a *Spaniſh* general, defeated *Alnaerdt* and *Tillemont*, officers in the ſervice of the *States*, and joining with *Fontaines*, he forced the prince of *Orange* to abandon a deſign he had formed againſt *Hulſt*. Towards the end of the campaign, cardinal *Albert* (ſometimes called *Ferdinand*) died, and the government of the *Low Countries* devolved upon *Franciſco de Mello*, who, with the marquis *de Valada*, made head againſt the *French*, while *Fontaines*, the governor of *Bruges*, was oppoſed by the *Dutch*. The death of cardinal *Richelieu*, which followed ſoon after, made a great alteration in the ſyſtem of the republic's affairs. The treaty, however, between *France* and the *States*, was renewed

newed on the 6th of *March*, 1642, by which the latter were to receive a ſubſidy of 1,200,000 livres, on condition of their keeping a fleet in the ſervice of *France*, and granting her troops a paſſage into *Germany* over the *Rhine*, the *Veſel*, and the *Maeſe*; but *Lewis* XIII. of *France* died before this treaty was ratified. 1642.

In the beginning of the year 1663, *Cantelmo*, the old *Spaniſh* general, was defeated by the young prince of *Orange*, and narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner; and every thing being ſettled between the new government of *Portugal* and prince *Maurice*, the latter returned to *Europe* with a rich fleet and was received by his country with diſtinguiſhed honours, being made lieutenant-general under the prince of *Orange*, and governor of *Veſel*. By this time, as the reader will ſee in the hiſtory of *Germany*, every thing was preparing for facilitating the grand conferences for peace, which had been for ſome years propoſed at *Munſter*, and *Oſnaburg* in *Weſtphalia*. The *States General*, though ſenſible of the ambitious views of *France*, knew they had only her to depend upon, for the final eſtabliſhment of their independency. *Van Tromp* aſſiſted them in reducing *Graveline*; and the prince of *Orange*, after receiving a check by the prince of *Iſſenburgh*, in marching to their aſſiſtance through *Flanders*, reduced the important fortreſs of *Sas van Ghent*, on the 7th of *September*. and defeats the *Spaniards*.

When the conferences opened at *Munſter*, the *States General* found themſelves ſomewhat hampered in their engagements with *France*, by which they had promiſed not to conclude any truce or peace without her conſent. *Spain* did all ſhe could to divide the *States* from *France*, but they could not truſt her; and *Mazarine*, the *French* firſt miniſter, gained them entirely over, by offering to give the ſame honours to their ambaſſadors, as the *French* court had always paid to thoſe of *Venice*. While conferences for peace were held, the operations of war went on with great briſkneſs in *Flanders*, till the prince of *Orange* deſiring to be aſſiſted in his favourite plan of reducing *Antwerp*, was by the *French* generals given to underſtand, that it was inconſiſtent with their inſtructions. They could not, however, prevent him from beating the *Spaniſh* general *Beck*, and laying ſiege to *Hulſt*, which, notwithſtanding the moſt artful and the moſt determined oppoſition he met with, he reduced. The court of *France* complained of his refuſing the catholic religion to be tolerated in that town. His anſwer was, that he had his reaſons for it; and that he had already incurred the ſuſpicions of the *States General*, for the favours he had granted to the *Roman* catholics in his conqueſts. The *Dutch* take *Hulſt*.

The reduction of *Hulſt* was followed by the conqueſt of ſeveral other places, by which he acquired a barrier for the dominions of the *States* from *Lille* to *Sluys*: Thoſe were the laſt conqueſts of his life; for he was now worn out by a complication of diſtempers; but in his latter days, he became The prince of *Orange* jealous of *France*.

more than ever ſenſible of the ambitious, and ſelf-intereſted, views of *France*.

The *Dutch* driven out of *Braſil*.

The ſucceſſes of the *Dutch* in *Braſil* againſt the *Spaniards* were now looked upon with an evil eye by the new government of *Portugal*. Their ambaſſador at the *Hague* had thrown out many hints of diſſatisfaction on that account, which were diſregarded by the *States*, and upon the return of prince *Maurice* from *Holland*, *Antonio de Silva*, the *Portugueſe* vice-roy of *Braſil*, formed a kind of univerſal inſurrection there againſt the *Dutch*. It is ſaid, that a plan had been laid for maſſacring the heads of the *Dutch* at a friendly meeting, but the latter having intelligence of the conſpiracy, by letters from *Europe*, within an hour of its intended execution, found means to eſcape. Though they beat the *Portugueſe* in a ſea fight, yet they loſt *Cape* St. *Auguſtin*, *Rociff*, and *Olinda*, with other places, and mutual maſſacres filled both colonies. Thoſe accounts coming to *Europe*, it was with difficulty that the prince of *Orange* ſaved the *Portugueſe* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, from being torn in pieces; but the *States*, who believed that nothing had been done without orders from the *Portugueſe* government, carried their complaints to the court of *France*. Cardinal *Mazarine* took that opportunity of upbraiding the *States*, with their having entered into ſeparate negotiations with the *Spaniards*, but promiſed them all the ſervices that *France* could do them by her interpoſition, and adviſed them by all means to maintain their *Braſil* ſettlements. A fleet of 52 ſhips was accordingly ſent out, under admiral *Boucher*; and *Schuppen* was to direct the land operations. Hoſtilities recommenced and raged for ten years, with a variety of operations which are too minute for general hiſtory; but the final conſequence was, the utter expulſion of the *Dutch* from the *Braſils*. It may be proper here juſt to obſerve, that the war between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe* in thoſe parts, was of the utmoſt ſervice towards the eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* iſlands in *America*. *Braſil* was the original country of the *American* ſugar-cane; and the ſubjects of both nations being, by turns, ſometimes obliged to take ſhelter in *Barbados*, *Antigua*, and other *Engliſh* iſlands, introduced among the planters the culture and manufacture of that profitable and uſeful commodity.

Death of the prince of *Orange*, who is ſucceeded by his ſon.

While the conferences for peace were going on at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, cardinal *Mazarine* continued the ſubſidy to the *States*, and laid before the prince of *Orange* a plan for beſieging *Ghent*, and afterwards for reducing *Antwerp*. The marquis of *Caſtel Rodrigo*, who governed the *Spaniſh Netherland*, in the abſence of the archduke *Leopold*, hearing of this propoſal, demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, during the time of the conferences. Though this was not granted, yet partly through the indiſpoſition of the prince of *Orange*, who was afflicted with the gout, and partly through his backwardneſs

to

to concur longer with *French* plans, the deſign was laid aſide. This, however, did not prevent *Van Tromp* from blocking up *Dunkirk* by ſea, while the *French* beſieged it by land; but the *States*, by this time, began to be ſo jealous of the *French* deſigns, that by the prince of *Orange*'s advice, they laboured ſincerely for peace. Such was the ſtate of affairs with the *States General*, when on the 14th of *March*, 1647, the prince of *Orange* died, in the 67th year of his age, with the character of his inheriting all the virtues and public ſpirit of his illuſtrious anceſtors. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *William* II. in all his power and offices. That young prince was then in the higheſt reputation, both with the people and the army, and he endeared himſelf to the *States General* by an early declaration, that he would follow the maxims of his father, by accelerating a peace with *Spain*. This peace was accordingly concluded at *Munſter*, notwithſtanding all the obſtacles it met with from the *French* miniſtry. Monſ. *Servien* was ſent from *Paris* to the *Hague* to traverſe it, but had the very ſingular mortification to meet with affronts, while he ſaw the *Spaniſh* miniſter loaded with careſſes. The deputies of the *States* at *Munſter*, were *Knuyt* and *Pauw*, and they agreed with the *Spaniſh* plenipotentiaries, that his catholic majeſty ſhould from that time acknowledge the freedom and independency of the *States* upon himſelf and all other powers; that a clauſe of *uti poſſidetis* ſhould take place, between the two powers, in all parts of the world, after the hour the treaty was ſigned. We are henceforth to conſider the *States General* as forming a ſovereign and an independent republic. 1647.

Concluſion of the peace of *Munſter*, between the *Spaniards* and the *States General*, to the diſguſt of the *French*.

*France* did not fail to upbraid the *States General* for their ingratitude, in concluding a peace without their participation, and the *States* pleaded neceſſity in their vindication. They affected to reconcile *France* and *Spain*, but the *French* plenipotentiaries declined the offer, and thoſe of the *States General*, upon their return to the *Hague*, received the thanks of their country for what they had done. The ſyſtem of *Europe* was now all of a ſudden altered; the houſe of *Bourbon* became then what the houſe of *Auſtria* had been before, the object of public dread and jealouſy, and *Spain* the favourite ally of the *States General*. The *French* made violent efforts, but to no purpoſe, to prevent the *States* from ratifying the treaty, for the peace was ſolemnly proclaimed on the 15th of *June*.

The elector of *Brandenburgh* demanded the *States* to evacuate the places they held in the dutchy of *Cleves*. They refuſed to comply, becauſe they held them in truſt, during the dependency of the diſpute, which was not yet finiſhed. The court of *Spain* countenanced this refuſal, and endeavoured to bring the *States* to a rupture with *France*, by raiſing ſeveral commercial difficulties within the *Low Countries*, ariſing from the late treaty. *France* left nothing unattempted that could embroil the new allies

allies with each other, and endeavoured to gain over the young prince of *Orange* to her intereſts, but without any viſible effect.

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## *The Hiſtory of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

# BOOK IV.

Riſe of the war between *England* and *Holland.*

*HOLLAND*, during the civil wars of *England*, had maintained an exact neutrality between the two parties, and the good offices done by the *Orange* family, to that of *Charles* I. were only of a private nature, and ſuch as aroſe from their near connections in blood. They did not, however, fail to alarm the jealouſy of the *Engliſh* republicans, and the *States*, at the earneſt requeſt of the prince of *Wales*, who took refuge at the *Hague*, named their two moſt reſpectful members, *Pauw* and *Joachimi*, the one 88, the other 78 years of age, to repair to *England* in the depth of winter, and to mediate for the unhappy *Charles* I. They performed their commiſſion chearfully and zealouſly, but, as is well known, to no purpoſe. When the dreadful event of that king's decapitation took place, the *States* endeavoured to preſerve the appearances of their neutrality, and though they condoled with the prince, they did not congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the throne of *England*. Sir *William Boſwell* had, for ſome time, reſided at the *Hague* as miniſter from *Charles* I. as Mr. *Stricland* did from the parliament. The latter now demanded audience from the *States*, as ambaſſador from the republic of *England*. His demand, through the influence of the *Orange* party, was rejected, and *Doriſlaus*, a native of *Holland*, but one of the regicides of *England*, who had been ſent over as an aſſiſtant to *Stricland*, was murdered in his own houſe by the *Engliſh* royaliſts, who had flocked to *Holland*; nor did the *States General* ſufficiently beſtir themſelves in bringing the murderers to juſtice. In ſhort, the government of the *Dutch* republic had, at this time, a moſt diſagreeable part to act. The people, in general, deteſted the new *Engliſh* republicans, becauſe of the murder of *Charles*. The *States General* were not their friends, through political conſiderations. The *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt Frieſland*, though inwardly of the ſame ſentiments, were cautious, and proteſted againſt every reſolution that could give umbrage to *England*, and this induced *Stricland* to renew his applications for an audience, which the *States General* did not any longer think proper abſolutely to refuſe him.

Intrigues of *Mazarin.*

The deſigning *Mazarine* intrigued againſt the royal party at the *Hague*, and endeavoured to draw the prince of *Orange* from its intereſts, and to involve the *States General* in a new

new war with *Spain*. At this time, his catholic majeſty ſent an envoy extraordinary to the *Hague*, who in the ſtrongeſt terms, acknowledged the ſovereignty of the *States General*, but could not bring them to break their neutrality, by engaging them to take part with the *Spaniards* in *Germany*. About the ſame time, a ridiculous demand was made, by the prior of the order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, of the commanderies of *Malta*, in the dominions of the *States General*; but without any effect. A treaty between the crown of *Denmark* and the *States General* took place, at the ſame period, by which the navigation duties of the *Sound* were regulated, and each party was to furniſh the other, when attacked, with 4000 men. This treaty, however, met with great oppoſition from the northern powers, becauſe all duties for ſhipping were to be comprehended in a certain annual ſum, paid to the *Danes* by the *States General*.

This æra, properly ſpeaking, gave riſe to the ſyſtem of moneyed intereſt, which has ſince ſo greatly prevailed in *Europe*. The *States General* found themſelves vaſtly in debt, which the *States* of *Holland* offered to diſcharge, if the creditors would not agree to a reduction of the intereſt, which they readily did. The annual charge thus exceeding the income, a kind of land-tax was introduced, which gave riſe to public diſcontents, and diſputes ſucceeded about diminiſhing the public charge, by reducing the ſtanding army, which the prince of *Orange* oppoſed. It is certain, that the province of *Holland*, which at this time wanted to take the lead in the affairs of the *States General*, was jealous of the prince of *Orange*, but he was ſupported by the deputies of the other provinces, the army, and the common people. *Holland* ſtill inſiſted upon preſiding and directing, but was oppoſed by the council of ſtate, and the count *de Naſſau*, governor of *Frieſland*. Aſſiſted by them, the prince of *Orange* obtained a reſolution from the *States General*, againſt the propoſed reduction of the army and garriſons, and a deputation was ſent to each town of the province of *Holland*, to prevail with the magiſtrates to change their ſentiments. This was a ſtep equally imprudent as unconſtitutional. The prince of *Orange*, who attended the deputies, met with nothing but inſults in the towns where he was admitted; moſt of whom would not ſuffer the deputies to enter upon their buſineſs, which, they ſaid, was unconſtitutional, and the city of *Amſterdam*, with ſome others, ſhut their gates, both againſt the prince, and the deputation. The *States* of *Holland* juſtified their cities and towns in what they had done, and freſh fuel was ſoon added to the riſing flame.

1650. Differences between the *States* of *Holland* and the prince of *Orange*.

Admiral *de Wit*, who had been ſent to *Braſil*, returned about this time with a ruined fleet, but without making the ſmalleſt effort, for re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of the republic in that country. He was put under arreſt by the prince of *Orange* as high admiral, while the *States General* ordered the ſix captains

He fails in a deſign upon *Amſterdam*.

who

who had ſerved under him to be impriſoned likewiſe. They were ſupported by the *States* of *Holland*, and the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, forcing open the priſon doors, ſet the priſoners at liberty. The prince of *Orange* moſt inconſiderately arreſted the ſix deputies of *Holland*, among whom was *Jacob de Wit*, burgo-maſter of *Dort*, and father to the famous penſionary of that name. The prince, at firſt, confined him in his palace, and afterwards in the caſtle of *Louveſtein*, and he ordered a body of troops, under count *de Naſſau*, inſtantly to march and take poſſeſſion of *Amſterdam*. The deſign was diſcovered, and two of the magiſtrates, *Bitzker* and *Nydecooper*, were ſo well aſſiſted by the people and the ſailors, in preparing for the defence of the city, that upon the count's arrival, he found his deſign diſcovered, and ſent to the prince of *Orange* for farther orders. The prince was flying to his aſſiſtance, when *Berverwert*, one of his friends, carried him to a riſing ground, from whence he ſhewed him that vaſt body of waters, which the magiſtracy of *Amſterdam* had prepared for inundating the whole of his army, by only opening their ſluices. The prince was convinced, and the ſiege raiſed, by order of the *States General*, under whoſe authority the prince had all along pretended he was acting; but though the *States General* were undoubtedly the ſupreme tribunal, they had no power to violate thoſe privileges, upon which their own authority reſted.

An accommodation.

This attack upon *Amſterdam*, though quick and unſucceſsful, had great conſequences. The *Orange* faction ſlandered the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, with favouring the *Engliſh* republicans. The merchants and chief inhabitants had felt the inconveniencies of the ſiege, ſlight as it was, and the prince's troops were ſtill at the gates of the city. The prince invited the magiſtrates to treat, to which they had many reaſons for agreeing; and among other ſtipulations, it was concluded, that a proper ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the prince, who, however, never thought proper to enter into *Amſterdam*; and that the two brave magiſtrates ſhould be ſtript of their employments, to which they themſelves were magnanimouſly the firſt to conſent; and thus a moſt ruinous civil war, which muſt have put an end to the infant independency of the *States*, was prevented.

Death of the prince of *Orange*.

The memory of the prince of *Orange* has been moſt ſeverely treated by writers, for his unſucceſsful attempt upon *Amſterdam*; but perhaps the chief blame may be found to lye in the rotten texture of the *Dutch* government, who veſted the ſupreme authority in men, who were under the controul of their inferiors; for it now appeared that the ſovereignty of the *States General*, and the Stadtholderſhip of the prince of *Orange*, were but nominal, when oppoſed to the ſingle province of *Holland*. It is hard to pronounce what the event might have been, had the prince ſurvived; but he was carried off by the ſmall-pox, in the 24th year of his age, on the 6th of

of *November*. He died with the character of equalling, if not ſurpaſſing, both in genius and ambition, the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors. Every town in *Holland* was in a blaze of triumph when the certainty of his death was known. Never did any prince die in a more critical ſituation, both for his country and his family. His widow, eight days after his death, was brought to bed of a ſon, afterwards *William* III. of *Great Britain*; but the ſplendor, the power, the weight, and the authority of the houſe of *Orange*, in the *United Provinces*, ſeemed all of a ſudden to be like a tale that was told.

Affairs of his family.

The ſix deputies of *Holland* who had been impriſoned by the late prince in the caſtle of *Louveſtein*, had been ſet at liberty, and were now loaded with additional honours and preferments; and all differences between the *States General* and thoſe of *Holland* were immediately compromiſed with the greateſt appearances of cordiality. Under the pretext of bringing the conſtitution of the republic back to its original principles, the *States* of *Holland* ſtript the houſe of *Orange* of all its power, for the future, to influence the provincial *States*, and indeed of all its rights and privileges in the government, on pretence of their having been uſurped. The elder princeſs-dowager of *Orange*, widow to prince *Henry*, wrote circular letters to the provinces, to put the people in mind of their obligations to the houſe of *Orange*, and that the infant prince, in his cradle, ought not to be deprived of his birthright, but inſtated in the Stadtholderſhip, which he might hold by a lieutenant during his minority. The *States*, who were apprehenſive of the ſpirit of the people, devoted to the houſe of *Naſſau*, returned the princeſs an evaſive, but civil, anſwer, and the young prince received the name of *William*, with great ſolemnity, at his baptiſm. Many were the competitors for being his guardian; but the diſpute was decided in favour of his mother, who was, however, to be aſſiſted by the elector of *Brandenburgh*.

1651. and of the *States General*,

In 1651, was held an aſſembly of the *States General*, in which the principles of the union of *Utrecht*, and the ſynod of *Dort*, were renewed and confirmed; and it was reſolved, that all officers, civil and military, even down to the prince's own guards, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the *States General* and the *States* of *Holland*. In ſhort, in this aſſembly, all poſſible meaſures were taken to prevent for ever the revival of the Stadtholderſhip. About this time, a fooliſh ambaſſador from *Portugal* thruſt himſelf into the aſſembly of the *States*, and offered them the protection of his maſter againſt the crown of *Spain*; but he was ſoon ſilenced, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat, by the high demands which the *States* made upon that crown. This difficulty being over, it ſoon appeared, that, however dangerous the office of Stadtholder had been to the *States* of *Holland*, it had been often highly uſeful in quelling the claims of the antient nobility, particularly in the provincial aſſemblies, which were now revived;

but the nobles differing among themſelves, their pretences were ſet aſide by the *States General*.

who are divided concerning their behaviour towards *England*.

The civil wars of *England* were a golden æra for the *Dutch*, who engroſſed, during that time, moſt of the *Engliſh* trade. His catholic majeſty had formally recognized the power of the parliament, which was now intent upon reviving the marine, and reſtoring the trade of their country. The *Dutch* government ſaw, that they muſt make thoſe determined republicans, at once, either their enemies or their friends; and they inclined the rather to the former, becauſe they knew, that, if the latter, they muſt be their rivals. The *Engliſh* republicans demanded immediate ſatisfaction for the murder of *Doriſlaus*, and that the ſovereignty of their parliament ſhould be acknowledged by the *States*; but in this they were ſeconded by the *States* of *Zealand* alone. The parliament having confiſcated the eſtates of the royal family and the royaliſts, cut down the timber that grew upon them, and employed it to the beſt of purpoſes, that of raiſing a marine, that might give law on the ocean. *Stricland* was encouraged by the *States* of *Holland* to go over to *England*, where he brought his maſters to conſent to enter upon a negotiation; and *St. John*, though he had little or no knowledge in foreign affairs, was appointed to manage it, chiefly becauſe he was the friend of *Cromwell*, then abſent in *Scotland*. *St. John*, on his arrival in *Holland*, was obliged to put up with ſome inſults which he received from the royaliſts, who were very numerous there, and who were encouraged by *Mazarine*, from the dread he had of an alliance taking place between the two republics. The firſt conferences paſſed in demands made for arrears, debts, and depredations, by both parties, and which neither would admit of. *St. John* then proceeded to his main buſineſs, which was that of an offer of an offenſive and defenſive alliance between the two republics, but qualified with certain inſolent demands, to the diſgrace and detriment of the houſe of *Orange*. The *States General* gave a ſmooth, but evaſive, anſwer to this propoſition, upon which *St. John*, by order of his maſters, returned in great diſguſt to *England*. He was followed by two ambaſſadors, to apologize for the conduct of the *States*, but no regard was paid to them, and the demands, ſome of them reaching as far back as the maſſacre of *Amboyna*, made by the parliament upon the *Dutch*, far exceeded thoſe that ever had been made by the family of the *Stuarts*. In an inſtant, hoſtilities commenced, and the *Engliſh* had orders to demand, for the meaneſt frigate they had, the uſual honours of the flag, from the ſtrongeſt *Dutch* ſhip they met with at ſea. This did not exaſperate the *Dutch* ſo much, as the act of navigation, which at this time paſſed in *England*, and which was one of the beſt that ever did paſs, enacting, "That no commodity "whatſoever, of the growth or manufacture of *Aſia*, *Africa*, "or *America*, as well of the *Engliſh* plantations as others, "ſhall be imported into *England*, *Ireland*, or any the territories "thereof, in any ſhips or veſſels, but in ſuch as do truly be-

A negotiation ſet on foot.

The act of navigation.

"long

" long to this commonwealth, or the plantations thereof,
" under the penalty of the forfeiture of goods and veſſels. And
" of *Europe* the like, that no commodities whatſoever of foreign
" growth or manufacture, which are to be brought into this
" commonwealth, in ſhips belonging to the people thereof,
" ſhall be by them ſhipped from any places, but only from
" thoſe of the ſame growth. production, or manufacture, or
" from thoſe parts where the ſame commodities can only be,
" or uſually have been ſhipped for tranſportation."

This act aimed at the vitals of the *Dutch* commerce. The more the *States* complained, the parliament ſtood upon the higher terms, for they now not only demanded two millions ſterling, and ſatisfaction upon the *Amboyna* murderers, by way of indemnification for their loſſes, but that every little *Engliſh* bark ſhould be at liberty to ſearch the *Dutch* firſt rate men of war. By this time, the *Dutch* had ſuffered ſeverely from the *Engliſh* captures, and an *Engliſh* man of war had ſunk a ſhip of one of their fiſhing fleets for refuſing to pay the tribute demanded for that liberty. After ſome tranſactions on both ſides, that were rather ceremonious than material, the *Dutch*, in the beginning of the year 1652, laid an embargo upon all the *Engliſh* ſhipping in their harbours, and *Tromp* appeared before *Portſmouth* with a fleet of 45 ſail. *Blake*, the *Engliſh* admiral, was not in any immediate condition to reſent this inſult; but getting his fleet together, he perceived that of *Tromp* at the back of the *Goodwin Sands*. *Blake*, though he had with him then no more than 26 ſhips of the line, demanded, by a diſcharge of cannon without ſhot, the honours due to the *Engliſh* flag, and he was anſwered by a broad-ſide from *Tromp*, and then the fight begun; but while it laſted, *Blake* was critically reinforced by 8 ſhips under commodore *Bourn*. The engagement continued till it was dark, when it was found that the *Engliſh* had taken one of the *Dutch* ſhips and ſunk another, with the loſs of no more than 15 men of their own; and next morning the *Dutch* fleet was obſerved to be four leagues diſtant from that of *England* towards the coaſt of *France*.

defeats *Tromp* by ſea.

1652.

This engagement, for it could not be called a victory, exhibited an unuſual object to the conſideration of *Europe*, that of an infant ſtate diſputing the ſovereignty of the ſeas againſt the fleet of a nation which had ſo long held it, and commanded by the great *Tromp*, who was deſervedly accounted the ableſt ſea officer that that or any other age had produced. This phænomenon was no leſs aſtoniſhing to the *States* themſelves, who by the meaneſt palliations ſought to excuſe their conduct, even to the denying that they had given *Tromp* orders to act hoſtilely. Their remonſtrances were treated with the utmoſt contempt by the *Engliſh* parliament, who both applauded and remunerated their admiral and officers, and gave orders to redouble their naval preparations. The *Dutch*, ſeeing all hopes of accommodation vaniſh, did the like, and *Van Galen*, one of their admirals, was ſent with a ſquadron to the *Mediterranean*, againſt *Badley* the *Engliſh* commodore there.

Further progreſs of the naval war.

there. In the mean while, *Van Tromp*'s fleet was diſperſed, and he himſelf forced into the *Texel*. *Blake* made uſe of that opportunity to ſail towards *Shetland*, where he attacked the grand fleet of fiſhing ſhips, and took all their convoy, conſiſting of 12 men of war; but ſuffered the ſmaller ſhips to eſcape, upon their crews promiſing never to return to fiſh in thoſe ſeas without licence from the *Engliſh* parliament. Sir *George Aſcue*, another *Engliſh* admiral, during the abſence of *Blake* northwards, lay in the channel with a ſmall ſquadron, which muſt have been deſtroyed had not another ſtorm diſſipated *Ruyter*'s fleet, which was obliged to return to *Holland*, where it was reinforced to the enormous power of 120 ſail. This ſucceſſor of *Tromp* in his commands, glory, and naval atchievements, had raiſed himſelf from the condition of a common ſailor, but was now put at the head of a ſeparate ſquadron, and ſent to convoy a rich homeward bound merchant fleet. He encountered *Aſcue*, but though they fought for three days, they ſeparated without either being able, with juſtice, to boaſt of a victory. In the mean while, *Van Galen* engaged and defeated a ſmall *Engliſh* ſquadron under *Bodley* in the *Straits*, but loſt his own life in the encounter. *Ruyter* having brought his convoy to *Amſterdam*, complained of his having been ill ſerved by his officers during the late engagement, and the *States General* ordered *Tromp* to take the command of the whole fleet.

*Van Tromp* diſplaced.

The common people now looked on *Van Tromp*, on account of the late ſtorms he had encountered, as being guilty either of incapacity or treachery, and obliged the *States General* to diſplace both him and *de Ruyter*, and give the command of the fleet to *de Wit*. This produced a mutiny of the ſeamen, which was, not without applying force, with great difficulty repreſſed by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*; but *Ruyter* was reſtored to his command. The mutiny was partly occaſioned by the immenſe loſſes which the *Dutch* navigation and commerce were every day ſuffering from the *Engliſh*, who were enriched by their ſpoils. *De Wit*'s and *Ruyter*'s ſquadrons being joined, ſailed in queſt of *Blake*, who was now returned laden with plunder from his northern expedition, and whoſe fleet was repaired with amazing quickneſs. The two fleets coming in ſight of each other, *Ruyter* made a diſpoſition for an engagement that would have daunted any man but *Blake*; for he drew up his ſhips in a line of battle behind a ſand bank, ſo that the capital ſhips of the *Engliſh* could not attack them without manifeſt diſadvantage. *Blake* divided his force into three ſquadrons, one led by himſelf, another by *Penn*, and the third by *Bourn*; but as *Ruyter* had foreſeen, his three large ſhips ſtruck upon the *Kentiſh Knock*. Thoſe ſhips being for the preſent rendered unſerviceable, *de Wit*, againſt *Ruyter*'s judgment, quitted the advantages of his ſituation to fight the *Engliſh* at open ſea. The ſhips got off the *Knock* and engaged *de Wit*'s diviſion with the greateſt intrepidity. *De Wit* pointed his chief ſtrength againſt the *Sovereign*, in which *Blake* fought,

The *Dutch* again defeated by ſea.

the

the ſtrongeſt ſhip the *Engliſh* ever had built; but the coolneſs and reſolution with which *Blake* and the *Engliſh* commanders fought, at once exaſperated and diſpirited the *Dutch*, who now met with a courage, as well as operations, of which they never had entertained the ſmalleſt idea. Night parted the combatants, after *Blake* had ſunk one of the capital *Dutch* ſhips, and *Mildmay*, an *Engliſh* commander, had taken their rear admiral, but his own ſhip and two *Dutch* ſhips were ſunk during the engagement.

Though the *Engliſh*, who loſt no more than 40 of their men, but had 500 wounded, had an undiſputed claim to the victory, yet the *Dutch* endeavoured to diſguiſe their own loſs, and had *Ruyter* agreed to it, *de Wit* would have renewed the fight next morning; but *Ruyter* knew the genius of the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* too well, and their fleet crowded all the ſail they could to the *Goree*, which they entered the 30th of *October*, 1652. *Charles* II. was then at *Paris*, where he made an offer to the *Dutch* ambaſſador to go as a volunteer on board their fleet, provided he might be at liberty to command ſuch of the *Engliſh* ſhips as ſhould declare for him. This propoſal was tranſmitted to the *States General*, whoſe mighty ideas of their naval power were now ſo much abated, that they had reſolved upon a peace at any rate with *England*, and therefore his majeſty's propoſal was ſet aſide. All the palliations of the *States* could not ſtifle the public diſcontents which were ready to break out into open rebellion, when the *Dutch* ſaw their invincible armada, which was to decide the empire of the ſeas in their favour, ingloriouſly flying before an enemy inferior in force. *Van Tromp* was reſtored to his command, and ordered to convoy home a fleet of 300 ſhips. The reputation of *Tromp* was ſo high, that his fleet became ſtronger than that which had been beat, while *Blake* had ſent off the greateſt part of his to be refitted, or to other deſtinations. He ſaw the ſuperiority of the *Dutch*, but he engaged them on the 25th of *November*, though under inexpreſſible diſadvantages, from eleven in the forenoon till ſix in the afternoon, when the darkneſs of the night, in all probability, ſaved the *Engliſh* from total deſtruction. In this engagement, *Blake*'s ſhip was diſabled, two others of his fleet were taken, two burnt, and one ſunk; while all the loſs of the *Dutch* was one ſhip, which was blown up by accident. But though it is certain that this victory was gained on the ſide of the *Dutch* by an irreſiſtable ſuperiority of numbers, yet *Tromp*, with a vain-glory which does no honour to his memory, proceeded towards his convoy with a broom fixed on his main-top-maſt head, intimating that he intended to ſweep the channel clear of the *Engliſh*.

1652.

but afterwards defeat the *Engliſh*;

The *Dutch* admiral, *Cats*, commanded a ſquadron in the *Mediterranean*, but *Appleton*, the *Engliſh* commodore there, being greatly inferior to him in ſtrength, gave him the ſlip. The inſtructions of *Cats* led him to commit many inſolences againſt

and are victorious in the *Mediterra-*

*nean.*

againſt the *French* themſelves, which his moſt chriſtian majeſty reſented by calling upon them for money due to him by treaties. The wealth obtained, during the ſhort continuance of this war, by the *Engliſh* on the ſeas, was ſo large as to be hardly credible, but it proves the immenſe trade the *Dutch* then carried on. Thoſe loſſes fell upon the rich, while the poor ſuffered ſeverely by the total diſcontinuance of their herring fiſhery. Every diſaſter, as uſual, was imputed to the government, and the people of *Zealand* tumultuouſly demanded a Stadtholder of the family of *Orange*. This was oppoſed with the greateſt warmth and zeal by the ſtates of *Holland*; and the union of *Utrecht* was in danger of being diſſolved, when all parties found themſelves obliged to reunite againſt the *Engliſh*. Upon the return of *Tromp*, with his immenſe convoy, he received the thanks of the *States General*, and was continued in his command in conjunction with *Ruyter*.

1653. The *Dutch* defeated by ſea.

In the beginning of the year 1653, both nations applied with indefatigable induſtry to the increaſe of their marine; and by the beginning of *February*, *Blake* had under his command a gallant fleet of ſixty ſail, with which he intended to intercept the great convoy which the two *Dutch* admirals were bringing home. On the 18th, both fleets met, that of the *Dutch* being ſuperior in ſtrength. So dreadful a combat on the deep, perhaps, had never been ſeen; *Van Tromp* wanted to preſerve his high reputation, and *Blake* to make amends for his late defeat; the particulars would fill a hiſtory itſelf. *Blake* and *Dean* led up the attack, followed by 12 ſhips, and ſuſtained the fury of the whole *Dutch* fleet, till diſengaged by their other ſhips. For three days did this dreadful engagement laſt, till nature ſeemed to wear a new face in air and ſea, through the exploſions of ſmoke, the wrecks of ſhips, and dead bodies, and every ſpecies of marine deſolation. The roaring of the cannon was ſuch as huſhed the ſea into a calm. *Tromp* ſeemed to be the firſt who was touched by the ſhocking appearances of death, which were every moment encreaſing; and on the evening of the third day he drew off his fleet in excellent order, after loſing 11 capital ſhips, 30 merchantmen, 2,000 ſailors and marines, and having 1,500 wounded, and 1,100 taken priſoners. The loſs of the *Engliſh*, with regard to men, was perhaps equal to that of the *Dutch*; but though they loſt but one ſhip of war, the whole of their fleet was ſo ſhattered that they could not purſue their enemy with any effect.

Affairs of the north.

It muſt be acknowledged that *Van Tromp*, though beaten, carried his point, through the maſterly manner in which he brought home his convoy; but the naval glory of the *Dutch* was now eclipſed, and the *Swedes* were inclinable to take part with *England* in the war. All that *Van Buiningen*, the *Dutch* envoy, could obtain, was the promiſe of a neutrality; but he perſuaded his *Daniſh* majeſty to commit a ſhameful breach of good faith, in ſeizing into his own hands the ſhips

and cargoes of an *Engliſh* merchant fleet, to which he had given refuge in the port of *Copenhagen*. His *Daniſh* majeſty afterwards concluded a treaty with the *States General*, by which he was to furniſh the *Dutch* with 20 ſhips of war, upon their paying him a ſubſidy of 100,000 rix dollars. By this treaty, which was offenſive and defenſive, the *Engliſh* were excluded from the *Baltic*; but the effects of it, upon the whole, were next to nothing, as his *Daniſh* majeſty never would ſuffer his ſhips to join the *Dutch* fleets.

Mr. *Pauw*, the penſionary of *Holland*, was now dead, and *De Wit* *John de Wit* was choſen in his room. This great man hated the houſe of *Orange*, and the power of a Stadtholder, and the firſt exerciſe of his office, was to enter into a ſecret negotiation with *England* for peace. By this time, *Cromwell* was maſter of the *Engliſh* government, and was by no means averſe to that meaſure. The *Engliſh* fleet had been repaired, and refitted with timber and other materials from *Denmark*, and in the beginning of *June*, the three *Dutch* admirals, *Tromp*, *de Wit*, and *Ruyter*, were again at ſea, with another vaſt fleet. *Monk* and *Dean* (*Blake* commanding a ſeparate diviſion) commanded the main fleet of the *Engliſh*, which conſiſted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ſhips, as that of the *Dutch* did of ninety-eight men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips. On the 2d of *June* both fleets met, and after another moſt dreadful engagement, in which *Van Tromp* exerted himſelf with great abilities and intrepidity, the fury of the *Dutch* gave way to the courage of the *Engliſh*. The *Engliſh* admiral, *Dean*, was killed in the beginning of the engagement, but his loſs was concealed by *Monk*, who, with admirable preſence of mind, dropt his cloak upon *Dean*'s body when it fell. All *Tromp*'s authority could not oblige his commanders to keep his line of battle. It is ſaid that he fell ſhort of ammunition, and began to retreat about three in the afternoon, after ſeeing three of his beſt ſhips ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken, with 1500 of his ſailors. His own ſhip had been twice boarded by vice-admiral *Penn*, and muſt have been taken, had ſhe not been diſengaged by *Ruyter* and *de Wit*. A vaſt number of merchant ſhips were taken and deſtroyed on this occaſion. The whole of the *Dutch* fleet, in ſhort, muſt have been deſtroyed, had not *Tromp* ſheltered them behind the banks of *Weilingen*, where the capital *Engliſh* ſhips could not attack them. The moſt extraordinary circumſtance of this battle was, the cheapneſs of the victory, which the *Engliſh* purchaſed without the loſs of a ſhip, and beſides *Dean*, only one captain, and a very few of their common ſailors, were killed.

The *Dutch* defeated in a terrible ſea-fight.

This defeat was the more diſcouraging to the *Dutch*, as it could admit of no palliation, and as their admirals had been unblameable in their conduct. *De Wit* honeſtly told the *States* that the *Engliſh* were their maſters, and the maſters of the ocean. *Van Tromp* and *Ruyter* remonſtrated upon the ſuperiority of the *Engliſh* weight of metal to theirs, that their

Repair their fleet.

ſhips were ill provided, and their ſeamen worſe paid. The *States* readily promiſed them redreſs, and left it to themſelves to execute their own demands. The popular complaints, as uſual, were renewed, and it was now known, that a negotiation was far advanced, between *Cromwell* and *Van Buiningen*; but it was carefully concealed from the public, who were ſwayed by the *Orange* party. *Van Tromp*, who was a ſanguine friend to that houſe, reſumed his command, and loſt no time in proceeding to hoſtilities, before *Beverning*, and other deputies who had been ſent to treat of peace, could open their commiſſion. The ſtate of the *Engliſh* government, at this time, under *Cromwell*, gave them vaſt advantages, and ſome of the moſt ſtaunch *Engliſh* republicans, *Blake* in particular, were againſt puſhing a ſiſter commonwealth to ruin. This was true reaſon, why the late battle had ſuch inconſiderable conſequences. The *Orange* party, by the inteligence they kept up with the friends of the houſe of *Stuart*, knew of the diviſions in *Cromwell*'s councils, and puſhed for the election of a Stadtholder, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by *de Wit*, and the *Louveſtein* faction. The latter found the tide of popularity run ſo high for a war, that they durſt not avow the meaſures they had entered into for peace. Even the children at the *Hague* enliſted themſelves under the mock banner of the young prince of *Orange*. This gave offence to *de Wit* and his party. Parents took the parts of their children, tumults enſued, the priſons were ſoon filled, and the whole province wore a face of uproar and confuſion. The inhabitants of *Sluys* rebelled, and a military detachment reduced them to reaſon by ſtratagem. The count of *Naſſau* intereſted himſelf in the military preparations made upon the *Texel*, and he ſtood rebuked by the *States* for his officiouſneſs. The *Zealanders* in general were even furious for a Stadtholder, but they were diſappointed through the addreſs of the *Louveſtein* faction.

A treaty. All this while, the great queſtion about peace or war hung in ſuſpence. *Cromwell* hated *Van Tromp* and the *Orange* party, but ſecretly hinted, that he was willing to grant peace to the *Dutch* government, provided they would enter into a union with *England*, incorporate as well as federate; a propoſal which the *Dutch* very properly conſidered in the light of forging their own chains. The *Orange* party had a hint of this propoſition, and *Cromwell* diſowned it, for fear it ſhould hurt him at home. In the mean while, the *Dutch* had again a fleet at ſea, ſtronger and better provided than any of their former. Some writers ſay, that it amounted to 140 ſail, under *Van Tromp*, *Ruyter*, and *de Wit*. The *Louveſteiners* were againſt its fighting, and for employing it only in protecting their trade, which was now diſtreſſed more than ever, as the *Engliſh* rode the ſeas in triumph, and locked up the mouth of the *Texel*; a ſight which arrouſed the *Dutch* ſpirit ſo much, that it baffled all the refinements of *de Wit*, and fighting inſtructions were

were given to their admirals. Young *Van Tromp*, who had deſtroyed an *Engliſh* man of war in the *Straits*, was ordered to join the main body with his ſquadron. The elder *Van Tromp*'s and *de Wit*'s diviſion was ſeparated from that under *Ruyter*; but it ventured out, and maintained a dropping fight with the *English* fleet, which was commanded by *Monk*, *Lawſon*, and *Penn*. By favour of the ſtorm, *Tromp* joined *Ruyter*, by which the *Dutch* fleet amounted to 120 ſail, and they went in a body to fight the *Engliſh*, who lay between *Scheveling* and the *Texel*. *Evertzen*, who was now added to the *Dutch* admirals, commanded the center, *Tromp* the right, *Ruyter* the left, and *de Wit* the rear of their fleet.

*Dutch* again defeated by ſea.

On the 31ſt of *July* the engagement began, and was continued with the moſt tempered intrepidity, that had ever been beheld at ſea. It is ſuperfluous for us to repeat, that its horrors and carnage exceeded all deſcription. It is, however, proper to obſerve, that the *Engliſh* had, by this time, almoſt inſtructed the *Dutch* how to beat themſelves, for their commanders fought in the cloſe *Engliſh* manner, which did the greateſt execution. *Tromp*'s impetuoſity penetrated the *Engliſh* line, but before he could recover himſelf he was ſurrounded by *Goodſon*'s ſquadron, and he himſelf was killed by a muſket ball, as he was gallantly giving his orders on the deck. His laſt words were, "Courage, my lads, I have finiſhed my "courſe with glory." *Bredervode* took his command, but endeavoured to conceal his death. The brave *Ruyter* had been, by this time, ſo roughly handled by *Lawſon*, that his ſhip was towed out of the line, but he was returning in a ſhallop to the engagement when *Tromp*'s death being known, threw the *Dutch* ſeamen into an irrevocable dejection. A rout enſued, and the *Dutch* were totally defeated, with the loſs of 24, ſome ſay 26 of their beſt ſhips, 4000 men killed, and 1000 taken priſoners, beſides 1000 that were ſaved from periſhing in the waves, by the humanity of the victors. That humanity was the more remarkable, as *Monk*, who commanded the *Engliſh* in chief, had given orders, that his men ſhould neither take nor give quarter. The *Engliſh* loſt ſome ſhips. They had 600 men killed, 1000 wounded, and their whole fleet was ſo ſhattered, that it was obliged to leave the *Dutch* coaſts, which gave them a ſhallow pretence for diſputing the honour of the victory.

Dejection of the republic.

Upon the return of the *Dutch* fleet into its harbours, a univerſal face of dejection overſpread the republic. The *States*, however, magnanimouſly returned thanks to *Ruyter* and the ſurviving admirals. They were comforted by *Mazarine*, and they applied themſelves to repair their marine. Two deputies were ſent to *England*, where the ambaſſador from the *States* ſtill reſided. *Cromwell* ſacrificed all conſiderations of public utility to his own ſafety, and he now offered peace to the *States*, on condition of their giving a perpetual excluſion to the houſe of *Orange* from the Stadtholderſhip, and limiting the

number of ſhips in their fleet, according to the pleaſure of *England*. The deputies ſoon perceived, that the firſt condition was that which *Cromwell* chiefly inforced, and they promiſed to lay the negotiation before the *States*. *Beverning* accordingly carried it over, and it gave great ſatisfaction; but the province of *Holland* took ſuch a lead in the negotiation, as gave umbrage to the other provinces; ſo that the credit of the deputies was greatly leſſened in *Cromwell*'s eyes. This created new difficulties, and the condition of excluding the *Orange* family from the Stadtholderſhip, was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public. Various ridiculous refinements upon this negotiation have been introduced by hiſtorians. The truth is, *Cromwell* was bent upon a peace, having long fixed his thoughts upon a breach with *Spain*, with the captures of whoſe *Weſt India* fleets, he was in hopes to ſupply the exigencies of his own needy precarious government. Cardinal *Mazarine* encouraged the *Dutch* not to give *Cromwell* all his terms, and *Jongerſtal*, one of the deputies in *England*, was heard to ſay, that if the protector ſhould inſiſt upon the excluſion of the *Orange* family, the *States General* would declare war againſt his perſon, and offer peace to the reſt of the nation. *Cromwell*'s council was divided, and he himſelf irreſolute, which encouraged *Beverning* and ſome of the other *Dutch* deputies, into ſome provoking inſolences againſt *Cromwell*. On the other hand, ſix of the *States* were ſo immeaſurably jealous of the province of *Holland*, that the latter threatened to break off from the confederacy, and *Cromwell* refuſed to treat with the deputies, becauſe they were not properly authorized according to the forms of their conſtitution. Neceſſity obliged the *States* to remove this impediment, for the foreign trade of the *Dutch* was going daily to ruin, by the captures of the *Engliſh*, who ſometimes ſeized whole fleets of their richeſt merchantmen.

Negotiations of peace renewed;

its difficulties

*Cromwell*, during the negotiation, gave proofs of that rough commanding genius that had always diſtinguiſhed his conduct. He knew the province of *Holland* hated the houſe of *Orange*, and therefore the *Hollanders* became ſo much his favourites, that he plainly told the deputies, he minded none of the *Dutch* but them, and indeed it is more than probable that he had a ſecret correſpondence with *De Wit*, through *Beverning*, which encouraged his inflexibility. In ſhort, the deputies gave up every thing to *Cromwell*, and the peace was ſigned in the beginning of *April*. Its chief articles were; That the *States General* ſhould give no ſhelter, within their dominions, to the family of *Stuart*, or any of its adherents; nor to any enemy of the republic of *England* (by which *France* herſelf might poſſibly have been comprehended;) That they ſhould reſtore to *England* the iſle of *Poleron* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and pay 300,000 *l.* as a ſatisfaction for the cruelties that had been committed at *Amboyna*; That they ſhould give the honour of the flag to the *Engliſh*, comply with their navigation act, and pay for the

*Engliſh*

*Engliſh* ſhips that had been ſold by the king of *Denmark*. Such were the ingroſſed articles, when *Cromwell* inſiſted upon a ſeparate one, that ſhould perpetually exclude the family of *Orange* from the Stadthelderſhip, producing, at the ſame time, a reſolution of the *States* of *Holland*, of the 24th of *Auguſt* preceeding, againſt the making the prince of *Orange* captain-general. He required that this act ſhould be paſſed by the *States* of *Holland*, and returned with a ratification to *England* in a month, which was accordingly performed, tho' the conſent of the *States* had never regularly been obtained; and even the members who agreed to the excluſion, declared, that they were overawed by *Cromwell*.

and conclusion.

Never was a negotiation carried on and concluded under more diſgraceful circumſtances to a people, than the above was to the *States General*. Even the province of *Holland* durſt not avow the excluſion of the *Orange* family, and the young prince's royal mother, with his other guardians, petitioned againſt it in the moſt moving terms. The rage of the people and the diſcontents of the other provinces were inexpreſſible. The province of *Holland* employed their credit with *Cromwell*, but in vain, to obtain a mitigation of the article, and they made the moſt ſubmiſſive apologies to the princeſs of *Orange*, for what they had been obliged to do againſt her family; but all this did not hinder them from being conſidered as the tyrants and violators of the confederacy. To crown the misfortunes and diſſentions of the republic, the king of *Denmark* refuſed to pay one farthing of the money, for which the *States* ſtood engaged. Nothing is more eaſy than to divert the attention of the *Dutch*, and *de Wit* did it on this occaſion, from their jealouſy of *Holland*, by converting it into indignation againſt the ingratitude of his *Daniſh* majeſty.

Affairs of the north,

and in *Germany*.

After the peace with *England*, the *States* of *Holland* privately encouraged ſeveral writings, intimating, that they held from the kings of *Spain*, as counts of *Holland*, certain prerogative rights over the other provinces of the confederacy. This doctrine was intended as a juſtification of their conduct, during the late negotiation with *England*, and *de Wit* had the addreſs to make it a public amuſement from the preſs, to his diſcontented countrymen. The ambition of *Charles Guſtavus* of *Sweden*, rendered a treaty between the *United Provinces* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, requiſite for their mutual intereſts. By this treaty, the *States* guaranteed the dutchy of *Cleves* to the elector; who on the other hand, was to give free admiſſion to the *Dutch* ſhipping in his ports of *Pruſſia* and *Pomeramia*, and to defend the commerce of the *States* in the *Baltic*. This treaty proved of ſome diſadvantage to the elector during the ſucceeding troubles of *Germany*, in which the *Dutch* acted on the defenſive, and indeed *Charles* obliged the elector to break it, and conſidered the *Dutch* as his capital enemies; ſo that they were obliged to equip a ſquadron of 50 ſhips of war, to protect their trade in

the *Baltic*. They ſent *Buiningen*, but without ſucceſs, to engage his *Daniſh* majeſty againſt the *Swedes*, and *Charles* ſeemed determined at all events to exclude the *Dutch* from the commerce of the *Baltic*, in which he was countenanced by *Cromwell*.

*Nieuport* was, at this time, envoy from the *States General* in *England*, and had the care of carrying the late treaty into execution. This could not be done, without adjuſting the concerns of two *Eaſt India* companies, and in doing which, the *Dutch* puzzled the negotiations ſo artfully, that *Cromwell* was ſatisfied with receiving, at that time, 70,000 *l.* as part of the *Amboyna* indemnification, and great difficulties were raiſed about the reſtitution of the iſle of *Poleron*. At laſt, a treaty between *France* and *England*, in which the *Dutch* were comprehended, gave a truce to farther altercations, and the *States* ſent a fleet to the *Mediterranean*, for the protection of their trade, againſt the *Algerines*. *De Wit*, whom we are now to conſider as the head of the *Dutch* republic, laboured with the moſt unabated aſſiduity, during this interval of public tranquillity, in the ſervice of the *States*. He perſuaded the creditors of the republic to accept of four *per cent.* for their money, though, at the ſame time, intereſt in *England* was at nine *per cent.* He had the addreſs to keep the office of marſhal-general of the camp, which was vacant by the death of *Brederode*, for ſome time open, and to ſet aſide a propoſal that the young prince of *Orange* ſhould be educated under the inſpection of certain members of the *States General*. This laſt was a policy, dictated by *de Wit*'s abhorrence of every thing, that could indicate a connection between the houſe of *Orange* and the republic of the *United Provinces*. It was not, however, in his power to extinguiſh the ardour of the common people, for electing the prince their Stadtholder; but he carefully fomented diviſions among them, concerning the qualifications and privileges of the reſpective provinces and towns.

Great addreſs of *De Wit*.

The *Dutch* commerce, at this time, was in great diſorder in the *Baltic*, through the animoſity that ſtill prevailed againſt them at the court of *Sweden*. They endeavoured once more to intereſt his *Daniſh* majeſty in their favour, but without effect, and the *Swedes* had even the inſolence to put their envoys, whom they ſent to complain, under arreſt. They were releaſed, and apologies were made; but the *States* ordered *Opdam*, who had ſucceeded *Van Tromp* in his command, to proceed with a ſquadron to the *Baltic*, for the protection of their trade. This produced an application from the king of *Sweden*, who was then preparing to beſiege *Dantzic*, to perſuade his *Daniſh* majeſty to keep the *Dutch* fleet from entering the *Baltic*. This negotiation had no effect, and in the mean while, *Opdam* arrived at *Dantzic*. This produced the peace of *Elbing*, which reſtored the affairs of the *States General* in the *Baltic*. The war which was then raging, between *Cromwell* and

The *Dutch* favour the *Danes*.

Peace of *Elbing*.

and the *Spaniards*, had very diſagreeable conſequences with regard to the *Dutch*. He complained of their partiality towards the king of *Denmark*, againſt his favourite ally, *Charles Guſtavus*; of their befriending the *Spaniards*, and of their tolerating a chapel at the *Hague*, in which *Charles* II. was prayed for by name. It is certain, that *Cromwell* had, at this time, ſome thoughts of breaking with the *Dutch*, and that they ſhut up the *Hague* chapel. He ordered all the *Dutch* ſhips employed in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, to be ſeized, and the *Dutch* ſeized the *Poſtilion*, and other *Engliſh India* ſhips; but, at the ſame time, they ſent off *Nieuport*, as their ambaſſador to *England*, to appeaſe *Cromwell*. That uſurper was, at this time, in deep diſtreſs for the death of his beloved daughter, *Claypole*, and was feeling the approaches of the diſtemper which brought him to his grave; ſo that *Nieuport* did very little buſineſs, beſides communicating his inſtructions to *Andrew Marvel*, who was joint Latin ſecretary with the famous *Milton*.

In the mean while, *Cromwell* got poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in a manner that is foreign to this hiſtory, and affairs in the *Baltic* took ſuch a turn, that the *States General* refuſed to ratify the treaty of *Elbing*, as being too favourable for *Sweden*. The non-execution of this treaty does no great honour to the *Dutch* faith, as they inſiſted that all their countrymen, who built ſhips in *Sweden*, were to be intitled to the privileges of native *Swedes*, which *Charles* denied unleſs they were reſident in *Sweden*. By thoſe and other altercations, the *States* found themſelves involved in a freſh quarrel with that kingdom; and freſh engagements were formed between the *Dutch* and the *Danes*. Matters were not on a better footing between the *States* and the *French*, whoſe privateers had taken 328 *Dutch* ſhips, and the people of *Marſeilles* had committed an aſſaſſination on the body of the *Dutch* conſul. The *States* finding all other remonſtrances were in vain, ordered *Ruyter* to block up *Toulon* and to make reprizals, which he did of two *French* ſhips, very richly laden, and this drew forth an order for ſeizing all *Dutch* ſhips and effects, that were found in the ports of *France*. *Boreel*, a *Dutchman* of great ſpirit and capacity, remonſtrated to the *French* monarch very freely, upon this proceeding; but *de Thou* was ſent as *French* ambaſſador to the *Hague*, to complain of *Ruyter*'s conduct. He found a ſtrong *French* party, but the majority applauded *Ruyter*'s conduct, and *Boreel*'s behaviour. All the anſwer *de Thou* got, conſiſted of reciprocal remonſtrances of injuſtice and depredations on the part of *France*, and the *States* behaved with ſo firm and high a ſpirit, that the *French* court ſoon ſoftened its tone of dictature, and an accommodation took place.

Differences between the *Dutch*, the *French*,

The diſputes between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe*, in the *Braſils*, remained ſtill undetermined, and the *States* ſent two miniſters, attended with a ſtrong fleet, to *Liſbon*. The *Portu-* and the *Portu-gueſe*.

*guese* prepared to defend themselves, and rejected, in very high terms, the propofals made by the *Dutch* ambaſſadors, which they termed unjuſt and inſolent. Upon this, hoſtilities commenced between the two nations. The *Portugueſe* ſeized the *Dutch* ſhipping in the *Tagus*; *Ruyter* took the *Portugueſe* ſhips at ſea, and the *Dutch* deputies, when they took leave, left a declaration of war in the hands of the *Portugueſe* miniſtry. The conſequence of this haſty quarrel would, in all probability, have been very diſagreeable to the *Portugueſe*, had not *Ruyter* been obliged to return to *Holland* to revictual his ſquadron.

The expoſed ſtate of *Germany* towards the *Rhine*, induced the electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, together with the duke of *Neuburgh*, to propoſe an alliance with the *States General*. The famous *Bernard Van Galen*, the warlike biſhop of *Munſter*, was likewiſe to have been one of the parties; but he quarrelled with the inhabitants of his capital, and the latter applied for protection to the *States General*, whoſe tedious forms conſumed ſo much time, that the opportunity of ſo uſeful an alliance was loſt. They, however, offered their mediation between the biſhop and his ſubjects, whom he had beſieged, but it was rejected contemptuouſly by the haughty prelate. Upon this, Mr. *Rhinegrave*, commiſſary-general, was ordered to march to the aſſiſtance of the burghers with ſome troops, and *Van Galen* thought proper to ſoften his demands upon the burghers. The nobility interpoſing, a ſlight accommodation took place; the biſhop was received into the city, but without the uſual honours and acclamations, and the troops of the republic returned home, without entering upon any action. Some of the provinces were all this while complaining, that *Holland*, upon all occaſions, exerciſed too deſpotic a power in matters of government; and the *States* of that province had oppoſed the revival of the place of *Mareſchal de camp*, which the *States General* had filled up. The latter were now called upon to maintain the balance of power in the north, which was endangered by the *Swedes*, who had beſieged *Copenhagen*. *De Wit* preſſed his countrymen to ſend immediately a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *Danes*, and though this propoſal was oppoſed by the provinces of *Zealand*, *Frieſland*, and *Guelderland*, who inſiſted upon the previous appointment of a *Mareſchal de camp*, yet in the ſpring, *Opdam* ſailed with a fleet to the relief of *Denmark*, with orders to fight the *Swedes*. This ſpirited conduct was dictated to *de Wit* by his friend *Buningen*, the *Dutch* reſident at *Copenhagen*.

The *Dutch* take part with the burghers of *Munſter*.

They beat the *Swedes* at ſea.

Upon *Opdam*'s arrival in the *Sound*, he deſcried the *Swediſh* fleet, under *Wrangel*, and immediately attacked it. The *Swedes* fought bravely, but the *Dutch* gained the victory, and *Wrangel* was forced to take refuge under the cannon of *Cronenburg*. Three *Swediſh* ſhips were taken, three were ſunk, and four driven aſhore. The loſs of men on both ſides was very

very great, but the *Dutch* loſt two admirals, *de Wit* and *Florizen*; and the *Swedes* raiſed ſome pretences to the victory, becauſe they were not purſued. *Opdam*, inſtead of that, wiſely followed his inſtructions, by throwing 2000 men and all kinds of neceſſaries into *Copenhagen*, by which he ſaved that city from being taken by the *Swedes*. As there was ſome likelihood that *Cromwell*, now in poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, would declare for the *Swedes*, *Opdam* was ordered to winter in the *Baltic*, and the critical death of the uſurper, which happened at that time, delivered the *States* from vaſt uneaſineſs. The acceſſion of *Leopold* to the *Imperial* throne of *Germany*, gave a new turn to the politics of the republic, as they could not behold with indifference, the farther aggrandizement of the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Leopold* applied to them for their friendſhip, which they granted the more readily, as he declared himſelf a friend to *Denmark*, and the *States* were every day more and more convinced of the ambitious views of *France*.

The quarrel with *Portugal* was now reſumed, and though the *French* king offered his mediation, *Ruyter* was ſent with a ſquadron to the *Tagus*. His ſhips arrived there in ſo ſhattered a condition, that the *Portugueſe* refuſed to give him any ſatisfaction. In the *Baltic*, the *Dutch*, as well as the *Daniſh* fleets, were frozen in. In the ſpring a *Swediſh* ſquadron was roughly handled by the *Dutch*, and a treaty was concluded, between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, for reſtoring the tranquillity of the north. The *Swedes* now treated with the *Dutch*, and the unſettled ſtate of affairs in *England*, deprived *Guſtavus* of aſſiſtance from thence; for *Montague*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet, left the *Baltic* with expreſs declarations of neutrality. The *Dutch* being now left at liberty, aſſiſted the *Danes* with ſo much vigour, that *Guſtavus*, king of *Sweden*, was on the point of concluding an equitable accommodation, when he was carried out of the world. After this, peace was reſtored to the north, by a treaty being concluded between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, under the mediation of *England* and *Holland*.

Peace reſtored to the north.

At this time, the *Dutch*, in *Aſia*, made an acquiſition of the iſland of *Ceylon*, the moſt valuable for ſpices of any in the *Eaſt Indies*. This was effected by M. *Gobens*, a *Batavian*, who drove the *Portugueſe* out of the iſland, and the *Dutch* ſoon obliged its king to leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of all that the *Portugueſe* had held there. Cardinal *Mazarine* offered his maſter's mediation, in *Europe*, between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe*, who were ſenſibly humbled by their expulſion from *Ceylon*. The *Dutch* demanded a full indemnification for all their loſſes in the *Braſils*. The *Portugueſe* on the other hand charged the *Dutch*, with too much reaſon, with practiſing every ſpecies of murder, poiſoning, idolatry, infidelity, and treachery, that could advance their intereſt in thoſe countries; and *Mazarine*, being afraid of diſobliging the court of *Spain*, relaxed in his mediation. The vaſt revolution that happened now in *England*, gave a very ſerious turn to the

The *French* mediate between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe*.

the deliberations of the *States*. They had been always on a very indifferent footing with *Oliver Cromwell*, and they had no reaſon to think that they were in the good graces of *Charles* II. who was now called to the throne of his anceſtors. No ſooner was that prince arrived at *Breda*, in his way to *England*, than he was waited upon by a moſt reſpectful deputation from the *States*. He afterwards made a magnificent entry into the *Hague*, and left *Holland*, quite ſurfeited by the fulſome compliments and honours they paid him.

*French* king ſeizes the principality of *Orange*.

Hitherto, the prince of *Orange* had always been in poſſeſſion of that principality, but a diſpute that happened between the two princeſſes-dowager, gave the *French* king a pretext to order the mareſchal *Pleſſis Praſlin* to march to the gates of *Orange*, and to demand the keys from the governor, count *Dohna*, which the latter, who was in no condition to reſiſt, was obliged to reſign; the king promiſing to reſtore both the place and the principality as ſoon as the prince ſhould come of age. The two princeſſes complained bitterly, and moſt pathetically recommended the caſe of the minor prince to the *States General*. The *States* of *Zealand*, *Frieſland*, and *Overyſſel*, were for immediately reſtoring the prince to the high offices held by his anceſtors, and within their own provinces they repealed the act of excluſion, which the dread of *Cromwell* had extorted. The younger princeſs of *Orange* went to *England* to implore the protection of *Charles* II. againſt the injuſtice of the *French* king, and the *Orange* party became again formidable to the *States* of *Holland*. To give way to the torrent, they ordered an appointment of 400,000 florins, to defray the expence of the prince's houſhold and education, and agreed to the repeal of the excluſion act. This, for ſome time, ſatisfied the *Orange* party; and the *States General*, in
1661. 1661, had leiſure to turn their thoughts towards a peace with the king of *Portugal*, who equally deſired an accommodation. The *Dutch* were ſomewhat nettled as well as diſconcerted at a marriage, that had been juſt concluded, between *Charles* II. and the infanta of *Portugal*. They complained to him of the

Negotiations for peace,

injuſtice of the *Portugueſe*, in not reſtoring them *Braſil*. His anſwer, though polite, intimated, that if they inſiſted upon it, he would declare for the *Portugueſe*. The crown of *France* found it her intereſt, at the ſame time, to ſupport *Portugal*, but *Spain* gave aſſurances, that the moment ſhe recovered that crown, ſhe would reſtore *Braſil* to the *Dutch*. The intereſt of both *Dutch* and *Portugueſe*, led them to make a peace without the intervention of either *France* or *England*. Some of the provinces were for depending on the aſſurances of *Spain*, which the more enlightened part of the *States General* knew to be but frail and precarious. The count *de Miranda* was the *Portugueſe* miniſter at the *Hague*, and he negotiated with ſo much addreſs, that a peace was concluded, upon his *Portugueſe* majeſty engaging to pay the *Dutch* a million of livres, and an annuity of 500,000 in money, ſugar and ſalt, by way

of

of indemnification, and to allow them the ſame privileges of commerce to *Portugal*, *Brazil*, and *Africa*, as the *Engliſh* enjoyed.

The *Dutch* ambaſſadors at the court of *England* were far from being acceptable to *Charles* II. and they are ſaid to have treated him with an inexcuſeable haughtineſs becauſe his genius was not ſo warlike as that of *Cromwell*. No prince ever knew better, when he pleaſed to exert himſelf, than *Charles* did, what was due to his character, and he both hated and deſpiſed the *Dutch*. He talked to their deputies in a tone of advanced ſuperiority, by making additional demands to thoſe of the late common-wealth and protector. He renewed the demand of acknowledgment for indulging the *Dutch* in fiſhing on the *Britiſh* coaſts; that his crown jewels, pawned by the late uſurpers, in *Holland*, ſhould be returned; that all the regicides who had taken refuge in the dominions of the *States* ſhould be given up; and that all arrears due to *Cromwell* ſhould be paid to him. The *Dutch* ambaſſadors heard thoſe demands with the greater conſternation, as they had been inſtructed to inſiſt upon a repeal of the diſgraceful terms, particularly that of ſearch, which they had been conſtrained to ſubmit to by the late uſurpers. They no ſooner hinted at this, than *Charles*, ſo far from granting it, demanded the Stadtholderſhip for his nephew, and that his ſhips ſhould not only be at liberty to trade to all ports without diſtinction in the *Eaſt-Indies*, not immediately in the poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*; but that the *Engliſh* factories ſhould be aſylums for all natives in thoſe parts.

and *Holland*.

*Charles* was, at this time, beloved by his people, and the *Dutch* were in no condition to enter into war. Even *de Witt* temporized ſo far, that he agreed to give up three of the regicides, who were ſent to *England*. This compliance was far from ſatisfying *Charles*; and the enemies of the *Orange* family in *Holland* were exaſperated beyond all meaſure, when they underſtood that the princeſs of *Orange* had nominated her brother, *Charles* II. to be one of the guardians to her young ſon. It was reſolved to obſerve no farther meaſures with her, and during her abſence in *England*, they ſeized her cabinet of papers, in hopes of diſcovering evidences of the late prince's deſpotic intentions, and of his having been encouraged in them by ſome of the members of the *States General* themſelves. *Charles* complained of this ſeizure as an affront done to himſelf, and the *States* juſtified it, as being the natural guardians of the prince during his mother's abſence in *England*; but they offered to ſecond her in her applications to the court of *France* for the reſtitution of the principality of *Orange*. They ſent accordingly a deputation for that purpoſe, to renew the treaties of commerce betwixt the *States* and *France*, but the latter had now adopted a very different ſyſtem of intereſt.

The *Dutch* temporize with *Charles* II.

*Mazarine*

Alterations in the ſyſtem of *France*.

*Mazarine* was dead; *Lewis* had no firſt miniſter, but poſſeſſed diſcernment ſufficient to ſee the merits of *Colbert*, with whom he intruſted the commercial regulations of his kingdom. That great miniſter perſuaded his maſter, that he could render *France* the moſt reſpectable marine power in *Europe*, by at once extending and protecting her trade. *France*, till then, had been conſidered only in the light of a military ſtate, and the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had carried on her trade; but ſhe was now to become their rival. *Colbert* was not againſt renewing the treaty of commerce, but *Lewis* objected to that part of it by which he was to guarantee the right of the *Dutch* to fiſh for herrings on the *Britiſh* coaſts. This treaty, however, paſſed, with ſome modifications.

1662. An expedition to *Algiers*.

*De Ruyter*, in 1662, was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to chaſtize the *Algerines* for certain inſolences and depredations they had been guilty of againſt the *Dutch*. His force being vaſtly ſuperior to theirs, he would have deſtroyed their whole fleet had he not been prevented by a violent ſtorm; but both they and the *Tuniſians* ſubmitted to the terms impoſed upon them by *Ruyter*. This expedition being happily accompliſhed, *de Wit* applied himſelf to revive the principles of the *Louveſtein* party, by cultivating the friendſhip of *France* againſt the influence of *England* and the houſe of *Orange*. In the mean while, violent diſputes aroſe among the provinces, concerning the education of the prince of *Orange*, but *de Wit*'s party was vigorouſly oppoſed by *D'Eſtrades*, the *French* miniſter. *De Wit*, the more to ingratiate himſelf with *France*, oppoſed a project of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador for incorporating the ſeven united, with the ten *Spaniſh* provinces, ſo as to form a ſtrong barrier againſt the power of *France*; and drew up a counter project, by which the ten provinces were to be eventually formed into a republic by themſelves, but with two barriers, one of which was to be granted to *France*, and the other to the *States General*; the event of which muſt have been, that in a few years *France*, with very little trouble, would have rendered herſelf miſtreſs of all the ten provinces.

*Charles* demands ſatisfaction of the *Dutch*.

Sir *George Downing*, a worthleſs, faithleſs, but plodding miniſter under the *Engliſh* republic and *Cromwell*, had been continued ambaſſador by *Charles* with the *States General*, and ſerved him, as he had done them, with a brutal punctuality. He informed *Charles* of the aſcendency the *French* had got among the *States General*; and the commercial differences between *Holland* and *England* becoming every day more perplexed and ſerious, *Charles* cut all farther altercations ſhort, by declaring that he would receive no farther application from the reſident of the *States*, and that he expected a formal embaſſy to give him ſatisfaction for the inſults he complained of, and for all the unperformed articles of their treaty with *Cromwell*, particularly in the affair of *Amboyna*. Pretending that *Holland* was attacked by an infectious diſtemper, he ordered ſhips from thence to perform a quarantine of 30 days, and

*Downing*,

*Downing*, by his command, exaggerated to the full the demands which the *Engliſh* crown and merchants had upon the ſubjects of the *States General.* We ſhall not pretend to ſay, that all thoſe accounts were fair on either ſide; but the preſumption of injuſtice clearly lies againſt that of the *Dutch*, who either evaded or refuſed to perform their moſt ſolemn engagements. Sir *Robert Holmes* had diſpoſſeſſed them of *Cape Verd*, and *Cabo de Corſo*, on the coaſt of *Africa*, and of *Nova Belgia* in *America*, by way of reprizal. Other *Engliſh* commanders attacked their ſettlements at the mouth of *Hudſon's-Bay*; and the *Dutch* loſt the town of *New Amſterdam* in the iſland of *Manchattan* as it was then called. Matters were equally embroiled in the north of *Europe*, where the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, encouraged by *England*, preferred great complaints againſt the encroachments of the *Dutch*. *De Wit* ſaw that he had now incurred the implacable reſentment of almoſt all the powers of *Europe* excepting *France*, whoſe protection he endeavoured to court, by prevailing with the ſtates of the ten provinces to ſend four deputies to confer with him upon the renewal of the project of cantoning thoſe provinces into a commonwealth. This plan, however, was ſo evidently partial for *France*, and dangerous to the liberties of *Europe*, that *de Wit* durſt not venture to carry it into execution.

Other projects of the ſame nature were ſet on foot by *de Wit*, all of them tending to an eventual partition of the ten provinces between *France* and the *States General.* *De Wit's* credit among the latter was ſo great, that when ſome of the deputies reproached him, he quieted them by the ridiculous ſuggeſtion, that if the *Turks* ſhould conquer the empire of *Germany*, they would undoubtedly become maſters of the *Spaniſh*, and conſequently the *United Provinces*, unleſs the latter were protected by the power of *France.* In ſhort, by his aſſiduities and working on the foibles of his co-patriots, with ſome little incidents in the *Levant*, which he turned to his own purpoſes, he prepared his countrymen to agree to a partition of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* with *France*, and to enter into ſtricter connections than ever with that crown. The *Spaniſh* miniſter was the firſt who awakened the *States*, and indeed *de Wit* himſelf, to a ſenſe of their danger. He diſcovered that the *French* king was on the point of concluding a treaty with *England*, while they were upon the eve of a war with the ſame crown; and that they were ready to involve themſelves in differences with all the powers of *Europe*, without their having the ſmalleſt dependence but upon a haughty, faithleſs ſtate, who at once hated and deſpiſed them, and which made uſe of them only to aggrandize herſelf. *De Wit* relaxed in his courtſhip of *France*, eſpecially as he found that he had exaſperated the emperor and the empire, by his project of cantoning the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

Partition of the *Spaniſh* provinces reſolved on.

*De*

Preparation for war between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*,

*De Wit* ſaw that a war with *England* was inevitable. *Walchenberg*, one of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company's directors in *Africa*, had inſolently claimed, in the name of his maſters, a right to all the coaſt of *Guinea*, and ſhut the *Engliſh* out from trading there. This was ſo much reſented by the *Engliſh* parliament, that they addreſſed his majeſty to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual methods for redreſſing the grievances which the trade of the nation had ſuffered from the *Dutch*; and that they would ſupport him with their lives and fortunes. It ſoon appeared that *de Wit*'s talents as a great miniſter, which he certainly was, were not calculated for war; for though he was puſhed on by *France*, he durſt not venture to come to extremities, though prince *Rupert*, at the head of the *Britiſh* fleet, had, by way of reprizals, taken above a hundred *Dutch* merchant ſhips laden from *Bourdeaux*; while *Opdam*, who was cruizing off the *Flemiſh* ſhore, had no orders but to obſerve his motions. *Ruyter* had obtained ſeveral advantages over the *Engliſh* in *America*, which, upon his return, were conſtrued by them into hoſtilities. *De Wit* ſtill endeavoured to ward off a war, and *Charles* agreed to a propoſal, at this time made by the *Dutch*, of joining a ſquadron with that of *Ruyter*, to chaſtize the *Algerines*. *Lawſon*, the *Engliſh* admiral, quarrelled with *Ruyter* about the honours of the flag, and the differences riſing high, *Ruyter* bore off for the coaſt of *Africa*, where he diſpoſſeſſed the *Engliſh* of all their late acquiſitions, *Cape Coaſt* excepted, and ſeized all their merchantmen. The *Dutch*, it is true, pretended to vindicate thoſe proceedings, but their manifeſt infractions of public treaties gave very little weight to their allegations. The publication of the earl of *Clarendon*'s life, by himſelf, as he was not only firſt miniſter of *England* at that time, but a man of an unimpeached veracity, throws greater light upon this part of hiſtory than ever it received before. The committee of trade in the houſe of commons, reflecting on the pride and inſolence of the *Hollanders*, ſaid, in one of their reports, that "they obſerved no laws of "commerce, or any conditions which themſelves conſented "to. That by their fraud and practice the *Engliſh* were al- "moſt driven out of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, and had their "trade in *Turkey* and in *Africa* much diminiſhed. In ſum, "that beſides many inſufferable indignities offered by them to "his majeſty and to the crown of *England*, his ſubjects had, "in a few years, ſuſtained the damage of 7 or 800,000*l.* "ſterling."

who ſend their fleets to ſea,

*Charles* affected great moderation, and ordered the addreſs his parliament had preſented on this head to be tranſmitted to the *States General* by *Downing*, who inforced it with great vehemence and acrimony. The *Dutch* pretended that the grievances complained of had happened ſince the laſt treaty, but this was far from ſatisfying *Charles*. The truth is, their friends in *England* had impreſſed *de Wit* with a notion that *Charles* neither durſt nor could make war, for want of money; and

and this had encouraged the *Dutch*, not only to renew their pretenſions to an excluſive trade on the coaſt of *Guinea*, but to ſend a large fleet to ſupport their factories there, and gave a commiſſion to their commander in chief to make war upon the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts, and to do them all the miſchief he could. The noble hiſtorian already mentioned, accuſes them with the treachery of ordering *Ruyter* to betray them in the *Algerine* expedition, and of their ordering him upon that to *Guinea*, at the very time that *Charles* had given orders for his own fleet deſtined for *Guinea* to be laid up, on condition that that of *Ruyter* ſhould be laid up likewiſe, till ſome amicable method of accommodation was found out. The *Danes*, as well as the *Engliſh*, complained of the *Dutch* tyranny in *Africa*; and the biſhop of *Munſter* ſurprized and fortified *Eydeler*, but are at- which lay on the *Dutch* frontiers. The *Dutch* ordered the tacked fort to be inveſted, and the biſhop ſent over an agent, one and de- *Gaſcoigne*, an *Engliſh* prieſt, to offer his alliance to *England*, feated by which was accepted of the more readily as the offer was the biſhop backed by the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and it was well known of *Munſter* that the emperor was himſelf no friend to the *States Ge-* by land. *neral.*

*Van Buiningen*, the *Dutch* ambaſſador with the *French* king, The *Dutch* had great credit with that court, and *de Wit* finding the *States* endeavour *General* averſe to a war with *England*, inſtructed him to ap- to gain the ply to *Lewis* for his mediation; but at this very time, through *French* the intereſt of the *Orange* party, five large *French* ſhips were king. ſeized in the ports of *Holland*. The *Dutch*, in general, applauded this ſeizure, but the ſhips were reſtored, and indeed they ſeem to have been very injuriouſly detained. This accident did not abate the preſſing negociations of *Buiningen* for a mediation; *Lewis* demanded to know what terms the *States* had to offer to ſerve as the baſis of a treaty; but when they were laid before him, he perceived that they were haughty to the laſt degree, and ſuch as had been again and again rejected by the *Engliſh*. He complained that the *Dutch* wanted to engroſs to themſelves the trade of the whole world; he was anſwered by *Van Buiningen* putting into his hand a liſt of the *Dutch* ſhipping, by which it appeared that the *Dutch* could fit out 300 ſhips of war. *Lewis*, to gain time, and to keep *Charles* from joining with the *Spaniards*, ſent the duke of *Verneuil* over to *England*, with propoſals of his own, for an accommodation; but they had no effect.

The engagements entered into by *Charles* with the biſhop 1665. of *Munſter*, made him reſolve to loſe no time in declaring *Charles* war, and the duke of *York*, who mortally hated the *Dutch*, fits out was conſtituted lord high admiral of *England* to command his fleet. againſt them. Towards the end of *April*, the duke, with the *Engliſh* fleet, was cruizing off the *Texel*, where he took great numbers of the *Dutch* ſhips, and deſtroyed their trade, the *Dutch* having no fleet at ſea to oppoſe him. *De Wit* and the *Louveſtein* faction had always believed that their friends in par-

liament, and the indolence of *Charles*, would ſtill prevent extremities, but they were deceived. The court was joined by the trading part of the nation, and the parliament furniſhed *Charles* with two millions and a half of ſterling money, amounting to fifty millions of livres, a ſum ſo ſtupendous, that it ſent terror into *France*, as well as *Holland*. It muſt be confeſſed, that the principle upon which the *Dutch* made war was highly provoking to the *Engliſh* government. They acknowledged the terms of the treaty they had made with *Cromwell*, but they inſiſted upon its being invalid, becauſe it had been forced upon them by an uſurper, and was diſgraceful to their ſovereignty. Thoſe arguments, ridiculous as they were, had great effect upon the *Dutch* commonality. The duke of *York*, meeting with no enemy, returned to *Harwich*; but in the mean time, the *Holland* and *Zealand* fleets, conſiſting of 120 ſail, joined under the command of their admirals, *Opdam*, *Evertzen*, *Cortenaer*, and young *Van Tromp*. The *Engliſh* fleet, by this time, was augmented to 100 ſail. The *Dutch* fleet, according to the noble author already mentioned, was commanded in chief by *Opdam*, a young gentleman of a ſmall eſtate in *Holland*, who had never been at ſea before.

and the duke of *York* beats the *Dutch*.

On the firſt of *June*, the two fleets came within ſight of one another, but the *Engliſh* having the weather gage, *Opdam*, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, bore away for the *Meuſe*. This conduct was directly againſt his inſtructions from the *States*, which he had received from the hands of *de Wit*, who had followed him in his barge two leagues at ſea. *De Wit* obtained another order, commanding *Opdam* to fight the *Engliſh* under pain of death. *Opdam* immediately weighed anchor and bore directly upon the duke, with a reſolution to board him; but his ſhip was blown up, and all within her periſhed, while three perſons of quality were killed fighting by the duke of *York*'s ſide. *Cortenaer* ſucceeded *Opdam* in his command, but he was mortally wounded juſt as he was on the point of boarding the duke's ſhip, which was ſkreened by captain *Jeremy Smith*. *Cortenaer*'s ſhip was taken, and he himſelf was carried on board the duke's ſhip, where he lived half an hour, and died, exclaiming againſt the cowardice of his captains, who, contrary to the oath they had taken the day before, had baſely deſerted him. The fight, notwithſtanding their defection, continued to be bravely ſupported by the two ſurviving admirals, *Evertzen* and *Tromp*; but finding the deſpondency of their captains gaining ground on every hand, they were obliged to retreat, after loſing 18 ſhips and 6,000 ſeamen. The loſs of the *Engliſh* lay chiefly among men of quality, who ſerved as volunteers, beſides 200 ſeamen who were killed on board the duke's ſhip; of their ſhipping they loſt but one ſmall veſſel. The greateſt loſs, however, that the *Engliſh* that day ſuſtained, was that of Sir *John Lawſon*, who was one of the wiſeſt and moſt modeſt men, as well as greateſt ſeamen that age produced.

Though

Though *Van Tromp* made an admirable retreat (*Evertzen*'s ſhip having been diſabled) with the remainder of the *Dutch* fleet, yet when *Evertzen*, who had been ſet aſhore, informed the *States* at the *Hague* of their defeat, they were overwhelmed with confuſion. The *Orange* party called for a peace with *England*, and that their prince ſhould be raiſed to the Stadtholderſhip. *De Wit* continued undaunted, though diſappointed. He obtained an order for *Van Tromp* to keep at ſea, which that admiral refuſed to do, as he could not truſt the captains whom he commanded. Three of them were tried and ſhot, and ſix of them diſmiſſed the ſervice with ignominy. *De Wit* gave out, that now was the time for the *French* king to declare for them, and re-inſpirited his countrymen ſo much, that the fleet was ſoon repaired, and *Tromp*, though known to be a partizan of the houſe of *Orange*, was raiſed to the command in chief, till *Ruyter* ſhould arrive. That great admiral was daily expected from the coaſt of *Africa*, and his ſquadron being weak, the *States* were in pain leſt he ſhould fall into the hands of the *Engliſh*, but he was favoured by a fog, and he landed in the province of *Groningen*, but it was with great difficulty he could keep his crews together, ſo ſhocking had been the hardſhips they ſuffered. The war continued by ſea.

*De Ruyter*'s qualifications and character were unexceptionable. The *States* gave him a commiſſion to be their lieutenant-admiral-general, and ſilenced the complaints of *Tromp* by ordering him, under the pain of treaſon, to keep the ſtation where he was. *De Wit* had the ſucceſs of this ſea campaign ſo much at heart, that he went on board *Ruyter*'s ſhip, and ſerved as a volunteer, to the amazement of all *Europe*, and the vaſt diſcouragement of his own party. A great fleet of *Dutch* merchant ſhips, at this time, had taken refuge at *Bergen* in *Norway*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *Engliſh* reſident at *Copenhagen*, eaſily perſuaded his *Daniſh* majeſty, who, by all accounts, was a very weak man, to ſeize upon them, or rather to allow the *Engliſh* to attack them in *Bergen*. *Charles* gave orders to *Montague*, earl of *Sandwich*, who was now the beſt ſea officer in *England*, to ſtrike that blow. *Sandwich* was in hopes of meeting with the fleet at ſea, but perceiving they kept in the harbour of *Bergen*, he ſent in an officer with 15 or 16 ſhips, with a letter to the governor of *Bergen*, informing him of his intention. The governor owned that he had received ſome inſtructions from his own court, concerning the attempt, but he pretended that they were not ſufficiently full to authorize him to take part with the *Engliſh* in ſeizing the *Dutch* ſhips. The *Engliſh* commodore, being a rough man, declared that he would proceed directly to attack the *Dutch* ſhipping; but too much time had now been loſt. The *Dutch* had lodged moſt of their rich cargoes in the citadel, and they had drawn up their ſhips under the protection of a platform well mounted with artillery, with all the burghers of *Bergen*, whom

The *States* commands the *Dutch* fleet.

whom they had gained by preſents, under arms for their defence. This did not diſcourage the *Engliſh* commodore, and he attacked the ſhipping with great courage; but ſome of the *Engliſh* guns damaging the town and the caſtle, the artillery from the latter played upon them ſo furiouſly that the *Engliſh* were obliged, with ſome loſs, to make a haſty retreat. Soon after, the viceroy of *Norway* arrived with ſome regiments at *Bergen*, and made a freſh demand upon the *Dutch* ſhipping to indemnify his maſter for the damages that had been done him in the late action. While this was in agitation, lord *Sandwich* returned to the coaſt of *England*, and *Ruyter* received the *Dutch* fleet at *Bergen* under his convoy. Two ſtorms, which aroſe ſoon after, did vaſt damage to the *Dutch* ſhipping, great part of which was thrown upon the coaſt of *England*.

Their merchantmen attacked by the *Engliſh* at *Bergen*.

*De Wit* continued all this time bent upon remaining on board the fleet. The plague, at that time, was making a moſt prodigious havoc in *England*, at *London* eſpecially; and this had diſpirited the nation, ſo that no briſk operations were proceeding as formerly. When winter drew on, *de Wit* reſigned his naval character, and indeed it was, perhaps, ſome diſcouragement to the captains and ſeamen to ſee all their operations directed by him and his two aſſociates, *Huygens* and *Boreel*, who had never been bred to the ſea ſervice. The *French* king, in the mean while, ſeemed to take more concern than ever in the affairs of the *States*, but it was only that he might the more readily force the *Engliſh* government into his meaſures. Upon the return of *de Wit* to the *Hague*, the *States* reſumed their deliberations with the moſt ſanguine hopes that *France* would not now for a moment delay to declare in their favour; but *Charles* had, by a ſtroke of policy not uſual in his reign, found them employment in another quarter. A conſiderable ſubſidy he had granted to the biſhop of *Munſter* had put that warlike prelate's troops into excellent order. Perceiving that the ſea war with *Great Britain* had ſo entirely engroſſed the attention of the *States General* that their land fortifications were in a moſt miſerable condition, he broke into *Overyſſel*, and ſeized upon *Almelo*; he then at the head of 8,000 men beſieged *Berkelo*, where he met with a brave reſiſtance, and the place was ſurrendered on an honourable capitulation, which the prelate diſregarded ſo much, that he no ſooner entered the walls, than he put both the garriſon and the burghers to the ſword. *Van Galen*'s ſucceſſes procured him ſoldiers, whom he paid with plunder; and the *States General* found themſelves obliged to take into their pay the troops of *Lunenburg*, *Zell*, and *Oſnaburg*. While they were raiſing their forces, the prelate ſtruck into the heart of the province of *Groningen*, where he propoſed to ſurprize *Delfzil*; but being diſappointed in that ſcheme, he laid ſiege to *Groningen*, which was bravely defended by the princeſs of *Frieſland*, daughter to *Henry* prince of *Orange*, and ſhe obliged

The biſhop of *Munſter* again invades the *Dutch* territories.

*Van*

*Van Galen* to abandon his enterprize, and to retire to winter-quarters.

The *French* king could not brook the attack of ſo petty a prince as the biſhop of *Munſter* was, and, upon the requiſition of the *Dutch*, he ordered the 6000 men he was obliged to lend them by treaty, to march to their aſſiſtance. His real deſign in taking part with the *Dutch*, however, was to balance the power of the two nations at ſea, and to prevent the *Engliſh* from entirely cruſhing them. He had, with infinite addreſs, amuſed the *Dutch* with ſettling the point of precedency, between his admiral, the duke of *Beaufort*, and *Ruyter*, when their two fleets were joined; and from a ſeeming zeal for the *Dutch*, he recalled his ambaſſadors from the court of *London*, and even declared war againſt *England*, but without any intention of ſupporting it effectually. The biſhop of *Munſter*, however, was driven out of the *Dutch* territories; but as *Lewis* had no intention to ſee them become maſters of the ocean, he always found pretexts for delaying the junction of his fleet with theirs, though it was evident that a general action at ſea was now inevitable. The *Dutch* fleet put to ſea, under their admirals *Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, *Tromp*, *Meppel*, *Nes*, and *Vries*, and it conſiſted of 83 capital ſhips, excluſive of ketches, tenders, and fireſhips, but all of them of enlarged dimenſions, and carrying a weight of metal ſuperior to any they had put to ſea before. The duke of *York* was not ſuffered to command the *Engliſh* fleet, on pretence that the *Dutch* muſt be ſuperior, if joined to the *French*, and the command was therefore given to prince *Rupert*, and *Monk*, now duke of *Albemarle*. Prince *Rupert* ſailed with his diviſion to fight the duke of *Beaufort*, who was cruizing in the chops of the channel, and was ordered equally to avoid to join the *Dutch*, or to fight the *Engliſh*.

Out of which he is driven by the aſſiſtance of the *French*, whoſe admiral declines joining with the *Dutch*.

Though *Albemarle*, by the ſeparation of prince *Rupert* from his fleet, was now far inferior in ſtrength to that of the *Dutch*, yet he gallantly bore down upon *Ruyter*, on the 1ſt of *June*, and diſabled both his and *Tromp*'s ſhips. We need not repeat a deſcription of the battle, which has occurred in ſo many former ones, to which it was equal in obſtinacy, valour, ſkill and carnage, till night parted the combatants; the *Dutch* having loſt *Evertzen*, with ſeveral of their ſhips blown up, ſunk or deſtroyed, and the *Engliſh*, Sir *William Berkley*, one of their admirals.

Sea fight between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* continues four days,

Next morning continued the engagement with the ſame intrepidity and fury on both ſides. *Ruyter* reſcued *Tromp* from deſtruction, though they were of different parties in the commonwealth. A critical recruit of 16 freſh ſhips arrived to the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, upon which the duke of *Albemarle* retired towards *England*; but being purſued by *Ruyter*, he retreated fighting. The wind favoured another attack, and *Ruyter* had begun it, when prince *Rupert*'s ſquadron, which had been in queſt of the *French*, under the duke of *Beaufort*,

appeared in ſight, and joined *Albemarle*. The reſt of the day was ſpent in various manœuvres leading to the fourth day's engagement which was more dreadful than any of the former. *Ruyter* exerted himſelf more than ever he had been known to do before; for he twice broke the *Engliſh* line. A fog coming on, the *Engliſh*, who, in conſequence of their inferiority of numbers, had ſuffered greatly, retired in ſo good order, that they ſeemed to be the conquerors; but this was far from being the caſe, for they loſt 22 ſhips taken, burnt, ſunk, or deſtroyed. Seven of the *Dutch* ſhips were ſunk, and they loſt 2000 men, and their admirals, though they claimed the victory, were generous enough to own, that the *Engliſh* had acquired immortal honour by their defeat, and that they were rather overpowered than beaten.

to the diſadvantage of the *Engliſh*,

It was in vain for the *Engliſh* to pretend to the victory, after the four hard fought days; for the *Dutch* kept the ſea, and even inſulted the *Engliſh* coaſts with threats of a deſcent. The behaviour of *Beaufort* made it plain, that the *French* king intended the two maritime powers ſhould weaken themſelves, that his marine might riſe upon their ruin. The *Engliſh* fleet, on the 24th of *July*, again appeared at ſea, under prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle*. Another deſperate engagement followed, in which *Evertzen*, brother to the admiral of that name, who had been killed in the laſt engagement, was defeated by Sir *Thomas Allen*, and three *Dutch* rear-admirals were killed. *Van Tromp* drove Sir *Jeremy Smith* out of the line, but following the chace too far, he found himſelf unable to come to the relief of *Ruyter*, who was overpowered by the duke of *Albemarle*, and being obliged to retreat, left to the *Engliſh* an undiſputed victory. The *Engliſh* then attacked *Van Tromp*'s detached ſquadron, but he gallantly fought his way back to the *Texel*. The *Dutch* in this battle, beſides the three admirals already mentioned, loſt twelve captains, above 2000 ſailors, and ſeven ſhips, but had none taken. The *Engliſh* dearly returned upon the *Dutch* their late inſults, and their commonwealth was now in a dangerous ſituation. Their populace vented upon their magiſtrates and officers their indignation, at ſeeing the *Engliſh* inſult them upon their very quays. *Ruyter* accuſed *Van Tromp* of having, by his impetuoſity, loſt the late battle. *Tromp*, who was the admiration of all *Europe* for the gallant retreat he had made to the *Texel* with eight ſhips, againſt 30 of equal or ſuperior force, defended himſelf with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the times of antient heroiſm. "The only "triumph that I am ambitious of, ſaid he, over my rival, is, "that by my conduct I may deſerve his regard and eſteem." Their factions in the fleet were not ſo delicate, for they often came to blows; that of *Ruyter* was of the *Louveſtein*, and *Tromp*'s the *Orange* party.

who, in their turn, defeat the *Dutch*,

Sir *Robert Holmes*, an *Engliſh* admiral, burnt 140 ſail of merchantmen, with two men of war, and the village of

*Brandaris*

*Brondaris* in the iſland of *Schelling*, the whole damage being computed at ſix millions of florins. One *Buat*, a buſy partizan of the *Engliſh*, firſt ſuffered the torture and then death, for a conſpiracy in favour of the houſe of *Orange*, and it required all the genius and addreſs of the intrepid *De Wit*, to prevent a general inſurrection in the provinces. In this he was greatly aſſiſted by *D'Eſtrades* the *French* miniſter, whoſe maſter was ſo much alarmed by the power of the *Engliſh* at ſea, that he ordered the duke of *Beaufort*, who was then in *Rochelle*, to join the *Dutch* fleet with the firſt opportunity. *Ruyter*, by the indefatigable diligence of the penſionary, was again at ſea, cruizing between *Dover* and the mouth of the *Thames*. Prince *Rupert* made ready to engage him; but ſtorms interpoſed, and *Ruyter*, after retiring towards *Boulogne*, finding himſelf and his crews ſickly, returned to *Holland*, without being joined by the duke of *Beaufort*, who was in queſt of him, and loſt one of his ſhips by the *Engliſh*. Upon the return of *Ruyter*, whoſe indiſpoſition diſabled him from again putting to ſea, *de Wit* took upon him the whole direction of naval affairs under *Van Nes*, who proceeded with the fleet to the *Engliſh* coaſt, but was driven back by a ſtorm. The *Engliſh* at this time were in the utmoſt ſtate of deſpondency, through the dreadful fire of *London*, which ſucceeding the peſtilence, ſunk their public credit, and relaxed all their attention to maritime affairs. *Charles*, in his war with the *Dutch*, did indeed propoſe ſeveral excellent national objects, but his irreſiſtable ſway for pleaſure had diſſipated the ſums which his parliament had generouſly granted for carrying on the war, and he had laid up ſome of his largeſt ſhips, that he might have the more money to ſpend on his pleaſures. His commons perceived this with indignation, and that there was a correſpondence between him and *France*, for which reaſon they were very backward in granting him more ſupplies, and he took the firſt opportunity, through the channel of the *Swediſh* ambaſſador, who propoſed to act as mediator, to intimate that he was willing to treat of peace with the *States General*.

whoſe conſts they ravage.

A new *Dutch* fleet.

Diſtreſs of the *Engliſh*.

The latter were in general well diſpoſed, and the *French* king forwarded the negotiation for many reaſons, the chief of which was, that when the war was finiſhed, *Charles* having no ſupplies from his parliament, muſt become the tool of his ambition, and his penſioner, to ſupply his expenſive pleaſures. In the beginning of the negotiation, ſome difficulties occurred about forms, preliminaries, and the place of treaty; but they were removed by *Lewis*, and *Charles* offered to treat at the *Hague*. This ſudden and unuſual piece of condeſcenſion gave umbrage to *de Wit* and his party, who ſuſpected that the *Engliſh* had a mind to avail themſelves of the *Orange* intereſt during the negotiation. After various altercations, *Breda* was fixed upon as the place of the congreſs. It was plain, at this time to all *Europe*, that *Charles* was in the leading ſtrings of

Negotiations at *Breda*.

*Lewis*; and that the latter had an eye upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. *De Wit* himſelf was ſenſible of this, but the ſupport of *France* was neceſſary to him. *Charles*, on the other hand, would gladly, inſtead of being the tool, have commenced the rival, of *France*, and have obliged the *French* king to have bought his friendſhip. This could not be done without detaching the *Dutch* from the *French*, which *de Wit*, though well inclined to it, durſt not venture upon. After the conferences at *Breda* had been opened, the indolence of *Charles* had made him neglect to demand a ceſſation of arms from the *Dutch*. *De Wit* laid hold of that omiſſion, to do ſomewhat that might raiſe his own and his party's reputation to the greateſt height. Having taken precautions for making *de Ruyter* maſter of all the ſoundings in the mouths of the *Thames* and *Medway*, he gave that admiral a fleet of 50 ſhips, and his brother *Cornelius de Wit* to aſſiſt him. *Ruyter*, at firſt was driven back by ſtreſs of weather, and loſt ſome tranſports, but on the 10th of *June*, he arrived at the mouth of the *Thames*, broke through the boom at the entrance of the *Medway*, and deſtroyed three guard ſhips, while *de Ghent*, one of his officers, proceeded up as far as *Rocheſter*, ſinking or taking all the *Engliſh* merchantmen in his way; but the lord *Middleton*, aſſembling the *Kentiſh* militia, prevented his making any deſcent, and perhaps the *Dutch* did not intend it. By this time, the duke of *Albemarle* had marched down to *Chatham*, with what troops he could get together, but found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion. He ordered ſome veſſels to be ſunk, but *Ruyter* forced his paſſage through them, and demoliſhed *Upnor* caſtle, with three ſhips of the line. The intrepidity of *Monk* was ſuch, that he threw himſelf with a number of noble voluntiers who attended him, on board one of thoſe ſhips, to oppoſe the whole *Dutch* navy, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to return to ſhore. *Ruyter* fell down the *Medway*, and ſtood towards the *Thames*, where every thing by this time had been provided to receive him.

During which, the *Dutch* deſtroy the *Engliſh* ſhipping in the *Medway* and the *Thames*.

Lord *Clarendon* is of opinion, that the *Dutch* not having deſtroyed all the royal navy at *Chatham*, and the ſhipping up the *Thames*, was owing to their own miſconduct, and he acknowledges, that the conſternation into which *London*, eſpecially the court end of it, was thrown, was inexpreſſible. *Ruyter* abandoned his attempt on the *Thames*, according to the *Dutch* hiſtorians, for want of boats and land troops, and made fruitleſs attacks upon *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*. He ſailed then to *Torbay*, taking a number of *Engliſh* ſhips in his way; appeared before *Harwich*, and forced Sir *Edward Spragge*, with a ſmall *Engliſh* ſquadron, to fly before him. He then returned to the mouth of the *Thames*; but, by this time, the king, and the duke of *York* (who during all the alarms, had behaved with an admirable conſtancy) had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that *Ruyter* thought proper to return to *Holland*,

Conjecture of lord *Clarendon*.

*Holland*, where he and *de Ghent* received triumphal honours, and were magnificently rewarded as the reſtorers of their country's glory.

*Charles* complained bitterly againſt the *Dutch* taking advantage of the conferences, to inſult his dominions; nor were they juſtified by the *French*. The conferences at *Breda*, however, were reſumed, and *Charles* dropping all airs of ſuperiority over the *Dutch*, agreed, that they ſhould retain the iſle of *Poleron*, a ſtipulation which they pretended had been previouſly made in their favour by the *French* king; that *England* ſhould remain poſſeſſed of the colony of *New York*, in *North America*; that of the *French* ſhould give up the iſle St. *Chriſtophers*, and ſome ſmaller ones in the *Weſt Indies*; but that the *Engliſh* ſhould quit to them all pretenſions upon *Accadia*. Thoſe points being concluded, the plenipotentiaries went upon the honours of the flag, which the *French* claimed equally as the *Engliſh*; but ſo many difficulties were ſtarted on this point, that it was left unadjuſted. Peace concluded at *Breda*.

Peace being reſtored between *England* and *Holland*; the reaſons why the *French* king had taken ſo much concern in making thoſe two great maritime powers his friends, ſoon appeared. He had, on marrying the infanta of *Spain*, renounced all claim upon that ſucceſſion. His renunciation was declared void by his clergy; and he had immenſe armies on foot to ſupport their deciſion. *Aeth*, *Liſle*, *Tourney*, *Courtray*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, received *French* garriſons. The *Dutch* trembled at his ambition; they applied to *England*, but placed their hope only in the moderation of *Lewis*. *Charles* gave ear to the application of the *Dutch*, and the *Spaniards*, who offered to make him head of the league againſt *France*; a meaſure which he flattered himſelf would procure him money from his parliament, by reſtoring his credit with his people. By the 6th of *June*, 1667, *Lewis* had ſubdued *Furnes*, *Armentieres*, and *Douay*, and before the end of the campaign, he took the ſtrong town of *Liſle*, after a nine days ſiege, and the approach of winter recalling *Lewis* to *Paris*, the *Dutch* gained ſome time for deliberation. Sir *William Temple* was then the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and had no great difficulty in bringing over *de Wit* to agree to invite *Sweden* to be a third party with *England*, and *Holland*, in a confederacy againſt *France*. Whatever tended towards a land war, was in favour of the *Orange* party. The penſionary, and his friends, had filled the army of the *States* with officers, who were the ſons of burgo-maſters, to the prejudice of thoſe, who had ſeen ſervice under the princes of the *Orange* family. The advantages gained by the biſhop of *Munſter* made them ſenſible how ruinous this conduct was; but *de Wit* trembled to ſee the commiſſions of the army given to his enemies, and he had credit enough to prevent prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, though an accompliſhed general, from being named commander in chief. For ſome time he ſtruggled to have a foreign generaliſſimo

Conqueſts of *France*.

1667.

generaliſſimo appointed; but, at laſt, the firſt command was, as it were, put into commiſſion, and given to ſeveral general officers. The *French* king having ſecured the keys of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and being afraid of the new formed confederacy againſt him, talked in a moderate ſtrain to the queen-regent of *Spain*, and intimated, that he was willing to agree to a peace, provided he was ſuffered to retain his conqueſts in the *Low Countries*. Conferences were accordingly opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where a treaty was concluded, the contents of which belong to the hiſtory of *France*. The *Dutch* arrogated to themſelves ſo much merit in this negotiation, that they had the vanity to order a medal to be ſtruck, in the year 1668, with the following inſcription: "Having confirmed "the laws, and reformed religion; having relieved, defend-"ed, and reconciled monarchs, ſecured the liberty of the "ocean, and by valour and military force given *Europe* "tranquillity, by a glorious peace, the *States General* of the "*United Provinces* have ordered this medal to be ſtruck in "1668."

Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and vanity of the *Dutch*. 1668.

Notwithſtanding this vaunting monument of *Dutch* vanity, *de Wit* found himſelf more embarraſſed than ever, and obliged to form new connections with the *French* king, though he knew he was meditating the ruin of his country. He made his court to *D'Eſtrades*, by repreſenting to him the inſupportable haughtineſs of the *Engliſh*, in inſiſting upon the honours due to their flag; but *Lewis*, thinking he had a ſure game to play, paid no regard to *D'Eſtrades'* remonſtrances, and recalled him from the *Hague*. *Charles* found his people ſo bent upon an alliance againſt *France*, that he ſuffered Sir *William Temple* to return to the *Hague*, and to enter upon a negotiation for ſtrengthening the late triple alliance, by a treaty of commerce, and one of guaranty. The *French* king employed his money ſo ſucceſsfully, that all thoſe mighty projects flew into air; and *Sweden*, through the inability of the *Spaniards* to pay her ſubſidies, was detached from the general alliance, and Sir *William Temple* ſuddenly recalled from the *Hague*. Perhaps the *Engliſh* parliament had carried their diſtruſt of *Charles* to an extravagant, if not an unjuſtifiable, height; but, however that may be, it is certain that by this time *Lewis* was determined to break the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and to conquer *Franche Compte*; and his money had prevailed with *Charles* to renew the war with the *Dutch*.

*French* negotiation.

A ſmall yacht had been ſent to bring over the ambaſſador *Temple*'s lady, and while it was ſailing through the *Dutch* fleet, in the channel, the captain inſiſted upon the honours of the flag from the admiral, and this not being readily complied with, he fired upon their ſhips. Such was the ridiculous incident which had been invented by *Charles* himſelf, for renewing the war. The farce was carried on to ſuch a height, that the captain of the yacht, upon his arrival at *London*, was committed to the *Tower*, for being ſatisfied with a ſalute of

Ridiculous cauſe of a breach between *England* and *Holland*.

gun

guns from the *Dutch* admiral, without obliging him to lower his topſails. About this time, the prince of *Orange*, who, with his party, were alarmed at this ſudden reverſal of his uncle's counſels, came over to *England*, but made no impreſſion; and Sir *George Downing*, the moſt unamiable miniſter in *Europe*, was ſent to ſucceed Sir *William Temple* at the *Hague*; while Mr. *Coventry*, a leading man at the court of *England*, was ſent to *Stockholm*, to bring the *Swedes* off from the triple alliance. The *States* had been moſt infamouſly backward and evaſive in fulfilling both the *American* and *Eaſt Indian* ſtipulations in the treaty of *Breda*. *Downing*, though he ſtill pretended that his maſter intended to fulfill the triple alliance, complained of thoſe infractions, which *de Wit* conſidered as the prelude to a declaration of war.

Reflections upon *De Wit*'s ſituation and policy.

As we are now upon the hiſtory of *Holland*, it is proper we ſhould exhibit the very peculiar circumſtances of *de Wit* at this time. He had formed and carried on his adminiſtration under the auſpices of *France*, which was then known in *Europe* under no other than a military character. *De Wit*'s hatred to the houſe of *Orange*, and his regard for his own friends, had made him neglect the criſis when *Colbert* began to form the marine and to eſtabliſh the commerce of *France*. Neither was he ſufficiently vigilant, at the time when *Lewis* gave the firſt indications, that he was reſolved to attack the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. But, at the time we are now treating of, *Lewis* ought to have been more formidable to *de Wit*, than either the *Engliſh* or the prince of *Orange*, and a more philoſophical miniſter (though there could not be a better patriot) than *de Wit* was, would have generouſly riſked his head, by ſending a *carte blanche* to the prince, and his party in the republic. This conduct might ſtill have reſcued *Charles* from the neceſſity, as he abſurdly called it, of depending on the *French* king, becauſe, had there been but one party in *Holland*, and that determined upon a war with *France*, *Charles* and the *Engliſh* could have truſted them, and the *French* ambition might have been timely counterworked.

Such was the undeſirable ſituation of the penſionary at this period. Rather than yield the reins to the houſe of *Orange*, he concluded a defenſive treaty with the crown of *Spain*; and this, perhaps, was his moſt maſterly ſtroke of foreign politics; for the court of *Spain*'s deteſtation of *France* was ſo real, that all the intrigues of *Charles* and *Lewis* could not ſhake this alliance. *Charles* returned to his demands upon the *Dutch* for ſatisfaction, but none being given, *Van Galen*, biſhop of *Munſter*, the implacable enemy of the *Dutch*, and the elector of *Cologne*, were again taken into the pay of *France* and *England*. *De Wit*'s conduct was certainly indefenſible, in courting *Lewis* at this very time; meanneſſes which *Lewis* at once deſpiſed and rejected. In the mean while, before war was actually declared between *England* and *Holland*, *Charles* employed Sir *Robert Holmes* to intercept a rich *Dutch*

The elector of *Cologne* and the biſhop of *Munſter* were again taken into the pay of *France* and *England*.

*Smyrna*

*Smyrna* fleet, reckoned to be worth two millions ſterling, which was expected home, under the convoy of five men of war, commanded by *Van Nes*. *Holmes* thought himſelf ſo ſure of his booty, that he concealed his inſtructions from *Spragge*, whom he met returning from the *Mediterranean*, and made a moſt deſperate attack upon the convoy, which was ſo bravely defended by *Van Nes*, that all eſcaped but one man of war and four merchant, which were rendered uſeleſs to the *Engliſh*. This piratical attempt was followed by the *Engliſh* ſeizing four *Dutch Eaſt India* ſhips, and then declaring war. Among other reaſons given by *Charles* for the laſt ſtep, the inſolence of the *Dutch* medals was mentioned, and it muſt be acknowledged that in this reſpect the *de Wits* had acted childiſhly and wantonly. The *Dutch* anſwered this declaration, by deſtroying the facts it contained, and making ſome ſevere, but juſt, recriminations. But though ſome points, left unſettled between *England* and *Holland*, might poſſibly ſerve as a pretext for a declaration of war, yet that of *Lewis* againſt the *Dutch*, was inſolent and unjuſtifiable beyond all precedent. It ſcarcely contained any but general, allegations of the inſolence of the *States* againſt the honour of the *French* crown.

The *Dutch* ſupplicate the *French* king.

*Lewis* was, at this time, immeaſurably powerful upon the continent of *Europe*. He had three great armies ready to enter the dominions of the *States*, who moſt humbly implored to know, what they had to expect, but received no other anſwer, than that his majeſty was reſolved to employ his troops in the manner that he conceived to be the moſt conducive to his own glory. The *Dutch*, underſtanding that *Lewis* had taken offence at the oſtentatious medal we have mentioned, ordered the die to be broken; but *Lewis* was inexorable, and military preparations went on through all the provinces. The ambition of *France* being no longer equivocal, *de Wit*'s ſituation was rendered more deplorable than ever. He had ſuffered the land army to go to decay, through his partiality for *France*, and when the voice of the public forced him to give way to the prince of *Orange* being raiſed to its command, he found all its commiſſions had been diſpoſed of to the friends and dependants of *de Wit*, who were either boys or burghers, utterly void of military knowledge or experience. *De Wit* applied himſelf to the marine, which was in excellent condition, and *Ruyter*, aſſiſted by *Cornelius de Wit*, as deputy from the *States*, put to ſea with 90 ſhips of war, beſides 40 frigates and ſtoreſhips.

Sea fight between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*.

By this time, the *French* ſquadron, under *D'Etrees*, had joined the *Engliſh*; and the whole lay at *Solebay*, conſiſting of 130 ſhips of the line, commanded in chief by the duke of *York*, and under him, by *Montague* earl of *Sandwich*. It is ſaid, that the laſt named brave admiral was affronted the night before by the duke, who refuſed to draw his ſhips out in a proper line, and that they were attacked early in the morn-

ing

ing by the *Dutch*, before their diſpoſition was formed. The earl of *Sandwich*, with the van of the *Engliſh* fleet, engaged *de Ghent*'s diviſion, to give the duke time to complete his diſpoſition, and for ſome time ſtood the brunt of all the *Dutch* fleet, but after deſtroying one large ſhip, and ſinking three fireſhips, he was blown up with his ſhip. It has been ſaid, that he might have eſcaped, but that he diſdained to ſurvive the imputation that had been thrown out by the duke againſt his honour. By this time, the duke and *de Ruyter* were vigorouſly engaged together, with an obſtinacy, which the latter confeſſed exceeded all that he had met with in 32 engagements he had fought, and in the mean while, Sir *John Jordan*, gaining the windward, came to the duke's aſſiſtance. Both admirals twice ſhifted their flags and fought yard arm and yard arm for two hours; but the duke, the ſecond time he left the line, not returning to the charge, gave *Ruyter* leiſure to convey to the *Texel* a very rich fleet of merchantmen, by which victory ſeems to declare for the *Dutch*, though the *Engliſh* claimed it with equal confidence. As to the behaviour of the *French*, in this engagement, it was very equivocal, for according to the beſt accounts, only a very few ſhips, under *D'Etrees*, were engaged.

The *French* king invades *Holland*;

While the *Dutch* were thus victorious by ſea, they were on the brink of perdition by land. The *French* king, attended by his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, was marching towards the frontiers of *Flanders* and *Holland*, at the head of 120,000 men; the elector of *Cologne*, and the biſhop of *Munſter*, having under them about 20,000 men. The prince of *Conde* and the marſhal *Turenne* commanded under their king, and *Vauban*, whoſe name ſpeaks his praiſe, was their engineer. The *Dutch* had not one friend in *Germany*, but the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had an eye upon their Stadtholderſhip, and who was in hopes by that means of regaining *Pomerania* from the *Swedes*. He had engaged to lend the *Dutch* 25,000 men, and the regent of *Spain* had promiſed to ſpare them what troops ſhe could, and ſend them ſome money. The duke of *Lorrain* attempted to befriend them; but *Lewis* ſtript him of his dominions. The prince of *Orange*, to oppoſe this prodigious force, had under him about 25,000 men, and he marched towards the *Yſſel*. We ſhall reſerve the diſpoſitions of the *French* army to another part of our hiſtory. It is ſufficient to ſay, that though, perhaps, not the moſt numerous, it was the moſt gay, ſplendid, and beſt appointed army that ever had taken the field in *Europe*; and *Lewis* carried with him vaſt ſupplies of gold and money, which were to be employed where ſword and artillery failed him. *Orſoi*, *Weſel*, and *Burick*, ſurrendered as ſoon as they were inveſted. An *Iriſh* officer, one *Doſſery*, was bribed to betray *Rhimberg*, and was ſhot by order of the prince of *Orange*, when he came to *Maeſtricht*. Thoſe four towns were all of them well fortified, under the protection of the *States*, and deemed to be the keys

of

his rapid progreſs

of *Holland*. All the ſtrong places upon the *Yſſel* followed their fate. As ſoon as ever a party of the *French* appeared before a town, it ſurrendered, and ſome ſent their keys to the conqueror. The *French* then advanced towards the *Rhine*, the oppoſite banks of which was guarded by a body of horſe and foot under general *Wartz*. The vaſt ſuperiority of the *French* in numbers and artillery rendered that famous paſſage eaſy. The *Dutch* troops who had advanced to diſpute it, retired upon the great compact body of *French* cavalry reaching the ſhore. The prince of *Conde* had croſſed the river in a copper boat, a conveniency which was then firſt invented, and the *Dutch* were for laying down their arms, when the duke of *Longueville* ſhot one of their officers dead. The *Dutch* deſpairing of quarter, reſumed their arms, killed the duke, wounded the prince of *Conde*, and retreated in the beſt manner they could.

in conquering three provinces.

The *French* had no ſooner performed this dazzling, but eaſy, exploit, than they took *Doeſbourg*, *Zutphen*, *Arnheim*, *Noſembourg*, *Nimeguen*, *Skenk*, *Bommel*, *Crevecæur*, and a vaſt number of other places, ſo that ſcarcely an hour paſſed without adding to the conqueſts of *Lewis*. *Skenk*, ſuppoſed to be one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the *Netherlands*, and *Nimeguen*, though garriſoned by 8000 men, were reduced by *Turenne*; and the prince of *Orange*, to prevent his being ſurrounded, retired towards *Rhenen* in the province of *Utrecht*. In the mean while, the duke of *Luxembourg*, the rival and ſucceſſor of *Conde* and *Turenne*, in their military glory, having joined the elector of *Cologne*, and the biſhop of *Munſter*, reduced the province of

1672. *Overyſſel*, and on the 20th of *June*, 1672, *Lewis* made a triumphal entry into the city of *Utrecht*, which had ſent him its keys. It was even owing to the accident of a ſervant-maid's having the courage to pull up a draw-bridge, that *Amſterdam* did not follow the example of *Utrecht*. *Lewis* proceeded in a manner which ſhewed, that he intended to continue the ſovereign of his conqueſts; for he exerciſed every part of civil juriſdiction, in the ſame manner as it had been adminiſtered by the *States General*. The latter being now driven to deſpair, gave orders to lay *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Dutch Flanders* under water, as the only means of preventing the *French* progreſs; but at the ſame time they ſent a deputation with *de Groot* at its head, to *Lewis*, and another to *Charles*, to implore their compaſſion, and to accept of what terms they ſhould pleaſe to impoſe.

The *Dutch* ſupplicate the *French*,

*Louvois*, the haughty imperious miniſter of *Lewis*, with all the inſolence, but none of the politeneſs, of his court, received *de Groot* with a brutal triumph. He demanded to know what terms the *States* had ſent. "We are now come, "Sir, replied *de Groot*, not to offer terms, but to receive "them." Being informed, that it was expected they ſhould make ſome propoſition, they had the mortification to be obliged to travel ſeveral times to and from the *Hague*, without

out receiving any determined anſwer, and at laſt they offered to give up their frontier and to defray the expences of the war, provided they were left in poſſeſſion of their liberty, religion and ſovereignty. They were told by *Louvois*, that his maſter conſidered all he had conquered as his own, and that it was expected that *French* commodities ſhould be imported into all the provinces of the *States* duty free, and that they ſhould tolerate the catholic equally as the proteſtant religion; and that, beſides the frontier, they ſhould leave him in poſſeſſion of ſo many forts and towns, as ſhould render him, in fact, maſter of their country; and all this, beſides indemnifying *Lewis* for the expences of the war, and ſending annually a moſt mortifying embaſſy with a golden medal of acknowledgment.

The deputies at the court of *England* had better ſucceſs; and they were favoured by two circumſtances, the compaſſion of the people and the jealouſy of the court, which had taken offence at the rapid progreſs and deſpotic conduct of *Lewis*. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Arlington* were nominated to repair to the *French* king at *Utrecht*. *Charles*, in private, complained that *Lewis* had violated a ſecret article of the treaty, by which he was to have part of the ſpoils of the *States General*, the province of *Zealand* particularly. His demands upon the *Dutch* were, the honours of the flag, the fulfilling the treaty of *Breda*, with regard to his ſubjects of *Surinam*; that his enemies ſhould find no ſhelter with the *States*; that his nephew ſhould be raiſed to the Stadtholderſhip; that he ſhould receive a million ſterling, by way of indemnification, and 10,000 *l.* yearly, for the liberty of fiſhing on his coaſts; that his claims in the *Eaſt Indies* ſhould be admitted; and that as a ſecurity for the performance of thoſe terms, he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of *Sluys*, and the iſles of *Walcheren*, *Catſant*, *Goree*, and *Voorn*. and the *English*.

During the dependency of thoſe two embaſſies, the more ſpirited part of the *Dutch* republicans were taking meaſures for embarking themſelves, their effects and families, for *Batavia*, rather than live ſlaves in *Europe*; and it was upon a calculation thought, that there was in their ports ſhipping ſufficient for tranſporting thither 50,000 families. Thoſe deſponding thoughts were checked by the glorious ſpirit of the young prince of *Orange*. Though in his perſon weak and ſickly, he had endured fatigues as if his body had been compoſed of ſteel; and when one of his friends aſked him what he would do if the *French* ſhould conquer his country? *Die in the laſt ditch of it*, ſaid he, with a fire very foreign from his natural phlegm. Though the terms propoſed by *England* were ſo flattering to himſelf, he adviſed his countrymen to reject them, and to put no confidence in the promiſes of *France*; but above all, he put them in mind of the traytors amongſt themſelves, who had been the inſtruments of the *French* greatneſs. This naturally turned the eyes and the reſentment Deſpair of the *Dutch*.

of

of the enraged populace againſt the two unhappy brothers, the *de Wits*, who continued to ſtem the univerſal tide of affection towards the *Orange* family with a more than ſtoical patriotiſm. Though *Cornelius* was antient burgo-maſter at *Dort*, the citizens forced their other magiſtrates to inveſt the prince with their Stadtholderſhip, and their example was followed by *Rotterdam*, *Amſterdam*, the *Hague*, and *Middleburg*, and a tempeſt of popular fury raged in every quarter againſt the *de Wits*.

**The two *de Wits* aſſaſſinated.**

The life of *John* was attempted by four ruffians on the ſtreets, and he had reſigned his office of penſionary. All the luſtre of *de Ruyter*'s ſervices could not ſkreen him from the like infamous attacks, and *Cornelius de Wit* had magnanimouſly ſuffered the rack upon a vile improbable charge, brought againſt him by a barber, of his having offered to bribe the plebeian to murder the prince of *Orange*. The character and conſtancy of the *de Wits* is ſtrongly marked by what we are told of *Cornelius*, who, in the intervals of the rack, repeated part of that ode of *Horace* which begins with the line *Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum*. After enduring the torture, his eſtate was confiſcated, and he himſelf condemned to perpetual baniſhment. *John* attended him through all the paroxiſms of his ſuffering, and with fraternal piety wiped the ſweat from his brow. The day of exile came, *John* propoſed to attend his brother in baniſhment, and was waiting with him in the priſon to have carried him out of the city in his coach, when the maddening multitude, as if inſtead of encountering, they had been flying from, puniſhment, broke into the gaol, put them both to death, and with infernal fury, tore their bodies in a thouſand pieces, which were even ſold for money and devoured by the monſters of the mob.

**Prince of *Orange* made Stadtholder.**

The prince of *Orange* was, in an inſtant, raiſed to the Stadtholderſhips of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the only provinces that were deſtitute of a Stadtholder, for the *French* were ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyſſel*, and the provinces of *Frieſland* and *Groningen* had choſen a young prince, *John Caſimer* of *Naſſau*, for their Stadtholder. This great revolution was followed by the moſt extravagant demands on the part of the populace, who ſeemed intent on cruſhing the power of the nobility, and the members of the *States*, and ſharing all places of power and profit between the prince of *Orange* and themſelves. The prince, in ſhort, acted on this occaſion as the dictator of the republic, all other tribunals but his being in a ſtate of vacation. In an aſſembly of the *States* he recalled them from their deſpondency by one of the moſt animating, manly, and rational ſpeeches that ever was pronounced. He ſhewed them the great prizes they fought for, that of religion and independency; he pointed out the reſources for maintaining the war; and, in the end, he perſuaded them to reject the ſhameful terms that had been preſcribed by the two crowns. At this trying juncture, the be-

nefit of upright commercial principles was ſignally experienced by the *Dutch*. The notes of their bank had hitherto been current as ſpecie, and during the public confuſion, the people ran to the bank to realize them. The directors ordered the vaults under their town-houſe to be opened, and the money which was to anſwer the demands of the public creditors, was there found full and entire. Moſt of them went back with their notes, as thinking their property ſafer in the bank than in their own poſſeſſion.

The meaſure of inundating the provinces had been owing to the prince of *Orange*, and it fully anſwered his expectations by checking the progreſs of the *French*, who had 24,000 *Dutch* priſoners in their army. The glorious ſpirit of the prince of *Orange* intereſted the emperor, the king of *Denmark*, and the *German* princes, in favour of the *Dutch*; and it was now ſeen, that if *Charles* continued his connections with *France*, he muſt be deſerted by his parliament and people. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Germany*, will perceive the diverſion made by *Montecuculi* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, tho' they were baffled by *Turenne* in all their attempts to join the prince of *Orange*. The *Dutch* deputies were now recalled, and the prince of *Orange* having augmented his army, made a fruitleſs attempt upon *Naerden*. The fate of the republic was once more balanced. *Lewis*, with a fooliſh impatience to receive the adulations of his ſubjects, left the overflown provinces, that he might triumph at *Paris*. He had diſcharged the *Dutch* priſoners for a trifling ranſom; the glorious army he had carried with him into the *Netherlands* was moſt miſerably reduced, partly by diſeaſes, and partly by garriſoning his conqueſts, which *Conde* and *Turenne* were for demoliſhing, but in this they were over-ruled by *Louvois'* counſels, which afterwards proved pernicious to his maſter. In ſhort, the whole of *Lewis*'s conduct, after he had brought the *Dutch* deputies to his feet, was a ſtring of errors; for it was neceſſary for him to have kept his ſtrength undiſſipated that he might ſubdue *Amſterdam*, if he intended to become maſter of *Holland*.

and ſaves his countries by checking the progreſs of the *French*, who had 24,000 try.

*Charles* had been nettled at the behaviour of the *French*, but he was exaſperated at the *Dutch*, and reſolved to re-commence hoſtilities. He appointed prince *Rupert*, the earl of *Offory*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*, to the command of his fleet, on board of which a body of land troops was put for the conqueſt of *Zealand*, and it was joined by the ſquadron under *D'Etrees*. Had the deſcent taken place, the province probably muſt have been reduced; but the combined fleet was driven from the *Dutch* coaſts by a ſtrong wind, which at the ſame time carried into the *Dutch* harbours an *Eaſt-India* fleet, laden with gold, ſpices, and rich commodities of every kind. The duke of *Luxemburgh* marched over the ice, to make himſelf maſter of *Amſterdam* and the *Hague*, but it failed under his troops by a ſudden thaw, and they muſt have been deſtroyed had a *Dutch* officer, who commanded a fort by which they

Sea fight between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, in favour of the former.

were to pafs, done his duty. *Turenne* was obliged to march to *Weſtphalia*, by which the *States* were delivered from a heavy ſcourge. The count *de Morterey*, governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, after many ruinous delays, furniſhed the prince of *Orange* with 10,000 men, by which he was enabled to make head againſt his enemies. The *French*, who had ſo wonderfully eſcaped under *Luxemburgh*, committed the moſt dreadful exceſſes after their deliverance, by plundering the two towns of *Bodgrave* and *Swammerdam*, which ſerved further to alienate the *Dutch* from the *French* intereſt. The *French* king, however, who had now returned, beſieged and took *Maeſtricht* in thirteen days; but his farther progreſs was ſtopped by the inundations.

The *French* king takes *Maeſtricht*.

1673. We are now advanced far in the year 1673, when *Ruyter* again engaged the *Engliſh* fleet under prince *Rupert*, but without any remarkable advantage (though the engagement was very bloody) on either ſide for both retired to their ports to refit. On the 14th of *June* they cannonaded one another off *Fluſhing*, but were prevented by the weather from coming to a cloſe engagement. The prince, after this, again went into port, and indeed he was thought in his heart to be no friend to the war. In the mean whiie, the prince of *Orange* had entirely reconciled to each other the two great admirals, *de Ruyter* and *Van Tromp*, and it was not long before the *Engliſh* fleet again put to ſea, and met with that of the *Dutch*. A ſevere, but regular, engagement followed; *Ruyter* fought prince *Rupert*, *Tromp* Sir *Edward Spragge*, and the *Dutch* admiral *Bronket*, *D'Etrees*. *D'Etrees* had ſuffered *Bronket* to ſhoot a head of him, by which he ſeparated Sir *John Chichely* from prince *Rupert*, who acted with amazing intrepidity, and bore for ſome time the weight of both *Ruyter*'s and *Bronket*'s ſquadrons. At laſt, he rejoined *Chichely*, and muſt have gained a complete victory had he been properly ſupported by *D'Etrees*; but Sir *Edward Spragge*, after performing prodigies of valour againſt *Tromp*, was, with his ſhip, ſunk by a cannon ball; and the earl of *Oſſory*, who ſucceeded *Spragge* in his command, was obliged to fight retreating. Prince *Rupert* found himſelf likewiſe under the neceſſity of collecting his ſhips, and drawing off towards *England*; but the honour of the victory, as uſual, was claimed by both ſides.

The *Dutch* beat the *Engliſh* by ſea.

Succeſſes of the prince of *Orange*.

During thoſe operations at ſea, the prince of *Orange* took *Naerden*, the commandant of which was puniſhed by *Lewis* for not performing impoſſibilities. After that, he joined the *Imperialiſts* and reduced *Bonn*. *Spain* declared war againſt *France*, the *Imperialiſts* were beginning to act vigorouſly on the *Rhine*; the troops of *Cologne* and *Munſter* had been driven out of *Groningen*; ſeveral electoral towns on the *Rhine* had received *Dutch* garriſons, and the prince of *Conde* had been obliged to repaſs the *Meuſe*. So many diſaſtrous circumſtances, eſpecially the junction of the prince of *Orange* with *Montecuculi*, which he had effected by a moſt admirable train of manœuvres,

manœuvres, threatened to cut off the communication of the *French* army from *France*, and determined *Lewis* to evacuate the three *Dutch* provinces he held, after his agents had fleeced them, in particular that of *Utrecht*. The evacuation was performed with a disgraceful precipitation, and *Lewis* lost his conquests while his subjects were preparing the memorials of his having obtained them.

This was a glorious æra for the *Dutch*, perhaps more so than that which fixed the acknowledgment of their sove- reignty; but the whole was owing to the spirit, valour, and profound judgment of the prince of *Orange*. Besides the laurels he had reaped in the field, he was a favourite with many of the lesser *German* princes, who had exerted themselves with unusual vigour to assist him, and he held a correspondence with the leading men in the *English* parliament, who dreaded the progress of the *French*, and detested the conduct of their own king. The king of *Sweden* offered his mediation, which the *Dutch* accepted of, but on condition that the two courts should recede from their haughty demands. Conferences were opened at *Cologne*, where the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries threw off their abject appearance, and acted with a lustre becoming the ministers of a sovereign state. The count of *Fustemberg*, who appeared as plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*, was seized, by order of the court of *Vienna*, as being the servant of a rebel elector; and this served the *French* as a pretext for breaking off the conferences. The most indolent powers in *Europe* were now sensible of the *French* ambition, and their apprehensions were improved, by the prince of *Orange*, to the service of public liberty. *Lewis* had prevailed with the elector of *Brandenburgh* to sign a neutrality, which the prince persuaded him to break. Even the elector of *Cologne* and the bishop of *Munster* abandoned their engagements with *France*, and *Lewis* had not an ally in all *Europe* whom he did not make so by his money. The late treaty with *Spain* turned out to be a master-piece of policy, and provided for the reciprocal interests of the parties in the strongest and most effectual manner, by stipulating that neither should make peace without the consent of the other, and that *France* should be obliged to restore all the conquests she had made upon both since the peace of the *Pyrenees*. Though his catholic majesty was obliged to declare war against *Charles* II. if he continued to side with *France*, yet he was treated with great respect by the contracting parties, who agreed to offer him terms so honourable and advantageous, that he could not refuse them. The court of *Vienna* immediately acceded to this treaty, which likewise accelerated a peace between the *States General* and *Great-Britain*, and proved the basis of the grand confederacy that was afterwards formed against *France*.

A negociation at *Cologne*.

Terms of the peace with *Spain*.

1674.

The emperor of *Germany*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*, now declared war against *Lewis*, and the *Spanish* and *Dutch* ministers, favoured by the spirit of the *English*, and a submis-

who, with the emperor, declares war against *France*.

five letter written to *Charles* on the part of the *States*, succeeded in detaching him from the intereſts of *France*. A treaty was ſet on foot, which was managed by the *Spaniſh* miniſter, the marquis *de Freſno*, and Sir *William Temple*. Former treaties ſerved for the baſis of the commercial part of it. The honour due to the *Britiſh* flag was allowed by the *Dutch*, and a ſmall ſum was granted to the king, proportioned rather to the expences of his court than thoſe of the war. The *Dutch* did not, on this occaſion, behave with their uſual moderation; in which they were, perhaps, encouraged by the prince of *Orange*, who knew the differences between the king and his parliament, and had conceived too great a contempt for his uncle's court. The public, in ſhort, was ſurprized at the indifference, if not indecency, with which he treated the *Engliſh* miniſters at his court, where they remained whole days without being admitted to an audience. He had afterwards ſome cauſe to repent of this behaviour; *Charles* had offered his mediation between *France* and the *States General*, but upon terms that were highly diſagreeable to the prince of *Orange* and his allies. Rather than accept of it, the prince, in 1674, took the field at the head of an army, with which he intended to penetrate into the heart of *France*. He was encountered by the prince of *Conde* at *Seneff*, where both generals did wonders, and both claimed the victory, to which the *French* ſeem, however, to have had the juſteſt pretence. They were likewiſe victorious on the *Rhine* under *Turenne*, and in this campaign they again conquered *Franche Comte*.

Haughtineſs of the prince of *Orange* towards the *Engliſh*.

The war continues.

Notwithſtanding the labours of *Charles* for effecting an accommodation, it was far from taking place. The emperor and *Spain* were averſe to it through intereſt, and *William* upon principle, the ruling paſſion of his life being to humble *France*. He preſſed the king of *England* to join in the general confederacy, to which the elector of *Brandenburgh* had acceded; and the great *Montecuculi* again taking the command of the allies, balanced matters in *Germany*, and reconciled their claſhing intereſts. *Turenne* was killed by a random cannon ſhot; the *French* were diſpirited, and withdrew out of *Germany*, and the prince of *Conde*, after having baffled the efforts of the confederates on the ſide of *Flanders*, reſigned his command. The prince of *Orange*, while *Charles* II. affected to be undetermined with regard to the part he was to act, was offered the ſovereignty of *Guelderland*, upon a pretended family title; but though he would have gladly embraced it, he declined it, as it muſt have hurt his intereſt with the *Dutch* in general. In all other departments of his government as Stadtholder, he acted with admirable prudence, as he endeavoured to bring the conſtitution back to its firſt principles. The provincial government was inveſted in three bodies, the acting counſellors, the nobility, and the deputies from towns and cities, a partition of power ſo wiſely calculated, that the *Louveſtein* faction ſeemed now to be wholly ſuppreſſed, and the Stadtholderſhip

holderſhip was rendered hereditary in the heirs male of his body.

The indeciſion of *Charles* II. was occaſioned by the obligations he lay under to *France*, and as a medium between the *French* and the *Dutch* propoſals, he prevailed in having conferences for a peace opened at *Nimeguen*. While the deputies were there ſitting, their principals acted as if the vigorous proſecution of the war, would entitle them to the better terms of peace. The *French* king took *Conde*, *Aire*, and *Bouchain*, and his generals forced the prince of *Orange* to raiſe the ſiege of *Maeſtricht*. The conferences at *Nimeguen* were all this while going on. *Lewis* and *Charles* endeavoured to make a ſeparate peace with *Holland*. The prince of *Orange* kept ſtaunch to his purpoſe, and rejected the propoſal with becoming indignation. The king and people of *England*, were ſo much divided in their ſentiments with regard to public affairs, that while *Lewis* and *Charles* were embracing each other, the former ſuffered his privateers to make prizes of *Engliſh* merchantmen as if they had been *Dutch* veſſels, and ſo inſolent were the *French* become, that they denied the honours of the flag to captain *Herbert* of the *Cambridge*, an *Engliſh* ſhip of war. The *Dutch*, about this time, ſent *Ruyter* to join the *Spaniſh* fleet, in endeavouring to reduce the inhabitants of *Meſſina*, who had revolted from the crown of *Spain*, and were ſupported by the *French* admiral, the duke *de Vivonne*. *Ruyter*, though the *Spaniſh* gallies were obliged to put into *Lipari*, fought *Vivonne*, who found means to ſuccour *Meſſina*. *Ruyter* ſailed to *Legborn*, and being joined by the *Spaniſh* fleet, laid ſiege to *Auguſta*. The *French* attempted to relieve it, and this produced another ſea fight, in which *Ruyter* was victorious, but received a wound, which bringing on a fever, deprived the world of one of the greateſt ſea officers it ever produced. Before his death, the title and patent of a duke of *Spain* had been made out for him, but did not arrive till after his death, and his children rejected it.

Conferences opened at *Nimeguen*.

The prince of *Orange* beheld with grief and aſtoniſhment, that *France* was now grown up to rival *England* and *Holland* as a maritime power; but this was ſo far from damping, that it quickened, his paſſion for humbling *Lewis*. After *Ruyter*'s death, the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* fleets proceeded to *Palermo*, where they were attacked under vaſt diſadvantages by the duke *de Vivonne*, and *du Queſne*, who was reputed, now that *Ruyter* was gone, to be the greateſt marine genius of the age. The *Dutch* ſeverely felt the loſs of their gallant admiral; *du Queſne* attacked them with his fire ſhips; they and the *Spaniards* loſt twelve of their capital ſhips, and 5,000 men, and *Lewis* remained the undiſputed maſter of the *Mediterranean* navigation. This ſuperiority redoubled the zeal of the prince of *Orange* and the people of *England* againſt *France*, and *Charles* II. could no longer reſiſt the voice of his people. He invited the prince of *Orange* to *England*, and he gave him in

*France* victorious at ſea.

marriage his niece *Mary*, daughter to the duke of *York*, and, after her father, presumptive heir to the crown of *Great Britain*. Before the prince left *England*, he concerted with *Charles* the plan of a pacification at *Nimeguen*, and the latter promised (though he was far from being so good as his word) to declare against *Lewis* if he refused to accept it. The conferences at *Nimeguen* were still going on; the king of *France* had taken *Valenciennes*, as the young duke of *Lorrain* had *Philipsburg*. The *French*, under the marshals *D'Humiers* and *Luxembourg*, besieged *St. Omer*; the prince of *Orange* advanced to *Mount Cassel* to relieve it, but he was beaten by the duke of *Orleans* with considerable loss, and the town surrendered. The prince then besieged *Charleroy*, but he was baffled in his attempt by *Luxembourg*. The reader, in our history of *Germany*, will find an account of the peace of *Nimeguen* which followed. The *French* had continued to solicit the *Dutch* to make a separate peace, and made some impression upon them, though opposed by the prince of *Orange*. By this peace, the *French* restored *Charleroy*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Aeth*, *Ghent*, and *Limburg*. *Maestricht* was delivered up to the *Dutch*, but the *French* king kept the greatest part of *Flanders*. While this treaty was in agitation, the duke of *Luxembourg* was blockading *Mons*, and imagining the peace to be as good as concluded, he had been thrown off his guard, and was attacked and beaten by the prince of *Orange* at *St. Dennis*. The *French* exclaimed against the attack, as being perfidious on the part of the prince of *Orange*, who knew that the peace was concluded. There is no foundation for this charge, because the prince had as good right to attack *Luxembourg* as the latter had to continue the blockade.

See Vol. IX. p. 192

Treaty of *Nimeguen* concluded.

*Holland*, by the peace of *Nimeguen*, gained a barrier, and though originally the grand confederacy had been formed for her defence, yet such was the accidental animosity of her allies, that before the end of the war she became only an auxiliary; though in its beginning she was a principal. *France* had agreed to the peace of *Nimeguen* only to gain a breathing, that she might regulate the government of her conquests, and lay a foundation for future ones. The prince of *Orange* had always disliked the treaty, and the *Dutch* ambassadors, who after its conclusion had been sent to the court of *France*, refused to accept of an audience until they had the honours that were usually bestowed upon the ambassadors of crowned heads. They were so obstinate in this point, that they were gratified, and *Lewis* even endeavoured to bring them into a defensive alliance. This was strenuously opposed by the court of *Great Britain*, upon which the *States General*, though loudly menaced by *Lewis*, rejected the proposal. On this occasion, the *States* had entered into a defensive treaty with *England*, which the reviving *Louvestein* faction urged as a precedent for their doing the same with *Lewis*. The truth is, the *French* would have found more benefit in the friendship

Ibid. p. 193.

Haughtiness of the *Dutch* ambassadors.

1680.

of

of *Holland*, than in its conqueſt, and the whole of the negociation was traverſed and rendered ineffectual by the prince of *Orange*. The *French* king, ſenſible of this, ſtarted a demand of contribution arrears, during the late war, which the *States* thought proper to comply with, becauſe they found the crown of *Spain* too weak at this time to aſſiſt them.

The navigation of the *Dutch* had, for ſome time, been peſtered by the *Algerines*, with whom a peace was now concluded, but the court of *England* renewed its ruinous connections with *France*, through the perpetual hankering which *Charles* had for being ſupported without the aid of parliament. After the peace of *Nimeguen*, *Lewis* kept on foot a vaſt army to ſupport his ambitious projects, that have been mentioned in a former part of this work. He over-ran and reduced all the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, his catholic majeſty having been provoked into a declaration of war againſt him, and the *States General* thought proper to enter into a treaty with *Sweden*, for guaranteeing the peace of *Nimeguen*, to which the king of *Great Britain* was invited, but in vain, to accede. The *French* king and his miniſters ſtormed againſt this treaty, and he gave a party of the garriſon of *Ypres* orders to ſeize a *Frenchman*, calling himſelf the count *de Sardam*, who had taken refuge at *Amſterdam*. This party was diſcovered and impriſoned by the *States*. The *French* ambaſſador, *D'Avaux*, peſtered them with memorials for their deliverance, and, at laſt, claimed them, as having done nothing but their king's order. Never did any government behave with more dignity and prudence than the *Dutch* did on that occaſion. The *French* captain was tried, condemned to death, and carried to the place of execution, but there pardoned, as were the ſoldiers of his party, who had been condemned to work upon the dykes and fortifications of the republic; and all this ſteadineſs was exerted while *D'Avaux* was threatening the *States* with the moſt dreadful effects of his maſter's reſentment.

Vol. IX. p. 194.

New differences between the *Dutch* and the *French*,

The emperor, by this time, had acceded to the guarantee treaty between *Spain* and the *States General*, and had an army upon the *Rhine*. *Lewis* conſidered the prince of *Orange* as the main ſpring of all the oppoſition he met with, and took a mean revenge by oppreſſing the ſubjects of that principality. The prince's friends endeavoured to make the injuries he ſuffered a common cauſe, and after various negociations *Heinſius* was ſent to *Paris* by the *States* to ſolicit againſt a total confiſcation of the principality. The *French* ambaſſador, in the mean while, laboured hard in reviving the credit of the *Louveſtein* faction, and did it ſo effectually, that the prince was defeated in a motion made to the *States General* for augmenting the army with 16,000 men. In ſhort, *Amſterdam* headed the oppoſition to the prince, and influenced the deputies of *Leyden*, *Delft*, the *Brill*, and other towns. The prince endeavoured to carry his point by aboliſhing the conſtitutional negative in the *Dutch* government againſt a majority of voices.

and between the *States* and the prince of *Orange*.

voices. In this he failed, and thereby gave great advantages to his enemies. They inſiſted on cultivating the friendſhip of *France*, as *Spain* was too feeble, and *England* too unſteady to aſſiſt them. The prince reſumed his plan of government, by a majority, and though firmly oppoſed by *Amſterdam*, and the provinces of *Frieſland* and *Groningen*, ſuch was his coolneſs and perſeverance, that he in part ſucceeded. It was ſoon found out that the leading men in *Amſterdam* were under the influence of *French* corruption. This turned the tide of popular affection towards the prince, who had intercepted the private correſpondence between *D'Avaux* and the *Amſterdammers*. He carried the propoſal of an augmentation, and it was actually reſolved to have joined the *Spaniſh* army with 14,000 men to act againſt the *French*; but a thundering memorial from *D'Avaux*, and the influence of *Lewis* over the *States*, drove them from their reſolution, and they agreed to the terms propoſed by the *French*. Their troops were ordered to deſiſt from hoſtilities in *Flanders*, and the city of *Amſterdam* went ſo far as not only to propoſe a reduction of all the additional troops that had been made to aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, but to create prince *Caſimir* of *Naſſau* their Stadtholder, an honour he refuſed from his regard and friendſhip to the prince of *Orange*. The *French* intereſt then adopted certain plauſible plans of frugality for reducing the army and augmenting the navy, and other œconomical regulations, which were levelled at the authority of the Stadtholder, whoſe uncle and father-in-law, *James* II. was now king of *Great Britain*. It was imagined, that his acceſſion to the crown would have been of ſervice to the prince of *Orange*, but *James* had been forced by his brother to agree to his daughter's marriage, and in his heart he deteſted the principles, cauſe, and family of the prince. He affected, indeed, an equality with *Lewis*; and had it not been for his bigotted principles, the vaſt revenue he had, and the ſituation he found himſelf in at the time of his acceſſion, might have put him at the head of a confederacy powerful enough to have given law to *France*. The duke of *Monmouth* was in exile in *Holland*, as was the *Scotch* earl of *Argyle*. The prince of *Orange*, by this time, had entered into engagements with the proteſtant party in *England*, and we can ſcarcely doubt that he had the *Britiſh* crown in his eye. He conſidered the two illuſtrious exiles as ſtanding in the way of his ambition, eſpecially as the duke was weak enough to enter a hereditary claim to the throne of *England*, as being the legitimate ſon of *Charles* II. The prince of *Orange* joined with the *States* in their efforts to oblige the duke and the earl to leave *Holland*; but he privately encouraged both to the mad ill judged attempt of invading *England* and *Scotland*, which ended in their deſtruction.

They are overawed by the *French*.

Artful conduct of the prince of *Orange* at the revolution.

*James* rejected all the apologies the *States* made, and looked upon them as the authors of the two rebellions that he had ſuppreſſed. He encouraged the *Algerines* in their inſults and

depredations upon the *Dutch*, and they in return opened Breach their territories as an aſylum to all the diſaffected in *England*. between He took the part of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch Eaſt-India James* II. company; and this, perhaps, was the moſt juſtifiable meaſure and the of his reign, for the all graſping avarice of the latter, at this *States Ge-* time, undoubtedly pointed towards an entire engroſſment of *neral.* all the *Aſiatic* commerce. This avaritious ſpirit influenced all their actions; it rendered them tame towards the *French* monarch, who was perſecuting his proteſtant ſubjects, and oppreſſing the principality of *Orange*. An encounter between two *Dutch* men of war and a *French* ſquadron under the count *de Mortemar*, gave the *French* a handle for complaining of an inſult offered to their flag, and the *Dutch* were mean enough to make ſubmiſſions on that head. They were ſo far from interpoſing in favour of the *French* proteſtants, that they ſaw them with ſilent joy taking refuge in *Holland*, and by the manufactures they introduced erecting new ſources of commerce to their ſtate. The king of *England* was, at this time, very powerful both by ſea and land, but he was advancing with wide ſteps towards his own deſtruction, that is, in his endeavours to introduce popery into his kingdoms. He ſtill continued to affect a rivalſhip with *Lewis*, and, more than ever he was known to do, he careſſed the prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch*, whoſe intereſts on that occaſion were very different. They pretended to be alarmed at the vaſt preparations he was making, and their ambaſſador, *Dykeveldt*, who was in the prince's intereſt, openly remonſtrated at *London* againſt the king's conduct. If *James* had, at this time, any ſerious thoughts of acting againſt *France*, they aroſe from the differences between the pope and *Lewis*; and if the *Dutch* meant any thing by their remonſtrances, it was dictated by the prince of *Orange*, who thought that ſuch repreſentations were neceſſary to juſtify his future conduct, and encreaſe the number of his partizans in *England*.

Matters ſtood on this footing between *James* and the *Dutch* till the year 1688, when the prince of *Orange* actually refuſed to give any ſanction of his countenance to the repeal of the penal laws. *James* redoubled his preparations for war; he demanded the ſix *Britiſh* regiments in the ſervice of the *States General* to be ſent home; but he was refuſed, and the prince was daily getting ground in the aſſembly of the *States*. Nothing was now thought to be wanting but a formal declaration of war, for the commencement of hoſtilities between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*. The diſpute between prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the cardinal of *Furſtemberg*, about the electorate of *Cologne*, ſerved as a ſpecious pretext for their warlike preparations; and the prince of *Orange* at laſt informed the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*, the heads of the houſe of *Lunenbourg* (the duke of *Zell* in particular) of his real deſign to make a deſcent upon *England*.

1688. The prince of *Orange* invades *England*,

When

When we conſider the ſituation of *Europe* for a century paſt, and the danger her liberties were now in from *French* power and ambition, we cannot be ſurprized that the proteſtants of *Europe* gladly embraced the proſpect of ſeeing the crown of *England* on the head of a prince bred up in an hereditary averſion to the houſe of *Bourbon*. The *Dutch* ſaw their intereſt in this great event, and a fleet of 50 large ſhips of war, with 10,000 land forces on board, was equipped. The *French* ambaſſador demanded the reaſon of this armament, and threatened the *States* with his maſter's immediate indignation if it was intended againſt *England*. The *Engliſh* ambaſſador remonſtrated againſt it; and *James* endeavoured to cajole the *States*, who knew their intereſt too well, and had gone too far to mind either his threats or his promiſes. Every thing for the invaſion being ready, the *States* avowed the deſtination of their armament, and both they and the prince publiſhed manifeſtos on the head, juſtifying their own conduct. The firſt time the fleet attempted to ſail, it was driven back by contrary winds. It was more fortunate the ſecond time; the prince of *Orange* landed in *England*; he and his wife were rewarded with its crown, and the *Dutch* made the *Engliſh* parliament their debtors to the amount of an enormous ſum, for the aſſiſtance given them on this occaſion.

and receives that crown.

*Lewis* endeavoured to anticipate king *William* in hoſtilities; he ſeized the *Dutch* ſhipping in his ports; he invaded *Germany*, and declared war againſt the *Dutch* on pretence of their having oppoſed cardinal *Furſtemburg*. The *Dutch* anſwered by a counter manifeſto, in which they loaded *Lewis* with tyranny, ambition, and breach of faith, with a ſpirit, and in terms, which ſufficiently demonſtrated their cloſe connections with *England*. Both parties took the field, and *France* oppoſed her ſingle power to that of almoſt all *Europe*.

The confederacy againſt *France* renewed.

Prince *Waldeck* commanded the army of the confederates on the frontiers of the *States*, conſiſting of the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburghers*, *Lunenburghers*, *Heſſians*, and other *German* proteſtants; but he was beaten at *Fleuris* by the *French* marſhal *Luxembourg*. This did not diſcourage the *States*, whoſe troops behaved admirably well; they not only recruited, but rewarded them, and, being joined by a freſh body of *Brandenburghers*, put a ſtop to *Luxembourg*'s farther conqueſts.

King *William* was, at this time, in *Ireland*, fighting againſt the party of king *James* there, and the *Dutch* had joined the *Engliſh* fleet at St. *Helen*'s in 1690. The *French* fleet conſiſted of 119 ſail, of which 80 were of the line; and though the combined fleet did not exceed 56 of the line, they fought them off *Beachy-Head*. The ſuperiority of the *French* gave them the advantage in the engagement; but both king *William* and the *Dutch* accuſed lord *Torrington*, the *Engliſh* admiral, of not having done his duty, and of having abandoned the *Dutch* to their enemies. It is certain, that in this engagement three of their ſhips were ſunk, and they themſelves ſet

1690.

The *Dutch* beat at ſea.

fire

fire to three others, who were ſtranded on the coaſt of *Suſſex*, beſides loſing a 60 gun ſhip next day. Their admirals were *Evertzen*, *Callenberg* and *Vander Putten*. Two of their rear admirals, *Dick* and *Brokel*, were killed, and the *States General*, with a truly *Roman* ſpirit, beſtowed marks of honour on all their officers, who had behaved gallantly. King *William*, by this time, was victorious in *Ireland*, and at full liberty to gratify his favourite view of humbling *France*. He went over to the *Hague*, and there he preſided in one of the moſt illuſtrious aſſemblies ever ſeen in *Europe*, compoſed of powerful ſovereign princes, who now formed the grand confederacy againſt *France*. *William* made it no ſecret, that he was reſolved to employ all the force of his new acquired kingdoms, in that glorious cauſe, as well as his own perſon and revenues. He animated the aſſembly by his ſpirited, yet rational exhortations; and the ſettlement of the contingencies amounted to 200,000 men, of whom the *States* were to furniſh 35,000. *Lewis* beheld the gathering ſtorm with the utmoſt compoſure, becauſe he knew the confederates had no force in readineſs to oppoſe him. He took *Mons*, which was deemed next to impregnable, in ſight of *William* himſelf, who lay with his army inactive at *Hall*, and who ſoon after returned to *England*, as *Lewis* did to *Paris*. The latter inſtigated the king of *Denmark* to ſeize the *Dutch* ſhipping, becauſe they would not comply with his exorbitant demands of *Sound*-duty; but *William*'s interpoſition, and the *Dutch* preparations ſoon brought his *Daniſh* majeſty to reaſon.

In 1692, *William* received a freſh mortification, by the duke of *Luxembourg* taking *Namur*, and beating him at *Steinkirk*. *William* was then in danger of beholding all his promiſing ſchemes blown into the air, as the *French* were every day gaining ground in the *Netherlands*. *Spain* was weak and ſpiritleſs; the *German* princes, excepting the duke of *Zell*, and the elector of *Brandenburg*, had failed in their engagements, being unwilling to provoke *Lewis*; and the emperor was employed againſt the *Turks* and his proteſtant ſubjects in *Hungary*. *England* and *Holland*, connected by *William*'s authority, made prodigious efforts againſt *France*, and it was now plain, that the ſtrength and revenues of *Great Britain*, were to be appropriated to the ſervice of the *States General*, under the ſpecious pretext of reſiſting the power of *France*. *Lewis*, on the other hand, knew what a vaſt party king *James* ſtill had in *England*, and that great numbers of *William*'s new ſubjects thought him too much of a *Dutchman*. *Lewis* had a ſquadron, under his admiral, *Tourville*, at *la Hogue*, waiting to be joined by his *Toulon* ſquadron, under *d'Etrees*. The *Dutch* ſquadron was expected every day to join the *Engliſh*, and *Tourville* had poſitive orders to fight the latter before the junction could be formed. It was effected without the knowledge of *Tourville*, who attacked both ſquadrons. The fight laſted for almoſt three days, but ended in the ruin of the *French* fleet, who loſt 16 of

1692. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* defeat the *French* at *la Hogue*.

16 of its capital ships. *Allemonde* was the *Dutch* admiral in this engagement, and it is certain, that considering the vast superiority of strength the confederates had over the *French*, something more decisive than the destruction of 16 ships, ought to have followed. The *English* blamed the *Dutch*, but the latter rewarded their admiral's behaviour, though far from being unexceptionable. It is, however, certain that the *French* marine has never yet recovered the blow it then received, and that the victory at *la Hogue* disabled the *French* from making a descent upon *England*, which might have been dangerous to her liberties, by restoring the abdicated monarch.

1693. The *French* repair their marine.

In the year 1693, *France* recovered her marine so much, that *Tourville* was enabled to burn or sink a considerable number of *Dutch* merchant ships, under a strong convoy, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, the *English*, and rear-admiral *Vanderdoes*, the *Dutch*, commanders. After this, *Tourville* harrassed the *Dutch* navigation, and did great damage both to them and the *English*, but without much advancing his master's cause. In *Flanders*, *Luxembourg* baffled all the designs king *William* had formed upon *Brabant*, and covered *Villeroy*'s army, while he took *Huy*. He afterwards engaged *William* at *Landen* and beat him, with the loss of 8000 men and 60 pieces of cannon, besides the surrender of *Charleroy*, which soon followed. King *William* was censured for fighting that battle, but he repaired his fault by the admirable dispositions he made after he lost it.

The confederates complain of the *Swiss*.

It is plain that the genius of *Lewis*, at this time, had the ascendent over that of *William*, though superior to him in capacity, application, courage, and almost every qualification that enters into the composition of a great prince; but the life of *Lewis* demonstrates the vast advantages of despotic government, which rests on a single principle in the operations of the field and cabinet. *England*, by becoming the capital member of the confederacy, endangered the liberties of *Europe*. The other confederates trusting to her wealth and riches, and the spirit of her king, grew remiss and indolent, and never were awakened to danger till it was at their doors. *Lewis* found more benefit from his generosity and magnificence, than from all his other qualities. He had engaged a body of *Swiss* in his service, to whom his successes were greatly owing. The confederates complained of this as an infraction of the neutrality which the cantons were obliged to observe, and cut off all communication with them, which put them to some inconveniences; but so devoted were they to the service of *France*, that they refused to withdraw their troops from the *French* armies, and the allies thought proper to remove their interdiction of commerce. The disjoined state of the confederacy, at this time, required another congress, which was held at *Cologne*, and ministers from the chief princes of the confederacy assisted at it, but without any great effect,

effect, so prevalent, even in that assembly, were *French* intrigues. *Lewis* had established an interest at the *Porte*, which, he rendered ineffectual all the endeavours of the *Dutch* and *English* to make peace between the *German* and *Turkish* emperors. The allies endeavoured to be revenged by ports of the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland* bombarding St. *Maloe*'s, but without any considerable effect, and in the winter of the year 1694, pacific thoughts began to take place. The landed interest of *England* complained of their being too deep in a war, from which, however successful, they could reap no benefit; and the *French* complained, that every victory they gained added to their distress, misery and depopulation.

Vol. VIII. p. 283. The sea bombarded.

*Lewis* was sensible of this, and made the first advances to peace, by offering the *Dutch* a sufficient barrier; that he would demolish *Charleroy*, restore *Mons* and *Namur* to *Spain*, annexing *Huy* to the bishopric of *Liege*, and referring all other disputed matters to arbiters. The *Danish* ambassador undertook the office of mediation, and pressed the republic to accept of those terms; but they were haughtily rejected by king *William*, whose authority in the assembly of the *States* was now almost despotic. *France* then strengthened her connections with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and the latter renewed her exorbitant demands of the *Sound* duties from the *States*. *England* and *Holland* resented this proceeding, by stopping and searching all *Swedish* and *Danish* ships, bound to or from the *French* ports, and the *Dutch* made prize of 24 *Danish* ships in their own harbours, to indemnify themselves for the seizure of their ships, which had been made by his *Danish* majesty. *England* concurring with *Holland* in this resentment, the effect was, that the northern powers were intimidated into an accommodation, and the ships on both sides were released. The *French* were this year insulted on their coasts by the confederate fleets, who, however, did little that was answerable to their great force, but their obliging *Lewis* to send a considerable body of troops from the *Netherlands* to his maritime provinces. In other respects, the operations at sea were disgraceful to the *Dutch*. *Du Bart*, a *French* commodore, attacked, with a fleet of privateers, the *Dutch* admiral *de Vires*, who had under his convoy a rich merchant fleet, between the *Meuse* and the *Texel*; and *de Vires*, not being supported by his captains, lost the greatest part of his convoy, after being beaten and taken prisoner. The *States* cashiered the captains, and received some consolation by the news that *Pondicherry*, in the *East Indies*, had surrendered to their governor-general of *Batavia*.

Differences in the north,

The *French* beat the *Dutch* by sea.

The *Dutch*, before the end of the year, began to entertain some ridiculous religious disputations, but they were quieted by the interpositions of the Stadtholder and the *States General*. The year 1695 was glorious to king *William*, by the reduction of *Namur*; but we are here to observe, that the marshal *Luxembourg*,

Religious disputes revived in *Holland*.

*Luxembourg*, whom we may pronounce to have been the laſt great military genius of *France*, was now dead, and was ſucceeded by *Villeroy*, who was far inferior to him in martial merit. The *French* king, by way of revenge, ordered *Bruſſels* to be bombarded; but this was far from indemnifying him for the effect of the deſtructive viſits which the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſquadrons paid to his coaſts. The people of *Holland*, however, did not conſider the damage they did to the *French*, as any indemnification for the vaſt taxes they paid to ſupport the war. They ſaw themſelves diſappointed in their expectations of the *French* power, being reduced in one, or at moſt two campaigns, and a tax upon burials impoſed by the magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, put the populace there into a ferment. They threatened to fire the city, and they pillaged the houſe of *Boreel*, one of their moſt reſpectable magiſtrates. *Spaarogge*, an officer, got ſome ſoldiers together, and fired upon the inſurgents, but he was ſo roughly handled by them, that he was obliged to retreat. In the morning, public notice was given, that the tax was aboliſhed, and the moſt conſiderable of the citizens put themſelves under arms. The mob, inſtead of being quieted, plundered the houſe of the *Engliſh* conſul, and attacked the *Jews*, who, however unwarlike, armed themſelves and fought in defence of their vaſt property, and being ſupported by the burghers, the mob was not only repulſed, but a few wholeſome examples of ſeverity reſtored the city to its uſual tranquillity.

Great tumult in *Amſterdam*.

Conferences opened at *Ryſwick*,

The active *du Bart*, about this time, fell in with a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen homeward bound, from *Liſbon*, defeated their convoy, and took 30 of their ſhips; but at the appearance of a ſuperior *Dutch* force, he unloaded their cargoes, burnt their hulks, and made his eſcape. Thoſe and many other diſcouragements, which the allies met with, in the courſe of the war, inclined them to peace, eſpecially as they ſaw the duke of *Savoy* deſerting the grand alliance. The king of *Sweden* offered his mediation, and *Callieres*, the *French* plenipotentiary, in a conference he had with *Dykeveldt*, offered all that the *Imperial* court had demanded, in conſequence of the treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*. It is well known, that king *William* himſelf began now to be doubtful, as to the event of the war, and that his miniſter, *Bentinck* (afterwards earl of *Portland*) was inſtructed privately to confer with the *French* marſhal *Boufflers*, in the neighbourhood of *Bruſſels*, upon that ſubject, while conferences were opened at *Ryſwick*. The preliminaries being adjuſted, between thoſe two great men, the peace was concluded, the ſubſtance of which the reader will find in the hiſtory of *Germany*. During the conferences at *Ryſwick*, the *French* carried on a kind of privateering war with the *Dutch* from *Dunkirk*, and filled that harbour with their captures. In the bay of *Biſcay*, a *French* ſquadron fell upon three *Dutch* men of war, commanded by admiral *Waſſenaar*, who convoyed a fleet of merchantmen,

P. 203.

*Waſſenaar*,

*Nassenaar*, after a gallant resistance, was killed, and all the ships he had in charge were taken, as well as the men of war. The peace of *Ryswick* continued to meet with difficulties from the *French* and *Spanish* courts; but after the *Dutch* had concluded their treaty of commerce with *France*, they were obliged to comply.

Never was there a peace so necessary, and, at the same time, so disgraceful to all parties as that of *Ryswick* was. They had desisted from fighting merely through reciprocal weakness, and they found they had carried on a long, bloody, and expensive war to no purpose. After the peace was settled, *William*, who was seldom easy but when he was in *Holland*, returned thither, partly to avoid the affronts he daily met with from the house of commons, and partly to conclude the partition-treaty, of which the reader has already received an account. This impolitic treaty being concluded, the *Dutch*, for some time, made no great figure in the affairs of *Europe*, and applied themselves to the cultivation of their commerce. They were still at war with the *Spaniards* in *America*. The emperor was dissatisfied. King *William* perceived, that he had made a wrong step in concluding the partition-treaty, and the *Dutch* wanted a better barrier. Those considerations produced a new treaty at the *Hague*, between his *Imperial* majesty, *England*, and *Holland*. The death of king *William* happened just at the crisis of a new war, between the confederates and the *French*, who had proclaimed the pretended prince of *Wales*, king of *Great Britain*. His influence still remained in the assembly of the *States General*, though its members were immeasurably dejected at the news of his death. Queen *Anne* wrote them a letter, tending to confirm them in the measures pursued by her predecessor, and this revived them so much that they entered into all the views of the grand alliance. To this they were greatly invigorated by the earl of *Marlborough*, whom she sent to concert with them the operations of the succeeding campaign. The *French* minister, *Barre*, affected to compliment the *States General*, as being now restored to their freedom by king *William*'s death; but they resented his insolence, and war was declared against *France* on the same day at *Vienna*, *London*, and the *Hague*. When *Lewis* heard of this step taken by the *Dutch*, he expressed himself, with a mixture of acrimony and contempt, against their presumption.

where peace is concluded.

The partition treaty. P. 204.

Death of king *William*. P. 205.

It is certain, that, at this time, the *Dutch* maintained above 100,000 men in their garrisons and in the field; but it is as certain, that during the course of the war, they endeavoured all they could to lessen their burden, and that the *English* often complained of them on that account. In the beginning of *January*, 1703, they pressed queen *Anne* to augment her forces, to which her parliament agreed, upon condition that the *States General* should immediately prohibit all commerce between their subjects and those of *France* and *Spain*. This

The war revives.

was a condition the more reaſonable, as at this time the *French* king made moſt of his remittances through the hands of *Dutch* merchants, who furniſhed him with powder, ſhot, and materials of every kind for making war. The *States* were terribly diſguſted at the preſcriptive tone made uſe of by the *Engliſh* on this occaſion; but they thought proper to comply, and the prohibition was accordingly iſſued. We ſhall not repeat to the reader the particulars of the war which followed, becauſe they are to be found in other parts of this work. Their general, old *Auverquerque*, proved, while he lived, to be a ſecond worthy of the great duke of *Marlborough*, and co-operated with him and prince *Eugene*, in their moſt glorious atchievements. With regard to the conduct of the *States General*, what we have here to obſerve, is, that the duke ſeemed to ſucceed to the authority of king *William* in their aſſemblies; and their generals, through the whole courſe of the war, appeared to act in a perfect conformity to his ſentiments. We are, however, not to ſtretch this opinion too far; for it is certain, that though the duke of *Marlborough* was too wiſe a man, and too great a politician, to appear to have the leaſt difference with the *Dutch* field deputies, yet they were too fond of continuing the war in the *Netherlands*, on account of their own frontier, though it might have been puſhed againſt *France* to much greater advantage in other parts. This was but too much to the liking of *Marlborough* himſelf, though his friends gave out, that he had many private diſputes with the *Dutch* deputies on that head. We are likewiſe not to diſſemble, that the *Dutch* were far from fulfilling their engagements during the courſe of the war, and threw the vaſt expence of it upon the *Engliſh*. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Germany*, will ſee in what manner the war was terminated, by the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Raſtadt*.

Authority of the duke of *Marlborough* with the *States*.

P. 227, and 230.

1742. At the time the war broke out, concerning the ſucceſſion to the emperor *Charles* VI. the *Dutch* counſels were moſtly governed by the *Louveſtein* faction; and cardinal *Fleury* found means to engage in his intereſt *Van Hooy*, the *Dutch* ambaſſador at the *French* court, a vain, weak, pedant, but who lulled his maſters into a ſecurity, which had almoſt proved fatal to *Europe*. His preſumption, in writing to the *Britiſh* miniſtry in favour of the rebels, procured him a ſevere reprimand from the *States*, but no other puniſhment. All the ſpirited remonſtrances preſented by the *Britiſh* miniſtry to the *Dutch*, could not bring them to ſuch a ſenſe of their danger, as to prevail upon them to act heartily againſt the common enemy, till they ſaw almoſt all *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Hainault*, ſubdued by count *Saxe*. The *Orange* party, who were very numerous, and comprehended the bulk of the common people, clamoured for a Stadtholder; but in the mean while, the allies were beat at *Roucoux*, *Namur* was taken, and the *French* were every where victorious. Application was made by the *States General* to his *Britannic* majeſty, and they offered

Aſcendency of the *French* in *Holland*,

to

to exert their utmoſt, juſt as the *French* were preparing to make a deſcent upon *Zealand*, which muſt have brought them to the gates of *Amſterdam*. King *George*, whoſe regal dominions had been burthened with the load of this war, likewiſe ſaved *Zealand* from the invaſion, by the orders he ſent to commodore *Klitchel*, and when the campaign opened, the *Dutch* troops took poſt near *Breda*, under prince *Waldeck*. He was a young man, brave and well intentioned, but hampered by the field deputies, ſo that he did nothing effectual, for preventing *Sluys*, *Sas Van Ghent*, and many other places in *Dutch Brabant*, from falling into the hands of the *French*. Even *Hulſt*, though well provided for a defence, was ſhamefully given up by its *Dutch* governor, and the demands of the people for a Stadtholder, in the perſon of the prince of *Orange*, became now intractable. The people of *Zealand* complained, P. 242. that they had been betrayed by their government, and were encouraged by the friends of that prince, who offered his ſervices to defend them, to nominate him on the 28th of *April*, 1747. captain-general and admiral of *Zealand*. Other ſtates and cities followed the example of the *Zealanders*, and on the 2d of *May* following, he was, in the aſſembly of the *States General*, inveſted with the power and dignity of Stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the *United Provinces*. His advancement to this dignity was too late for him to be able to ſtop the rapid progreſs of the *French*; but the vigorous meaſures he took, in a great meaſure facilitated the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748. where the people chuſe a Stadtholder 1748.

Though the prince had ſeen very little ſervice in the field, P. 243. yet he proved an active and able head of the republic. He had great application, and had he lived, it is thought he would have reſtored the republic of the *United Provinces* to its former luſtre. He died in the year 1751, leaving a ſon and daughter, 1751. who were both minors; the adminiſtration of the Stadtholderſhip, which had been rendered hereditary in his family, in the perſon of the was committed to his widow, eldeſt daughter of king *George* II. prince of *Orange*. Her authority was not ſufficient for reſtoring the true ſyſtem His death; of the *Dutch*, who, in the beginning of the late war, which broke out between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, ungratefully refuſed to lend the former the troops ſtipulated by treaty. In ſhort, during the whole courſe of the war, they ſtudied by all means to oblige the *French*, and even granted them a free paſſage through *Namur* and *Maeſtricht*, for the proviſions, ammunition, and artillery, of their army on the *Rhine*. They ſuffered *Oſtend* and *Neuport* to be put into the hands of the *French* by the queen of *Hungary*, without paying great attention to the repreſentation of colonel *Yorke*, the *Britiſh* ambaſſador, on that head. They favoured the *French* in their attempts againſt the *Engliſh* upon the coaſt of *Africa*, and their partiality to the enemies of *Great Britain* was without all bounds.

Commercial differences with *England*.

Under pretence of being a neutral power, they carried on the *French* trade through all ports of the world, but the *Britiſh* government iſſued orders for their cruizers to make prize of all neutral ſhips having *French* property on board. The order was punctually executed in *Great Britain* and the *Engliſh Weſt Indies* in 1758, and great number of *Dutch* ſhips were condemned as lawful prizes. Their merchants complained of this rigour, as being no better than piracy; but the *Britiſh* miniſtry very properly repreſented, that while the *Dutch* were at liberty to ſupply their enemies with naval ſtores, and to indemnify them for all the loſſes they met with from *Great Britain*, it was impoſſible for his *Britannic* majeſty to carry on the war with any appearance of ſucceſs. Thoſe were conſiderations that had no weight with the *Dutch* merchants, 259 of whom ſent in a memorial to the *States General*, complaining of the rapaciouſneſs and cruelty of the *Engliſh* ſhips of war and privateers; each ſubſcriber offering his contingent towards entering upon offenſive meaſures. The people of *England* were, at this time, ſo thoroughly exaſperated againſt the *Dutch*, that they would willingly have entered into a war with their republic; and it is hard to ſay what the event might have been, had not the princeſs governante interpoſed with wiſdom and moderation. She exhorted them to arm againſt *France*, and the *French* faction among the *States* were intimidated by that of *England*, and the houſe of *Orange*. The *Engliſh* were ſo far from making any ſatisfaction for the ſeizure of *Dutch* ſhips, that it was intimated to the *States General*, that the behaviour of their merchants, if authorized by their government, had forfeited all the claims of friendſhip which the *Dutch* had upon *England* in virtue of former treaties. The *Dutch* urged the ſtipulation of the treaty of 1668, "That whatever ſhall be "found on board the ſhips of the ſubjects of the *United* "*Provinces*, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong "to the enemies of *Great Britain*, ſhall be free and unmo-"leſted; except thoſe be prohibited goods, which are to be "ſerved in the manner proſcribed by the foregoing articles." The *Engliſh* very juſtly ridiculed this plea, which they ſaid contained an abſurdity, and therefore was void of itſelf, if urged in the ſenſe of the *Dutch*. They proved, that the ſtipulation could regard only the common cauſe of trade, as carried on in time of peace, and they produced a ſecret article of the treaty of 1675, ſtipulating, "That neither of the "contracting parties ſhould give, nor conſent that any of "their ſubjects, and inhabitants, ſhould give any aid, favour, "or counſel, directly or indirectly, by land or ſea, or on the "freſh waters; nor ſhould furniſh, or permit the ſubjects, or "inhabitants of their reſpective territories, to furniſh any "ſhips, ſoldiers, ſeamen, victuals, monies, inſtruments of "war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or con-"dition ſoever." This article had been ſo palpably contra-

1758.

*Engliſh* claims upon the *Dutch*.

vened, that it ſuperſeded the obſervance of all prior ſtipulations, eſpecially as the *Dutch* had poſitively refuſed to furniſh the troops demanded by *England* in compliance with former treaties, under the frivolous pretence of their not being obliged to enter into a quarrel that took its riſe in *America*. The *Engliſh* alledged, that the *French* never would fail to begin all their quarrels with *Great Britain* in *America*, and that it was notorious, they had attacked his *Britannic* majeſty's *German* dominions, only for the part he was acting in defending the liberties of *Europe*.

Diſputes in *Holland*.

The *Engliſh* farther inſiſted, that giving the treaty of 1668 all the force the *Dutch* deſired, it never could juſtify their carrying on a trade that was not practiſed in time of peace, when they were admitted to no commerce with either the *French* or *Spaniſh* ſettlements in *America*, and that it was in vain for the *Engliſh* ſhipping to diſtreſs and block up the *French* ports there, if they were relieved by the *Dutch* ſhipping, carrying on their commerce on pretence of their being neutral bottoms. In ſhort, the *Britiſh* ambaſſador declared, in plain terms, to the *States General*, that his maſter had given orders to his commanders and officers, to attack and make prize of *French* property wherever they could diſcover it. All the unprejudiced part of *Europe* was convinced, by the reaſoning of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, eſpecially when they ſaw the tenderneſs with which the courts of admiralty, in *England*, proceeded in caſes of their captures. The *Dutch* ſtill complained, that they ought to have had ſome warning of their ſhips being to be ſeized, and a deputation from their merchants waited upon the princeſs of *Orange*, deſiring her to agree to an augmentation of their navy for the protection of their trade. The princeſs promiſed to employ her good offices at the court of *Great Britain*, and conferences without any effect were opened at the *Hague*. Upon their breaking up, the clamour of the *Dutch*, for reprizals, grew more fierce and untractable than ever. The princeſs declared for an augmentation of their army, for the defence of the provinces of *Gueldres* and *Overyſſel*, and to prevent the armies of either of the belligerent powers from taking refuge in the territories of the republic. A freſh deputation of merchants waited upon her, and ſhe threw the blame upon the towns of *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Amſterdam*, *Torgau*, *Rotterdam*, and the *Brille*, that their forces were not in a better condition both by ſea and land. This artful conduct diſconcerted the merchants among themſelves, and diverted their eagerneſs for a rupture with *England*. The princeſs continued to preſs the augmentation both by ſea and land, in the aſſembly of the *States General*, and the warlike preparations then making in *England*, farther relaxed the ardour of the party.

The *States General* communicated the ſentiments of the princeſs regent, in a letter to the provinces of *Holland* and *Weſt Friſland*, in which they inſiſted upon an augmentation

The *States General* resolve on an augmentation to their forces.

of the republic's forces both by sea and land, in order to prevent the republic from becoming a prey to any of its neighbours. Upon cooler thoughts, it was found expedient that interest should give way to necessity; but the death of the princess of *Orange* was an irreparable loss to the republic, as well as her own family. Before her death, which happened on the 12th of *January*, 1759, she sent two of her attendants for two papers that she had ordered to be drawn up; one was a contract of marriage, which she signed, between her daughter and the prince of *Nassau Weilburg*; and the other, a letter to the *States General*, which she signed likewise, desiring them to consent to the marriage, and not to make any change in the regulations she had made, with regard to the tutelage and education of the young prince her son. By her will, she appointed the king her father, and her mother-in-law, the princess-dowager of *Orange*, to be honorary tutors, and prince *Lewis* of *Brunswic*, to be acting tutor to her children. The issue of her daughter, as the prince of *Nassau Weilburg* was a *Lutheran*, was, by the contract of marriage, to be educated in the established religion of *Holland*.

During the illness of the princess of *Orange*, the *States* of *Holland* had several times assembled, and the day before her death, came to a resolution to fit out 25 ships of war. The day after her death, both the *States General* and the *States* of *Holland*, confirmed the regulations she had made for her son's minority, and the oaths of captain-general of the union were administered to prince *Lewis* of *Brunswic*, who assisted in the assembly of *Holland*, and likewise in that of the *States General*, who condoled with his *Britannic* majesty in very pathetic terms; in short, they carried all the arrangements, made by the late princess, into execution. The loss of the princess of *Orange*, was sensibly felt by all true *Dutch* patriots. The

The weakness of the *Dutch* by sea.

resolutions they had come to of augmenting their navy, was considered by the *English* as an indirect insult upon their court, and every day furnished out fresh examples of *Dutch* ships being confiscated, notwithstanding all their angry remonstrances. When they came to fit out their navy, they found themselves unable to do it, through the miserable condition in which their arsenals and dock-yards lay, and yet they continued to provoke the *English*. The inhabitants of *Martinico*, in a memorial presented by the lieutenants of the several districts of that island, to the general of the *French* islands, declared, that they had been abandoned by every dependence but that upon the *Dutch*. In like manner, when the *British* troops made their descent upon *Guadaloupe*, and had forced the inhabitants to retire to the mountains, the *Dutch* traders supplied them with all kinds of necessaries and provisions, to hold out against the *English*, till two ships of war were ordered to intercept them. But the chief scene of the *Dutch* enmity, at this time against the *English*, lay in the

*East*

*East Indies*, where matters took a very ſerious and alarming turn.

Their attempt againſt *Bengal*,

The vaſt ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh* in *Bengal*, had been attended with ſuitable advantages in point of commerce in that rich country, where the *Dutch* formerly uſed to give law. They had a ſtrong fort at *Chinſura* on the river of *Bengal*, and they could not, without the deepeſt regret, behold the profitable contracts, which the *Engliſh* had obtained in the ſalt-petre trade, which had formerly belonged almoſt entirely to themſelves. They had ſeen a monarch given by colonel *Clive* to *Bengal*, in the perſon of nabob *Mhir Jaffier*. They knew the treachery and ingratitude of the natives, and perhaps they more than ſuſpected that the new nabob was uneaſy under his late obligations to the *Engliſh*, and would be glad of being ſupported by the *Dutch*. Whatever may be in this, it ſeems certain, that the governor of *Batavia* adopted a plan for making his countrymen maſters of the ſalt-petre trade in *Bengal*. No ſooner did he underſtand that the *Engliſh* ſquadron had retired to the coaſt of *Malabar*, than this governor equipped ſeven ſhips, on board of which he put 500 *European* troops, and 600 *Malayeſe*, under the command of one colonel *Ruſſel*. All this was done, on pretence of reinforcing the *Dutch* garriſons in *Bengal*. The armament touched at *Negapatam*; but inſtead of proceeding by the neareſt courſe to their ſettlements they proceeded up the bay, and about the beginning of *October* they arrived in the river of *Bengal*. Colonel *Clive* was then at *Calcutta*, and as the intention of the *Dutch* admitted of no doubt, he obtained from the new naboh or ſubah, an order to the *Dutch* director and council at *Hughley*, prohibiting the *Dutch* from advancing farther up the river. Only two of the *Dutch* ſhips were yet arrived in the river, and colonel *Clive* very plainly intimated to their commodore, that he was no ſtranger to their deſign, and that he would oppoſe force by force, if he ſhould offer to land any troops that were to proceed to *Chinſura*. The commodore being as yet in no condition to force a landing, declared, that he did not intend to ſend troops to *Chinſura*, but obtained leave to put ſome aſhore for refreſhment provided they did not advance.

in which they are defeated by the *Engliſh*,

No ſooner did the reſt of the *Dutch* armament arrive in the river, than he ſeized all the *Engliſh* ſhips he could maſter, diſembarked his troops in the neighbourhood of *Tannah-Fort*, from whence they proceeded towards *Chinſura*. When the *Calcutta* *Indiaman*, commanded by captain *Wilſon*, fell down the river, in her voyage to *England*, the *Dutch* commodore, without any ceremony, threatened to ſink him if he paſſed him. Upon which, *Wilſon* returned to *Calcutta*, where two other *India* ſhips lay at anchor, to conſult colonel *Clive*. The colonel immediately reſolved on an engagement, for which the three *Engliſh* ſhips prepared themſelves, and falling down the river, they found the *Dutch* ready to receive them. Three of their

their ſhips were mounted with 36 guns each; three with 26 guns, and one with 16. Captain *Foreſter*, in the duke of *Dorſet Indiaman*, began the engagement by exchanging a broadſide with the enemy, but a dead calm prevented the two other *Engliſh* ſhips from coming up to his aſſiſtance; ſo that for ſome time he bore the fire of all the *Dutch* ſeven. A breeze ſpringing up, the *Hardwicke*, another *Engliſh Eaſt Indiaman*, and the *Calcutta* advanced, and a ſmart engagement enſued, till two of the *Dutch* ſhips bore away, and a third was driven aſhore, while their commodore, and three others, ſtruck to captain *Wilſon*.

with conſiderable ſlaughter.

This engagement, though it did not coſt the *Engliſh* a man, was of the utmoſt importance to their eſtabliſhment, if not their exiſtence, in *Bengal*. Had the *Dutch* obtained the victory, the nabob and his barbarous ſubjects, who are always determined by events, would moſt undoubtedly have attached themſelves to the *Dutch*, to obtain a mitigation of the terms impoſed upon them by the *Engliſh*. Captain *Wilſon* found that the *Engliſh* artillery had done conſiderable execution in the enemy's ſhips, of which he immediately took poſſeſſion and ſent the crews priſoners to *Calcutta*. Before the engagement, the *Dutch* had landed no fewer than 1100 men, who were in full march to *Chinſura*, where colonel *Clive* ſent colonel *Ford* with about 500 men, to take poſt at a place called the *French Gardens* to intercept them. When *Ford* entered the town of *Chandanagore*, he was obliged to fight and defeat a detachment from *Chinſura*, which had been ſent to receive their countrymen, whom, on the 25th of *November*, he found ready to give him battle, in a plain near *Chinſura*. A ſharp engagement accordingly followed, in which the *Dutch* were entirely defeated, and all who eſcaped the ſword were ſent priſoners to colonel *Clive*.

The vindication offered by the *Dutch*.

Having repreſented this affair in the light moſt favourable for the *Engliſh*, it is but juſt that we ſhould attend to the defence made by the *Dutch*; but we muſt inform our readers, that we have in our narrative omitted many immaterial circumſtances. The *Dutch* acknowledged their having ſhipped troops at *Batavia*, in *June* 1759, and inſiſted upon their governor of *Batavia* having a right, without giving any juſt umbrage to the *Engliſh*, to ſend troops to their garriſons and ſettlements at *Bengal*, where they had ſuffered ſome inſults on account of their weakneſs in that province. They denied that their troops were deſtined againſt the *Engliſh*, and appealed to their having touched at *Negapatam*. They denied that the *Engliſh* had any right to ſtop and viſit their veſſels, and they juſtified their officers having oppoſed them by force. They maintained the right they had to march their troops to *Chinſura*, and that, therefore, colonel *Ford* was unjuſtifiable in attacking them and cutting them to pieces. To confirm this defence, they pretended, that they had been invited by the nabob to join him againſt the *Engliſh*, which they had always

refuſed

refuſed to do, though greatly to their own detriment. To prove the *Ganges*, or as is called the river of *Bengal*, to be a neutral river, they ſaid that it runs through a country where no *European* can claim any right, but through the Great Mogul. That the *Engliſh* never had obtained any right from him of ſtopping their ſhips; but that, on the contrary, the *Dutch Eaſt India* company has, from time immemorial, by virtue of grants from the mogul, the right of free navigation and paſſage, and of carrying up and down men and goods to and from their frontiers in *Bengal*. They alledged, that they had always exerciſed that right, and they ſaid, that the nabob, being an officer ſubordinate to the Great Mogul, had no right to countermand what he had done. They ſaid, that one *European* nation cannot be juſtified in falling upon another, in an hoſtile manner, by any alliance offenſive and defenſive with a native prince; becauſe this may terminate in the total ruin of all foreign ſettlements; and, with reſpect to *England* and *Holland*, is totally inconſiſtent with treaties ſubſiſting between the two *States*, which expreſsly and particularly ſtipulate, that neither company ſhall do violence or wrong to the other; nor aid, counſel, or *ſuffer* any ſuch violence, under any ſhow or pretext whatſoever.

Their complaints againſt the *Engliſh*.

They pretended, that it was a tenderneſs for thoſe treaties, which prevented their accepting the nabob's offers, and contended, that it was unjuſt for the *Engliſh* to make uſe of their influence over *Jaffier*, for engroſſing the ſalt-petre trade, and pleaded a grant from the Great Mogul, which they obtained at a large expence, for purchaſing that commodity. The *Engliſh* having alledged, that the *Dutch* company had admitted the nabob's right of granting that trade excluſively, by a petition which they preſented to the late nabob, for engroſſing that trade to themſelves, and that he had actually granted ſuch a privilege to *Choja Wazid*; the *Dutch* replied, that their petition was intended only to repreſent to the nabob, the prejudice which his grant to *Choja Wazid* would be to them, and to procure only the liberty, according to the ſtanding cuſtom of making the neceſſary purchaſes, immediately of the ſalt-petre boilers, without the intervention of others; nor was there one ſingle word in that petition from which it could be inferred, that the *Dutch* had a deſign to ingroſs the trade, and exclude the *Engliſh*. And as to the grant to *Choja Wazid*, it was given in violation of the mogul's grants; and therefore, as it was without authority, it cannot be made a precedent. The *Dutch* complained farther of the arbitrary proceedings of the *Engliſh*, who, when any *Indian* weaver undertook to fabricate a piece of callico, for any other nation but the *Engliſh*, cut the work out of the loom, and threatened them ſeverely, if they ſhould dare to work for the *Dutch*. Several other ſubjects of complaint were added upon this occaſion, particularly the ſeizing a crab, called the *Charlotte*, by admiral *Pocock*, in 1757, which, with its lading, was condemned,

upon pretence, that the commander was a ſubject of *France*, though the ſhip was hired by ſome of the company's ſervants at *Surat*, who loaded her with cotton on their own private account, and was the property of one *Benjaans*, a merchant; the commander alſo, though a native of *France*, had been admitted as a freeman by the director and council of the *Dutch* company at *Surat*, and had taken the oaths of fidelity to the *States* and company.

The *Dutch* had even the meanneſs to place to the account of the *Engliſh*, a ſmall ſhip called the *Anne*, which ſtruck upon one of the bars of the *Ganges*, and was loſt, with ſome of her crew. All thoſe grievances, and ſome that we have not mentioned, were by the *Dutch Eaſt India* company digeſted into the form of a memorial, and preſented to the aſſembly of the *States General*, with the moſt bitter complaints upon the inſolence of the *Engliſh*, and predicting the ruin of the *Dutch* trade, not only in *Bengal*, but in other parts of the world.

Candid refutation of all their arguments.

As the *Engliſh*, at this time, were by no means inclined to continue the war, and far leſs to begin a new one with the *Dutch*, they would have given great attention to this reply, had it not been for the virulence with which it was loaded, and its being deſtitute of all kind of evidence. It appeared from unqueſtionable authority, that the armament fitted out at *Batavia*, was directly intended againſt the *Engliſh* in *Bengal*; that their troops were diſembarked at *Coromandel* only for a blind, becauſe all of them had been reimbarked, and the *Dutch* commanding officer, when a priſoner, confeſſed, that when he came to *Negapatam*, he found orders from *Batavia*, to go to *Bengal*. The *Dutch*, as appeared from the confeſſion of *Mhir Jaffier* himſelf, had long put him in mind, that he was no better than a cypher, and that he muſt depend upon them for freeing him from his tutelage; and thoſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon him, that both he and his ſon had actually connived at the *Dutch* invading *Bengal*, and had not colonel *Clive*, in the mean while, repelled *Shah Zaddah*, who pretended to dethone *Jaffier*, they undoubtedly would have joined them; but, the *Engliſh*, being then in every reſpect their maſters, they durſt not. When the *Dutch* found the nabob's backwardneſs, they upbraided him for his breach of promiſe, in having prevailed with them to equip their armament, and repreſented to him, that all his inſignificancy was owing to the avarice and ambition of his and their enemies, the *Engliſh*. The letters containing thoſe expreſſions were printed, and it was proved, by the moſt indiſputable authority, that the *Dutch* ſet out upon their expedition, in which, from the ſtrength of their armament, they thought they could not miſs of ſucceſs, with a declared intention of not leaving one *Engliſhman* alive in *Bengal*.

It appeared that the *Dutch* armament, in proceeding to *Bengal*, had ſtrengthened itſelf at *Ceylon*. While they were

upon

upon their voyage, they did all they could to ingratiate themselves with the nabob, and to form a kind of an alliance with the *French*, who were left in the country, under one *M. Courtin*, to act againſt their common enemy the *Engliſh*, and they actually joined the *Dutch* ſettlement at *Chinſura*. While this was doing, (ſaid the *Engliſh* in their own vindication againſt the *Dutch* charge) ſome of the council of *Chinſura* were employed in peſtering the government of *Calcutta* with unintelligible remonſtrances, tending merely to embarraſs them, and divert their attention from the danger which threatened their lives, the *Dutch* at *Chinſura* being then actually buſied in gaining intelligence of the ſtate of our works, debauching and tempting our ſoldiers to deſert, and forming plans of attack. This appears from ſome papers found in a pocket book of the *Dutch* commanding officer on the field of battle; among which is a plan for a ſtorm; an offer of ſervice in the intended expedition, though avowed by the *Dutch* to be chiefly intended for *Coromandel*; a plan for the attack of *Calcutta*; reſolutions of a council of war for attacking our ſhips, clearing the ſhore, and diſembarking the troops, aſſigning to each ſhip its ſituation and employment. Thus does it appear, contrary to their expreſs affirmation, that the ſubſequent hoſtilities were not accidental or involuntary, but the conſequence of previous reſolution. from their own proceedings

With regard to that part, which indeed was the heavieſt of the charge againſt the *Engliſh*, that they had no right to ſtop and ſearch the *Dutch* ſhips in the *Ganges*, which was a a neutral river. The *Engliſh* replied, that during a declared war between *England* and *France*, the *Engliſh* have a right to ſtop and ſearch the veſſels of the *Dutch*, or any other neutral ſhip, even on the high ſeas, and far more in a river upon which the *French* ſo lately had ſettlements, and where they were ſtill unſubdued. With regard to the right which the *Dutch* pretended of their introducing troops in *Bengal*, the *Engliſh* treated this pretence with the greateſt contempt, as the mogul could never be ſuppoſed to grant them rights which were incompatible with his own, as ſovereign of the country. We therefore, ſaid the *Engliſh*, notwithſtanding the pretences of the *Dutch*, deny that any ſuch does, or ever did, exiſt; and if they are inclined to diſpute it, we call upon them to produce copies of ſuch grant, which they ought to have done to ſupport their charge, if any ſuch they had. If the *Dutch*, therefore, had not a right to bring troops to *Bengal* independent of the will of the nabob, it follows, that he had a right to oppoſe it; and, indeed, that he had ſuch right is expreſsly allowed by the *Dutch* themſelves, notwithſtanding their pretended grant, for they not only *ſolicited his permiſſion* to bring their armament thither, and excuſed their coming thither when he had forbidden them, by pretending they were forced by ſtreſs of weather, with promiſes to depart as ſoon as they could; but in a petition to him, dated *October* 24, 1759, they ſay, and incontеſtable proofs.

ſay, "As it is poſſible we may have ſome diſputes, we have "ſent for forces; *in this affair his excellency is lord of the* "*country, we wait his pleaſure.*"

**Their endeavouring to monopolize the *Bengal* trade.**

The *Dutch* mentioned no injury that had been done them by the nabob, whoſe allies the *Engliſh* were, and therefore their invading his dominions againſt his expreſs orders, was a good reaſon for the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt him. The *Dutch*, in this caſe, pretended that the treaties between *England* and *Holland* did not admit of the ſubjects of either nation indiſcriminately aſſiſting the nabob againſt the other. But this was the very reverſe of the doctrine they held when, as auxiliaries to the king of *Bantam*, they deſtroyed an *Engliſh* factory there, merely by the authority of that prince's orders, for the juſtice of which they pretended they were not accountable. As to the charge brought, that the *Engliſh* had made uſe of their influence with the nabob to the prejudice of the *Dutch* and their trade; the fact was ſo far otherwiſe, that when the nabob's ſon, by his father's orders, was marching to root them out of *Chinſura*, colonel *Clive* interpoſed ſo ſtrenuouſly in their favour, that all their priſoners were releaſed, and they obtained a treaty, by which they were permitted to carry on their trade as formerly. The complaints of the *Engliſh* having ingroſſed the ſaltpetre trade, appeared to be entirely groundleſs, as the nabob had a right to farm it to whom he pleaſed, and the *Dutch* had never failed to take the like and much greater advantages over the *Engliſh* as often as any opportunity preſented itſelf. It appeared farther, that the *Dutch* had ſolicited for themſelves, not only the very farm in queſtion, but a monopoly of opium, which never had been farmed, and which they offered not to farm, but to purchaſe, that they might become the ſole proprietors of that commodity. The *Engliſh* had been offered the farm of opium as well as that of ſaltpetre, but they rejected it, becauſe of the vaſt loſs it muſt have occaſioned to the *Dutch*.

The charge of the *Engliſh* having interrupted the *Dutch* callicoe trade, and having deſtroyed the work in their looms, appeared to be entirely groundleſs with regard to the *Engliſh*

ſometimes diſputed and ſometimes extinguiſhed. The practice of the two nations therefore upon former ſimilar occaſions, is all that can be appealed to, and the all ingroſſing excluſive rights of the *Dutch*, whenever they could obtain a ſuperiority in *Aſia*, ſet no favourable example to the *Engliſh* in the like caſe. After colonel *Ford*'s victory, the *Dutch* factory at *Chinſura* were overwhelmed with conſternation on their receiving news they ſo little expected, and immediately they ſet on foot a negociation. The *Engliſh* demanded ſatisfaction for the inſults that had been offered to the *Britiſh* flag, and the detention of their veſſels, with other hoſtilities committed in breach of treaties, and that the company at *Chinſura* ſhould repair all damages of whatever kind, whether they happened by their orders or not. The *Chinſura* company pretended to be affected with the deepeſt concern at the paſt hoſtilities, which, they ſaid, had been committed on the part of the *Dutch* inadvertently, and without their knowledge or order.

Demands of the *Dutch*.

After this, the *Dutch* gave in a paper of demands, which chiefly related to the nabob. That prince was ſtill at the head of an army in the field, and had expreſſed the moſt violent reſentment againſt the *Dutch* at *Chinſura*, whom he threatened to exterminate without any aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh*. This gave the *Chinſura* company terrible uneaſineſs, and their firſt demand was, that the *Engliſh* ſhould prevail upon the nabob either to return or to remain quiet in his camp, and that he ſhould confirm whatever agreement ſhould be made between the two companies. Their ſecond demand was conceived in the following terms: "That what has paſſed, during the "troubles which have now ceaſed, ſhall be mutually forgot, "and an aſſurance given of a perfect friendſhip, fidelity, and "correſpondence, being kept up between the two nations by "their reſpective chiefs, without permitting any hoſtility on "one ſide or the other, on any pretence whatſoever; that "each ſhall do his utmoſt to preſerve this good intelligence; "and to contribute, as far as poſſible, to the good of both, "without aſſiſting, directly or indirectly, thoſe who would pre-

upon pretence, that the commander was a ſubject of *France*, though the ſhip was hired by ſome of the company's ſervants at *Surat*, who loaded her with cotton on their own private account, and was the property of one *Benjaans*, a merchant; the commander alſo, though a native of *France*, had been admitted as a freeman by the director and council of the *Dutch* company at *Surat*, and had taken the oaths of fidelity to the *States* and company.

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As the *Engliſh*, at this time, were by no means inclined to continue the war, and far leſs to begin a new one with the *Dutch*, they would have given great attention to this reply, had it not been for the virulence with which it was loaded, and its being deſtitute of all kind of evidence. It appeared from unqueſtionable authority, that the armament fitted out at *Batavia*, was directly intended againſt the *Engliſh* in *Bengal*; that their troops were diſembarked at *Coromandel* only for a blind, becauſe all of them had been reimbarked, and the *Dutch* commanding officer, when a priſoner, confeſſed, that when he came to *Negapatam*, he found orders from *Batavia*, to go to *Bengal*. The *Dutch*, as appeared from the confeſſion of *Mhir Jaffier* himſelf, had long put him in mind, that he was no better than a cypher, and that he muſt depend upon them for freeing him from his tutelage; and thoſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect upon him, that both he and his ſon had actually connived at the *Dutch* invading *Bengal*, and had not colonel *Clive*, in the mean while, repelled *Shah Zaddah*, who pretended to dethone *Jaffier*, they undoubtedly would have joined them; but, the *Engliſh*, being then in every reſpect their maſters, they durſt not. When the *Dutch* found the nabob's backwardneſs, they upbraided him for his breach of promiſe, in having prevailed with them to equip their armament, and repreſented to him, that all his inſignificancy was owing to the avarice and ambition of his and their enemies, the *Engliſh*. The letters containing thoſe expreſſions were printed, and it was proved, by the moſt indiſputable authority, that the *Dutch* ſet out upon their expedition, in which, from the ſtrength of their armament, they thought they could not miſs of ſucceſs, with a declared intention of not leaving one *Engliſhman* alive in *Bengal*.

It appeared that the *Dutch* armament, in proceeding to *Bengal*, had ſtrengthened itſelf at *Ceylon*. While they were upon

upon their voyage, they did all they could to ingratiate themselves with the nabob, and to form a kind of an alliance with the *French*, who were left in the country, under one *M. Courtin*, to act against their common enemy the *English*, and they actually joined the *Dutch* settlement at *Chinsura*. While this was doing, (said the *English* in their own vindication against the *Dutch* charge) some of the council of *Chinsura* were employed in pestering the government of *Calcutta* with unintelligible remonstrances, tending merely to embarrass them, and divert their attention from the danger which threatened their lives, the *Dutch* at *Chinsura* being then actually busied in gaining intelligence of the state of our works, debauching and tempting our soldiers to desert, and forming plans of attack. This appears from some papers found in a pocket book of the *Dutch* commanding officer on the field of battle; among which is a plan for a storm; an offer of service in the intended expedition, though avowed by the *Dutch* to be chiefly intended for *Coromandel*; a plan for the attack of *Calcutta*; resolutions of a council of war for attacking our ships, clearing the shore, and disembarking the troops, assigning to each ship its situation and employment. Thus does it appear, contrary to their express affirmation, that the subsequent hostilities were not accidental or involuntary, but the consequence of previous resolution.

from their own proceedings

With regard to that part, which indeed was the heaviest of the charge against the *English*, that they had no right to stop and search the *Dutch* ships in the *Ganges*, which was a neutral river. The *English* replied, that during a declared war between *England* and *France*, the *English* have a right to stop and search the vessels of the *Dutch*, or any other neutral ship, even on the high seas, and far more in a river upon which the *French* so lately had settlements, and where they were still unsubdued. With regard to the right which the *Dutch* pretended of their introducing troops in *Bengal*, the *English* treated this pretence with the greatest contempt, as the mogul could never be supposed to grant them rights which were incompatible with his own, as sovereign of the country. We therefore, said the *English*, notwithstanding the pretences of the *Dutch*, deny that any such does, or ever did, exist; and if they are inclined to dispute it, we call upon them to produce copies of such grant, which they ought to have done to support their charge, if any such they had. If the *Dutch*, therefore, had not a right to bring troops to *Bengal* independent of the will of the nabob, it follows, that he had a right to oppose it; and, indeed, that he had such right is expressly allowed by the *Dutch* themselves, notwithstanding their pretended grant, for they not only *solicited his permission* to bring their armament thither, and excused their coming thither when he had forbidden them, by pretending they were forced by stress of weather, with promises to depart as soon as they could; but in a petition to him, dated *October* 24, 1759, they say,

and inconteſtable proofs.

ſay, "As it is poſſible we may have ſome diſputes, we have "ſent for forces; *in this affair his excellency is lord of the* "*country, we wait his pleaſure.*"

Their endeavouring to monopolize the *Bengal* trade.

The *Dutch* mentioned no injury that had been done them by the nabob, whoſe allies the *Engliſh* were, and therefore their invading his dominions againſt his expreſs orders, was a good reaſon for the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt him. The *Dutch*, in this caſe, pretended that the treaties between *England* and *Holland* did not admit of the ſubjects of either nation indiſcriminately aſſiſting the nabob againſt the other. But this was the very reverſe of the doctrine they held when, as auxiliaries to the king of *Bantam*, they deſtroyed an *Engliſh* factory there, merely by the authority of that prince's orders, for the juſtice of which they pretended they were not accountable. As to the charge brought, that the *Engliſh* had made uſe of their influence with the nabob to the prejudice of the *Dutch* and their trade; the fact was ſo far otherwiſe, that when the nabob's ſon, by his father's orders, was marching to root them out of *Chinſura*, colonel *Clive* interpoſed ſo ſtrenuouſly in their favour, that all their priſoners were releaſed, and they obtained a treaty, by which they were permitted to carry on their trade as formerly. The complaints of the *Engliſh* having ingroſſed the ſaltpetre trade, appeared to be entirely groundleſs, as the nabob had a right to farm it to whom he pleaſed, and the *Dutch* had never failed to take the like and much greater advantages over the *Engliſh* as often as any opportunity preſented itſelf. It appeared farther, that the *Dutch* had ſolicited for themſelves, not only the very farm in queſtion, but a monopoly of opium, which never had been farmed, and which they offered not to farm, but to purchaſe, that they might become the ſole proprietors of that commodity. The *Engliſh* had been offered the farm of opium as well as that of ſaltpetre, but they rejected it, becauſe of the vaſt loſs it muſt have occaſioned to the *Dutch*.

The charge of the *Engliſh* having interrupted the *Dutch* callico trade, and having deſtroyed the work in their looms, appeared to be entirely groundleſs with regard to the *Engliſh*, and owing to ſome irregular practices of the moor merchants in the country. The *Dutch* brought a few more charges againſt the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company's ſervants in *Bengal*, but they were either too frivolous in themſelves to be taken notice of, or they related to private perſons, for whoſe actions the company could not be anſwerable.

Vindication of the *Engliſh*.

We have been the more explicit in ſtating this controverſy becauſe it is of the utmoſt importance to the future good underſtanding between the two nations in the *Eaſt-Indies*. The truth is, neither the law of nations, nor particular treaties between the two people, are ſufficient to found any regular ſyſtem, either of friendſhip or enmity, in a country were almoſt all acceſs to the ſovereign power is cut off, and where ſuch an object often does not exiſt; the poſſeſſion of it being

ſometimes

ſometimes diſputed and ſometimes extinguiſhed. The practice of the two nations therefore upon former ſimilar occaſions, is all that can be appealed to, and the all ingroſſing excluſive rights of the *Dutch*, whenever they could obtain a ſuperiority in *Aſia*, ſet no favourable example to the *Engliſh* in the like caſe. After colonel *Ford*'s victory, the *Dutch* factory at *Chinſura* were overwhelmed with conſternation on their receiving news they ſo little expected, and immediately they ſet on foot a negociation. The *Engliſh* demanded ſatisfaction for the inſults that had been offered to the *Britiſh* flag, and the detention of their veſſels, with other hoſtilities committed in breach of treaties, and that the company at *Chinſura* ſhould repair all damages of whatever kind, whether they happened by their orders or not. The *Chinſura* company pretended to be affected with the deepeſt concern at the paſt hoſtilities, which, they ſaid, had been committed on the part of the *Dutch* inadvertently, and without their knowledge or order.

Demands of the *Dutch*.

After this, the *Dutch* gave in a paper of demands, which chiefly related to the nabob. That prince was ſtill at the head of an army in the field, and had expreſſed the moſt violent reſentment againſt the *Dutch* at *Chinſura*, whom he threatened to exterminate without any aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh*. This gave the *Chinſura* company terrible uneaſineſs, and their firſt demand was, that the *Engliſh* ſhould prevail upon the nabob either to return or to remain quiet in his camp, and that he ſhould confirm whatever agreement ſhould be made between the two companies. Their ſecond demand was conceived in the following terms: "That what has paſſed, during the "troubles which have now ceaſed, ſhall be mutually forgot, "and an aſſurance given of a perfect friendſhip, fidelity, and "correſpondence, being kept up between the two nations by "their reſpective chiefs, without permitting any hoſtility on "one ſide or the other, on any pretence whatſoever; that "each ſhall do his utmoſt to preſerve this good intelligence; "and to contribute, as far as poſſible, to the good of both, "without aſſiſting, directly or indirectly, thoſe who would pre-"judice either." The next article demanded a releaſe of their captives, who they ſaid, were not to be conſidered as priſoners of war; the fourth article required that they ſhould be left in free poſſeſſion of their ſettlements, commerce, rights and privileges, and the ſame demand ran through the fifth article.

The nabob is directed by the *Engliſh*.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the *Engliſh*, through the whole of this affair, acted with a circumſpection that bordered upon craft. They had deſired the nabob to conſider the attack made by the *Dutch* as an attempt made upon them alone, and the nabob had accordingly remained inactive during colonel *Ford*'s battle; but they ſeem now to have conſidered themſelves as the allies of the nabob, and him as the ſovereign of the country, and the diſpoſer of peace and war. In anſwer to the firſt demand of the *Chinſura* company, they ſaid, "They

" They ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon " the nabob to withdraw his arms as ſoon as the *Dutch* go- " vernment ſhould fulfil his orders, but that he had no con- " cern in the particular differences between the *Dutch* and the " *Engliſh*." They approved of the ſecond article ſo far as it was conſiſtent with the alliance between them and the nabob, and while peace ſubſiſted between *England* and *Holland* in *Europe*. In anſwer to the third article, they ſaid, " They con- " ſidered the *Dutch* officers and troops not as being priſoners " to them but to the nabob, and that they were ready, as " ſoon as they had finiſhed their treaty, to deliver up all of " them but thoſe who were willing to enter into the *Engliſh* " ſervice." They denied that they ever had interrupted the *Dutch* in their juſt rights and privileges, and they ſaid, " That " they were ready to deliver up all the *Dutch* ſhipping they " had as ſoon as their demands were complied with, or that " they received aſſurance thereof from the director and coun- " cil of *Hughley*." As the differences now between the two companies could not be finally compromiſed without a previous treaty between the *Dutch* and the nabob, a negociation was ſet on foot for that purpoſe on the 5th of *December*, 1759.

Treaty concluded between them and the nabob,

The demands of the *Dutch* upon the nabob in general, turned upon the *Dutch* commerce being reſtored to the ſame footing as in former times, which was granted with an exception to the article of ſaltpetre, and then a treaty was concluded between them and the nabob. By this treaty, which was ſufficiently mortifying to the *Dutch*, they were obliged to ſend off all the *Europeans* and others who had been employed in the late invaſion, and they engaged to bring no more armed forces into the country of *Bengal*, nor ever make war in the country, nor to erect any fortifications, nor make any military preparations; or to entertain more than 125 *European* ſoldiers in all their factories within the three provinces. Laſtly, they promiſed, if they met with any obſtructions, diſputes, or oppreſſions, to apply to the nabob of the province. Thoſe terms being ſettled, all differences ſeemed to be compromiſed between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*. About 200 *Dutch* priſoners entered into the ſervice of *Great Britain*, and the reſt embarked for *Batavia* in ſhips which were reſtored them upon the concluſion of the treaties.

whoſe reſentment againſt them ſtill continues.

The internal troubles of *Bengal* ſtill continued, and the *Dutch* were too much galled by the late treaties they had concluded not to endeavour to profit by them. A pretended ſon of the late nabob was then in arms againſt the nabob of *Bengal*, and ſome of the *Dutch*, had, it ſeems, ſent him a letter, promiſing him aſſiſtance. This letter was intercepted, or pretended to be intercepted, by the *Engliſh*, who put it into the hands of the nabob; and on the 11th of *February* one of his generals appeared with an army before the walls of the *Dutch* fort *Auguſtus*. After inveſting the town, and cutting off all its

its communications with the neighbourhood, he demanded that all the out-works ſhould be razed, and that the *Dutch* ſhould pay 50,000 florins by way of penalty, which they were obliged to comply with. In the following *April* the nabob complained that the *Dutch* factory at *Caſſembuzar* entertained a greater number of troops than they were allowed by the late treaty, and that they intended to employ them in aſſiſting his enemies, and therefore, in the true mercenary ſtile, he demanded from them a contribution of half a million ſterling. The *Dutch* ſtrenuouſly denied the charge, but this was ſo far from ſatisfying the nabob, that their chief being ill, he put their ſecond in command under arreſt, and, inveſting their factory he planted 11 pieces of cannon before it. The *Dutch* endeavoured all they could to deprecate the nabob's wrath, by paying or remitting him 200,000*l.* and diſcharging the troops they had taken into pay. The nabob, however, ſtill continued the blockade of the fort, and intimated that he could not raiſe it without the conſent of the *Engliſh*. The latter, on their part, alledged, that they had undoubted proofs of the *Dutch* being in the intereſt of their enemies, and the nabob's general, *Coſſim Caun*, continued the blockade till commiſſioners could be ſent to *Calcutta*, to terminate all differences with the *Engliſh*.

From this management it appears ſufficiently plain, whatever the *Engliſh* may pretend, that the nabob was entirely under their direction, and that the real difference lay between them and the *Dutch*. The *Engliſh* preſident at *Calcutta* wrote a letter to Mr. *Biſdom*, the *Dutch* chief at *Caſſembuzar*, adviſing him in a friendly manner to ſatisfy all the nabob's demands, and to ſubmit to whatever he ſhould require, as they were not in a condition to reſiſt; adding, that it was unneceſſary to mention the diſagreeable part which the *Engliſh* would be neceſſitated to take in the differences of the *Dutch* with the moors, and how ardently they wiſhed to act as mediators. Two deputies accordingly ſet out from *Caſſembuzar* to *Calcutta* on the 29th of *May*, and were obliged to agree to a very extraordinary treaty, which, among other ſtipulations, contains, that the *Dutch* ſhould, whenever the nabob ſhould require it, permit one of his officers, accompanied by one of the *Engliſh*, to muſter and viſit their troops and military ſtores at all their factories, or take ſuch other method as ſhould be agreed upon to aſſure the governor and council of *Fort William* of the number of *Dutch* troops, and quantity of their ſtores, that they, as umpire between the *Dutch* and the nabob, might give the nabob a ſatisfactory anſwer as to the ſecurity of his country.

The *Dutch* complained bitterly of thoſe ſtipulations, and indeed we muſt be of opinion, that they were of a nature which by no means became the ſervants of a trading country to preſcribe. It was plain, that they meant to give the *Engliſh* an uncontrouled power over all the *Dutch* ſettlements,

The *Engliſh* at *Calcutta* interpoſe.

Complaints of the *Dutch*.

under

under pretence of ſatisfying the nabob. The immenſe ſums which the latter was engaged to pay to the *Engliſh*, obliged him to have recourſe to the moſt cruel and oppreſſive methods for raiſing them; and when his own ſubjects were exhauſted he fell upon the *Dutch*, who were unable to reſiſt him. The *Engliſh*, it muſt be acknowledged, had received but too much provocation from the *Dutch* to juſtify this ſevere method of proceeding; they thought, perhaps with ſome juſtice, that they had nothing to truſt to but the weakneſs of a people who had been ſo long the tyrants of the *Aſiatic* commerce. They had, in the beginning of the war, preſumed to ſtop *Engliſh* ſhips on the high ſeas, on pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade; upon which an *Engliſh* commander told them, that if they continued in that practice, he would pay a viſit with his ſquadron to *Batavia* itſelf.

Memorials

When authentic accounts of all thoſe tranſactions arrived in *Europe*, both ſides prepared memorials for the juſtification of their conduct; but, as the *Engliſh* were far better informed, than the *Dutch* were, of facts, their reaſoning was far more clear and preciſe, and thoſe of the *Dutch* ſerved only to render them deſpicable in the eyes of the reſt of *Europe*. There was, however, a neceſſity for mollifying the court of *England*, which was exaſperated with them on other accounts. Though the government of *France*, at this time, had in a manner declared itſelf bankrupt, and were carrying on a war ruinous to themſelves in *Germany*, yet they found reſources of money in the pockets of the *Dutch* merchants. They continued the equipment of their 25 ſhips of war, and their private merchants carried on a contraband trade of the moſt dangerous kind in favour of *France*, by tranſporting, in the names of private perſons, great quantities of artillery and military ſtores from the *Baltic* to *Holland*, from whence they were carried through the towns and fortreſſes of the republic to *Dunkirk* and other parts of *France*. Major general *Yorke* preſented to the *States General* a memorial, complaining of the behaviour of the *Dutch* in *Bengal*, in which he ſaid, "He was ordered "to demand, in the name of the king his maſter, ſignal ſa-"tisfaction; and that all who ſhall be found to have had any "ſhare in this offence, which manifeſtly tended to the de-

and tranſactions in *Europe*.

"ſtruction of the *Britiſh* ſettlements in that country, ſhould "be exemplarily puniſhed; and that their high mightineſſes "ſhould moreover give orders that the ſtipulations agreed on, "the day after the action, between the directors of the re-"ſpective companies, in conſideration of which the *Dutch* "had their ſhips reſtored, after they had acknowledged "their fault, and that they were the aggreſſors, ſhould be "ſtrictly complied with." The ſubſtance of the *States General*'s anſwer was as follows: "That nothing had as yet "come to the knowledge of their high mightineſſes of what "their ſubjects were charged with; that they requeſted his "*Britannic* majeſty to ſuſpend his judgment till he ſhould be

"exactly

" exactly informed of the grounds of those disputes; and that " his majesty should have reason to be satisfied with the ex- " emplary punishment of all who should be found to be con- " cerned in that affair."

The memorial presented by the same minister on the subject of the artillery, was attended with far greater difficulties. He demanded that the king his master should be made easy on that head by the *States General*, by their immediately putting a stop to the practices complained of; and put them in mind that his majesty's moderation had of late procured an act of parliament in favour of the *Dutch* captures, in consequence of their representations, and that the commerce of *Holland* had been considerably benefitted by the freedom of navigation which the *Dutch* enjoyed through his *Britannic* majesty's friendship. He affirmed that their high mightinesses had suffered *French* artillery, which was to be employed in an invasion of *Great Britain* to pass through their territories. He complained that the court of *Vienna*, under colour of the barrier treaty, which itself had in a manner annihilated, had lent its name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions for the *French* troops. Remonstrances of the *English* and the *French* ambassadors.

The *States General* seemed to be startled with this memorial, and as a great quantity of stores belonging to the *French* was then lying at *Amsterdam*, they hesitated about giving them permission to be removed; upon which the *French* court instructed their ambassador, count *D'Affry*, to present a counter memorial to that of general *Yorke*. In this memorial he obliquely upbraids the republic for its tameness towards the *English* and the *Hanoverians*, who, he said, had often saved their persons, effects, and artillery, under the neutrality allowed to the territories of the republic; and that at that very time they had magazines and were purchasing powder in its dominions without *France* taking any umbrage. He added, that if his master should hear that the cannon and balls belonging to him were detained there, he would look upon it as a violation of the neutrality. He, therefore, peremptorily demanded, that the artillery in question should be instantly carried by the canals of *Amsterdam* and the inland navigation to *Flanders*. The decisive tone which this memorial carried with it, had such an effect on the *States General*, that the necessary passports were immediately expedited, and the artillery was sent to *Flanders*.

When we consider the complection of the people of *England* at this time, and the immense burdens they bore in a war in which the *Dutch* favoured their enemies, with all the other provocations they received, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that they met with a powerful advocate in that predilection which *George* II. still retained for the ancient system of *Europe*, in which the *Dutch* made so great a figure against the *French*. He had received part of his own education at the *Hague*, and had contracted intimate connections with many The *Dutch* favoured by *George* II.

of

of the leading families in the republic; nor did he doubt, that by a little management the *Engliſh* intereſt would yet regain an aſcendency in the aſſembly of the *States General*. This being intimated by ſome of their leaders, it was reſolved to ſend over to *England* a formal deputation for reconciling all differences between the two nations, and Mr. *Boreel*, with two other members of the *States* being nominated for that purpoſe, arrived in *England* in *February*. They addreſſed the king in the moſt ſoftening manner; they repreſented the impoſſibility of their mariners and merchants complying with the terms inſiſted upon by the *Britiſh* courts of admiralty for the confiſcation of their ſhips; but threw themſelves entirely upon his majeſty's equity. Their repreſentations were far from being without weight, and we perceive, that about this time, ſeveral favourable ſentences were obtained from the court of delegates, to which the cauſes of ſome *Dutch* ſhips had been appealed from the courts of admiralty. In this ſituation ſtood matters at the death of *George* II. In the month of *January*, 1761, captain *Elphinſton*, commander of a *Britiſh* ſhip of war, deſtroyed a *French* ſhip ſo near the coaſt of *Holland*, that the *States General*, at the inſtigation of the *French*, demanded ſatisfaction for violating the neutrality of their republic. The peace which followed removed all miſunderſtanding of that kind.

The *Dutch* ruined in the iſland of *Ceylon*.

During the dependency of the negociations for peace, an account came of a moſt dreadful cataſtrophe which happened to one of their ſettlements upon the iſle of *Ceylon*. The factory there had been in uſe to pay to the king of *Candia*, as he is called, certain duties which they diſcontinued, and thereby gave the natives ſome ſuſpicion that they intended to diſpoſſeſs the king and make themſelves maſters of his country. This notion operated ſo powerfully upon the minds of the inhabitants, that they aſſembled in vaſt numbers under that prince, and took the principal ſettlement called *Columbo*, maſſacred all the *Dutch* who fell into their hands, without regard to ſex, age or condition, and cut down all the cinnamon and ſpice trees belonging to them upon the iſland. Having thus finiſhed the *European* hiſtory of this great republic, we ſhall now take a view of its *Aſiatic* hiſtory, without which we apprehend this diviſion of our work would be imperfect.

## *The* Aſiatic *Hiſtory of the* Dutch.

# BOOK V.

THE emulation between the *Portugueſe* and the *Dutch* in commercial matters, gave the latter the firſt hint of an *Eaſt-Indian* trade. About the year 1595, a *Zealander*, one *Balthazar Moucheran*, who was at the head of a company that had been formed to trade to *China* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, petitioned prince *Maurice* for leave to diſcover a paſſage to *China* by the north-eaſt, which being granted, one *William Barentz*, an able navigator, ſailed with four ſhips on the 5th of *June* to the latitude of 78 degrees north; but his company refuſing to proceed farther, he returned in *September* following. He and *James Heemſkerk*, next year, made a freſh attempt, but without ſucceſs, upon a reward of 25,000 florins offered by the *States* for the diſcovery. Moſt of their ſhips were wrecked, and their crews periſhed, and *Barentz* among the reſt. In the mean time, one *Houtman*, a *Dutchman*, priſoner at *Liſbon*, informed himſelf of the *Portugueſe* courſe to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and diſcovered it to his countrymen, who thereupon inſtituted a company for remote countries. *Houtman* had the direction of the expedition, which proceeded by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the adventurers were inſtructed to purſue the ſpice trade in ſuch iſlands and countries where the *Portugueſe* were not ſettled. In 28 months they returned, and gave ſo promiſing an account of their voyage, that a fleet of 8 ſhips ſailed from the *Texel* in 1596, under the command of *James Van Neck*. No ſooner did this new expedition ſail, than the moſt conſiderable merchants in the *Low Countries* formed themſelves into companies for proſecuting the *Eaſt-India* trade, which was carried on with ſuch ardour, that, in the year 1601, their republic was ſo much enriched by their *Eaſt-Indian* commerce, that they fitted out conſiderable fleets, which beat thoſe of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*.

1595. Wars between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueze* in *Aſia*.

1601.

The latter, upon this, employed emiſſaries among the *Eaſt-Indian* princes, repreſenting the *Dutch* as rebels and pirates; but *Heemſkerk*, their moſt active commander, behaved with ſo much courage and addreſs, that the *Portugueſe* endeavours were ineffectual, and their trade every where ruined in thoſe countries. We have in the preceding part of this hiſtory often mentioned the amazing wealth which this commerce brought to the *States General*; but the intereſts of ſeveral companies claſhing, the whole was formed into one in 1602; the capital of which conſiſted of 6,600,000 florins, divided into as many chambers as there had been companies, and with an excluſive right to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by the *Cape of Good Hope* or the *Straits of Magellan*. The new company ſoon fitted out 14 large ſhips, by which they pre-

Vaſt trade of the *Dutch* there.

1602.

ſerved their footing in the *Eaſt Indies* againſt all the efforts made by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* to diſpoſſeſs them. About
1605. the year 1605, the affairs of the company were in ſo proſperous a ſituation, that they ſent out ſoldiers to garriſon their ſettlements, and every ſeaſon brought home their fleets with
1607. immenſe riches; ſo that before the middle of the year, 1607, they were in poſſeſſion of the fort of *Tydore*, and almoſt a monopoly of the ſpice trade. The truce that followed with the court of *Spain* and the archduke, did not relax their ardour, and they ſent, under the command of admiral *Verhoeven*, a fleet of 13 large ſhips to protect their *Aſiatic* commerce, till the court of *Madrid* became ſo jealous of the greatneſs of the *Dutch*, that its miniſters threatened to break off the negotiations then on foot. This had no other effect than to give freſh ſpirits to the republic, and, in the mean while, they diſpoſſeſſed the *Spaniards* of all the *Molucca* iſlands, excepting
1609. that of *Ternate*. In 1609, they employed *Hudſon*, an *Engliſhman*, in another attempt to find out the *North-Eaſt* paſſage, but without effect, and, at laſt, they gave over all thoughts of
who are defeated by the *Spaniards*. proſecuting it farther. It is ſaid, at this time, that they had fifty ſhips, the ſmalleſt of which was 800 tons burthen, employed in the *Eaſt Indies*; but one of their moſt powerful ſquadrons, under admiral *Wittert*, was beat by *Don Juan de Sylva*, the *Spaniſh* governor of the *Philippines*. *Wittert* was killed, and the *Dutch* loſt 200,000 crowns. This happened during the truce, which neither party obſerved on the other ſide the line. *Don Juan* after this, drove the *Dutch*, in their turn, out of the *Molucca* iſlands. But the haughtineſs and inſolence of the *Spaniards* ruined their affairs at the eaſtern courts, where the *Dutch* generally prevailed. The latter were likewiſe greatly favoured by the animoſities which ſubſiſted between the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*.

1614. Adven. tures of *Spilbergen*. In *Auguſt* 1614, the command of ſix ſhips was given to *George Spilbergen*, for the diſcovery of a paſſage through the *Magellan* to the *Eaſt Indies*. It was thought that the chief intention of this fleet was to make diſcoveries in the *South Seas*, where it actually defeated that of the *Spaniards*; after which they re-eſtabliſhed their ſettlements in the *Moluccas*.
1615. Next year, a ſeparate company diſcovered the *Straits* of *Le Maire*, which were different from that of *Magellan*, and were ſo called from *Iſaac le Maire*, a rich merchant who planned the expedition. The *Eaſt India* company conſidered this attempt as an invaſion upon their charter, and *le Maire*, with his aſſociate *Schouten*, were ſent home priſoners in *Spilbergen*'s fleet. *Le Maire* dyed in the paſſage; and thus this great attempt was fruſtrated. The public ſpirit of the *Dutch*, about this time, began to degenerate. Luxury had crept into their *Aſiatic* ſettlements, and their merchants failed
*Luxury* of the *Dutch*. in the performance of their contracts. This awakened the attention of their chiefs in *Europe*; and the *States General* complied

complied with every propoſal that could retrieve their credit, which was in a great meaſure effected. The pride of their *Aſiatics* embroiled them, however, with the *Engliſh East India* company; but their money found acceſs even to the court of *London*, and no ſignal reparation was made for the complaints of the *Engliſh*.

War in *Jacatra*.

Thoſe differences, at laſt, roſe ſo high, that the king of *Jacatra*, a ſmall principality on the coaſt of *Java*, on whoſe dominions, the *Dutch* had built two forts, where the ſplendid city of *Batavia* now ſtands, declared for the *Engliſh*, who beat the *Dutch* in a ſea engagement. The *Engliſh* being thus victorious, became maſters of the port of *Jacatra*, while the *Dutch* retired to *Amboyna*. In the mean while, the king of *Jacatra* beſieged one of their forts, called *Maurice*, and found means to decoy into his power the *Dutch* commandant, upon which the fortreſs was given up to the *Engliſh*, who were commanded by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and the effects found in it to the king of *Jacatra*. While this happened, *Vander Broecke*, the *Dutch* commandant, prevailed with the governor of *Bantam* to dethrone the king of *Jacatra*, who was reduced to the condition of a fiſherman; and the *Bantameſe* poſſeſſed themſelves of his capital, but *Vander Broecke* was obliged to own himſelf their priſoner, and changed the name of his fortreſs into *Batavia*. Next year, commodore *Koen* deſtroyed the town of *Jacatra*, from which the *Engliſh* were withdrawn, and laid the foundations of the city of *Batavia*, which was declared to be the capital of the *Dutch Aſiatic* ſettlements. The appearance of a police, carried on with regularity and magnificence, had vaſt effect upon the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and other *Eaſt Indians*, in favour of the *Dutch*; and, in 1622, the company obtained a renewal of their charter from the *States General*, for the farther term of 21 years. Though great fault was found with the excluſive privileges of thoſe charters, yet the incredible ſums which the trade brought to the republic, during their wars with *Spain* and the archduke, ſilenced all oppoſition. 1622.

Their conqueſts in *Java*,

We have already mentioned the infamous maſſacre at *Amboyna*, which happened about this time, and the meaſures taken by the *Dutch*, at once, to extend and protect their commerce. *Koen* ſtill continued to reſide at *Batavia*, and prodigious diſcoveries were made in the *Southern* continent, till the emperor of *Java* became jealous of the *Dutch* power, and inveſted *Batavia* with 200,000 men. It was bravely defended by *Koen*, who baffled all the attempts of the barbarians, who after raiſing the ſiege with vaſt loſs, renewed it, but with no better ſucceſs than before, till their dead bodies became infectious to the air; but, in the mean time, the brave *Koen* died, and was ſucceeded by *James Specks*, who reſtored the order and tranquillity of their ſettlement. As we have little of the *Dutch Aſiatic* hiſtory, but from themſelves, we undoubtedly are in the dark with regard to many particulars of their com-

1631. merce there. It is certain, that in 1631, their fleets returned to *Holland*, with incredible riches, and had found means to ingroſs to themſelves almoſt all the trade of *Japan*. One *Nuyts* had been named ambaſſador to that empire, which he entered with the aſſumed title of ambaſſador from the king of *Holland*. His impoſture being diſcovered, he was ſent back by the emperor of *Japan* to *Batavia* with diſgrace; but he had intereſt to be promoted to a government in the iſland of *Formoſa*, where he ordered two large *Japaneſe* ſhips to be ſeized and detained. The *Japaneſe* remonſtrated againſt this detention, but in vain; and being 500 in number, they ſuddenly attacked the governor's palace, and became maſters of his perſon, with almoſt unparalleled reſolution and addreſs.

Where the *Dutch* are defeated. After this, they forced him and his council to agree to their own terms, and carried off five of the principal inhabitants of the iſland as hoſtages, with the ſails and rudders of the *Dutch* ſhips, to prevent a purſuit. They likewiſe obliged *Nuyts* and his council to acknowledge their own villainous proceeding, and to juſtify the *Japaneſe* by writing, in the ſtrongeſt manner.

The *Japaneſe* are appeaſed. When the *Japaneſe* arrived in their own country, the *Dutch* factory there was immediately blockaded, and put under a kind of an interdict, all communication with it being cut off; but no farther violence was offered to their perſons. The *Dutch*, in vain, petitioned to know what crime they had committed, to deſerve this treatment. The *Japaneſe* refuſed to give them any ſatisfaction; but their ſufferings, and the cauſe of them, coming to the knowledge of the governor-general of *Batavia*, he ordered *Nuyts* to be arreſted, and in

1634. the year 1634, he was ſent priſoner to the emperor of *Japan*, to be treated as his majeſty pleaſed. This had a wonderful effect, and the identity of *Nuyts*'s perſon being proved, the emperor demanded of the factory, whether they were willing that the priſoner ſhould be broiled on the coals, or crucified, if ſuch was his ſentence. The reply of the factory was ſo prudent and ſo ſubmiſſive to his *Imperial* majeſty, that all the interdictions were taken off from the factory, and *Nuyts*'s puniſhment converted into confinement at large. When their ſhips arrived at *Batavia*, from *Japan*, their cargoes proved to be of immenſe value, and, on that account, they ſent him by the next ſeaſon a moſt magnificent chandelier, which threw a luſtre upon the funeral ceremonies then performing for the late emperor, and whoſe ſon was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he ſet *Nuyts* at liberty, and made a conſiderable preſent to the government of *Batavia*. From that time, the *Dutch* always took care to retain one of his *Japaneſe* majeſty's miniſters as their protector at that court.

1644. The *Dutch* *Eaſt India* charter renewed. When the *Eaſt India* company's charter was near expiring, their directors applied to have it renewed, which was accordingly done, in 1644, for the payment of 1,600,000 florins. The luxury and magnificence that had now crept into the *Dutch*

*Dutch Aſiatic* ſettlements, eſpecially in *Batavia*, had diminiſhed the dividends of the company, though they continued ſtill to be very great; and we have already ſeen in what manner their trade was hurt by their quarrel with the republic of *England*. Amongſt the moſt important tranſactions of the *Dutch* at this time, was their acquiſition of the iſland of *Ceylon*.

*Rajah Singa*, the king of *Candia* in that iſland, having been provoked by the inſolence of a *Portugueſe* governor, in 1638, made an alliance with the government of *Batavia*, who undertook to furniſh him with troops for driving the *Portugueſe* out of the iſland. This produced a war between the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* there, which was carried on with ſuch inveteracy, that no quarter was given or taken on either ſide. Upon peace being concluded between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe* in *Europe*, an attempt was made to reconcile them in *Ceylon* likewiſe. This attempt proved fruitleſs; and the injuſtice of the *Portugueſe* towards the king of *Candia*, gave ſuch advantage to the *Dutch* general, *Francis Caron*, that he took *Negombo*, and cut in pieces a large body of *Portugueſe* upon the iſland. The ſurviving *Portugueſe*, upon this, retired to *Columbo*, and ſoon after, an order came from the king of *Portugal*, for giving up to the *Dutch* all the diſputed diſtricts. Peace being thus reſettled between the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* in *Ceylon*, the *Dutch* governor of *Ponte de Gallo*, incautiouſly provoked *Singa* to ſurprize his garriſon, which, however, he ſoon after ſet at liberty. It was not long before hoſtilities recommenced between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe*, to the advantage of the latter, where general *Figueira* defeated the king of *Candia*.

1638. War and peace, between the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe*;

The *Dutch* at *Batavia*, ſent *Gerard Hulſt*, with a fleet and an army, to ſupport the king, and in *October* 1655, he defeated *Figueira*, and laid ſiege to *Columbo*, which he took. The king of *Candia* demanded poſſeſſion of the place, and the *Dutch* refuſed to deliver it up, upon which a war between them commenced, and it ended in the entire reduction of *Ceylon* by the *Dutch*, in *June* 1658. The *Dutch* pretending that they had ſucceeded to all that the *Portugueſe* ever had poſſeſſed in *Ceylon*, from that time treated the kings of *Candia* with very little ceremony, farther than ſuffering them to retain the title and badges of ſovereignty; and this, no doubt, produced the late revolution in that country, mentioned in the preceding chapter.

1655. but the war continues in the *Eaſt Indies*. 1658.

In *June*, 1655, the governor-general, and council of *Batavia*, ſent *Peter Boyer*, and *James Keyſel*, as their plenipotentiaries to the emperor of *China*, the famous *Kang-Hi*, who was then at *Peking*. The attachment which that great monarch had to the *Jeſuits*, and eſpecially to father *Adam Schaal*, will be ever mentioned to his honour, as he always preſerved himſelf from being the dupe of their principles, either religious or civil. When the plenipotentiaries arrived at

Various tranſactions of the *Dutch* in *Aſia*.

*Canton*, and desired leave to repair to the *Imperial* presence at *Peking*, *Schaal* prepossessed the emperor against them so effectually, that the emperor sent them back to *Batavia*, in a very polite manner, but without seeing them. About this time, one *Zachary Wagenaer* was sent from *Batavia* as ambassador to the emperor of *Japan*, who put the *Dutch* under several restrictions; but he soon won the good graces of his *Japanese* majesty and his ministry. The *Dutch* affairs in *Java*, at this time, were in great disorder. They had hitherto found means to keep their footing there, by balancing the power and interest of the emperor of *Java*, and the king of *Bantam* against each other. A rebellion breaking out in *Java*; in 1650, the king of *Bantam* besieged *Batavia*, but he was obliged to desist from his attempt by the troops of the company, which was now in so flourishing a condition, that they not only gave law to both those monarchs, but restablished in his dominions, the king of *Bengal*, who, in gratitude for the services done him, gave them leave to build their fort at *Hughly*, which for a long time gave them a vast superiority over the *English* in that country.

1660. They take and destroy a great *Portuguese* fleet.

In 1660, a rich *Portuguese* fleet, the effects of which mostly belonged to the *Jesuits*, lay at *Macassar*, the capital of an island of that name. The *Dutch* imputed their disappointments in *China* to the *Jesuits*; and though the whole of their embassy and applications did not cost them much above 10,000 l. yet they resolved to be revenged in a signal manner; for they attacked the port of *Macassar* by sea and land, destroyed five *Portuguese* ships, and took one of sufficient value to indemnify all their expences. The *Dutch* are accused of the most enormous inhumanities and treachery during this expedition; and though it must be admitted, that the chief charge against them comes from their enemies, yet by their own relations, they are far from having been defensible in their proceedings. They attacked the king of *Macassar*, only for defending his allies, the *Portuguese*, and obliged him not only to make the most humiliating submissions to the council of *Batavia*; but to grant them an exclusive trade, throughout all his dominions, to expel the *Portuguese*, to ruin all the settlements and churches of the *Jesuits*, to confiscate all their effects for the benefit of the company, to grant them, in perpetual property, the fortress and port of *Jompandam*; and, to make their triumph complete, they forced the king to buy from the company, with considerable sums, the ratification of this shameful peace.

History of the *Dutch* in *Formosa*.

Among the finest of the *Dutch Asiatic* settlements, was that on the island of *Formosa*, so called, by *Europeans*, from its beauty. Here they were powerful, rich, and flourishing, and had acquired an immense commerce, by sheltering many of the *Chinese* natives, who had taken refuge there, when their country was conquered by the *Tartars*. The rapacity of the *Dutch* was so intolerable, that the natives and the *Chinese* had entered

entered into ſeveral conſpiracies againſt them, but being deſtitute both of conduct and courage, they always miſcarried, and the *Dutch* governors, particularly one *Nicholas Werburgh*, conceived ſo great a contempt for them, that they were ſcarcely at the pains to keep their ſettlements in a poſture of defence. A *Chineſe* refugee, one *Iquon*, by trade a taylor, but a determined enemy to the *Tartars*, had, by applying himſelf to ſea affairs, become ſo formidable to the *Tartar* emperor of *China*, that he offered to make him a king, but getting him in his power he poiſoned him. He was ſucceeded in the command of his fleet by his ſon *Coxenga*; but the *Dutch* refuſing to join him againſt the *Tartars*, he aſſembled a fleet of 600 ſail, of which 100 are ſaid to have been frigates of between 30 and 40 guns, and in 1661, they appeared before the *Dutch* 1661.
ſettlement on *Formoſa*, where he landed about 40,000 men. There is little room to doubt, and indeed it has been acknowledged by the *Dutch* themſelves, that *Werburgh*, and their other governors, had committed the moſt dreadful maſſacres among the natives, which were now revenged on the *Dutch* and their adherents. The *Dutch* governor, *Frederic Cojet*, being diſappointed in the ſuccours he expected from *Batavia*, retired into *Fort Zealand*; and becauſe he refuſed to ſurrender, *Coxenga* cut the throats of all the *Dutch* and their adherents, who fell into his hands. While the blockade of this fort continued, a ſquadron of nine men of war came to its relief from *Batavia*, under admiral *Cawen*, who attempted to land, but was repulſed with the loſs of half his ſquadron, and its crews.

Upon his return to *Batavia*, his bad ſucceſs filled the *Dutch* there with conſternation, and in the mean while, *Coxenga* preſſed the ſiege of the fort ſo vigorouſly, that he, at laſt, forced *Cojet* to ſurrender it, though a new fleet from *Batavia*, fitted out for his relief, was then in ſight of the harbour. The company applied to the *Tartar* emperor of *China*; but all they could obtain was a promiſe that he would aſſiſt them againſt *Coxenga*, who was now maſter of *Formoſa*, and of many other *Dutch* ſettlements on the neighbouring iſlands. The *Tartar* emperor's promiſe encouraged the company to fit out a fleet of 17 large ſhips, under *Balthazar Borth*, againſt *Coxenga*. This officer had orders to do ſomewhat to give the *Dutch Tartar* allies an opinion of their power and courage, and on finding *Coxenga* in poſſeſſion of the iſland of *Quemoy* on the coaſt of *China*, he attacked and defeated his fleet, after a bloody engagement; while the *Tartar* general remained a cool ſpectator at the head of his army; and *Borth*, at his perſuaſion, attacked *Coxenga* again, killed him, and deſtroyed his fleet. The *Dutch* had now ſome reaſonable expectations of recovering *Formoſa*; and they might have regained from *Suja*, *Coxenga*'s uncle, a comfortable ſettlement, had not *Coxenga*'s ſon impriſoned his grand uncle, attacked the *Dutch*, and forced their admiral to return to *Batavia*. This young prince

Their war with *Coxenga*,

ſoon after died, and being ſucceeded by his ſon, a ſoft young man, the iſland of *Formoſa* was reunited to the *Chineſe* empire, upon his receiving a moderate penſion.

The *Dutch* were not equally unfortunate in other parts of *Aſia*, where they proſecuted the war with great vigour and ſucceſs againſt the *Portugueſe*, though negotiations for peace, between the two nations, were going on in *Europe*, under the mediation of *Charles* II. of *England*. On the coaſt of *Mala-*
1603. *bar*, the *Portugueſe*, in 1603, loſt *Coulan* and *Gananor*, and were, at laſt, driven by the *Dutch* commodore *Goens*, out of
and on the coaſt of *Malabar*. *Cochin*, a city of great conſequence. *Goens* being reinforced from *Batavia*, reduced *Porca* and *Cranganor*; and, at laſt, he diſpoſſed the *Portugueſe* of all they held on the coaſt of *Malabar*. As the *Dutch* continued to find the vaſt effects of pomp and grandeur among the *Aſiatics*, they ſent a moſt magnificent embaſſy to *Aurengzebe*, the famous Great Mogul, who received it with politeneſs and ſeeming ſatisfaction, though he is ſaid to have ſecretly deſpiſed their vanity. They were, at this time, courted by the king of *Siam*; and *Batavia* became a kind of academy for the education of *Eaſt Indian* young princes.

Their war with the king of *Macaſſar* renewed, 1666. The king of *Macaſſar*, who reigned over a brave and independent people, and was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the iſland of *Celebes*, did not tamely bear the yoke that had been impoſed upon him by the *Dutch*. Various expedients were propoſed and agreed upon for an accommodation, but, in 1665, *Speelman*, a *Daniſh* admiral, appeared with a ſquadron of 13 ſhips of war, beſides tranſports, before *Macaſſar*. The king offered him a pecuniary ſatisfaction, for what the *Dutch* had ſuffered from his ſubjects; but this was not accepted of, and *Speelman*, landing on the iſland, did incredible damage to the natives, by burning their towns and their ſhips. He then proceeded to the iſland of *Bouton*, where he defeated the *Macaſſar* army, and forced it to ſurrender at diſcretion, and after diſtributing the ſoldiers among their allies in thoſe parts, *Speelman* returned triumphantly laden with immenſe plunder to *Batavia*. The king of *Macaſſar* ſeized the firſt moment of his abſence, to form a general confederacy of all the neighbouring princes and people againſt the *Dutch*, whom they now looked upon as their tyrants, equally perfidious, bloody, and rapacious. The government of *Batavia* prepared to reſiſt this formidable league, and *Speelman*, on the 19th of *July*,
1667. 1667, with 16 veſſels, and 14 ſhallops, attacked the port of *Macaſſar*, but was repulſed. Being reinforced, he effected a landing, at a place called *Gliſſon*, which he took. The king of *Macaſſar*, who acted as general of the league, attempted
in which they are victorious. to retake this place, at the head of 20,000 men; but the *Dutch* plied their artillery ſo well, that he was defeated, and his *Indian* allies beginning to deſert him, a negotiation was ſet on foot, which terminated in his being again obliged to renew his preſents and ſubmiſſions to the haughty *Batavians*.

By

By this peace, both the *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh* were expelled out of *Macaſſar*; and the *Dutch*, once more, entered into the abſolute monopoly of the *Eaſt Indian* ſpice trade.

The famous penſionary, *John de Wit*, as we have ſeen in the preceding part of this hiſtory, may, at this time, be conſidered as the legiſlator of the *Dutch* republic. Upon the expiration of the *Eaſt India* company's third charter, though he was fully ſenſible of the prodigious utility of that commerce to the ſtate, yet he entertained ſome doubts as to the propriety of renewing its excluſive privileges. All his ſcruples gave way to the neceſſities of the republic, and the charter was renewed for 21 years, from 1666; and it is remarkable, that at the time of this renewal, notwithſtanding the almoſt incredible expences of the company, the directors divided 450 *per cent.* upon their capital. One of the chief objections *de Wit* had to the company's excluſive privileges, was the infamous abandoned character of its *Aſiatic* traders and directors, by which, about this time, they loſt their gainful trade from *Japan* to *Tonquin*. They ſtill, however, perſiſted in embelliſhing the city of *Batavia* with every thing that *European* genius and *Aſiatic* wealth could execute. During the long government of *John Matzuyker*, the magazines, works, apartments, halls, palaces, and all kind of public and private buildings, are ſaid to exceed every thing that imagination can conceive, and tend equally to the ſafety and conveniency, as to the beauty and magnificence of the city. But an incident, at this time, gave a conſiderable ſhock to their *Eaſt India* commerce.

Proſperous ſtate of their *East India* company.

One *Carron*, who had been in the company's ſervice, being diſobliged by ſome treatment he had received at *Batavia*, offered himſelf to the *French*, who were then forming vaſt projects of commerce and naval power. His diſcoveries were greedily embraced, and terminated in a propoſal for making a deſcent upon the iſland of *Ceylon*, where the *French* were to make themſelves maſters of *Ponte de Gallo*, and to drive the *Dutch* out of all the ſpice trade. Sixteen *French* ſhips were equipped, and put under the command of the *Sieur de la Haye*, who attacked *Ponte de Gallo*, but was repulſed. *De la Haye*, after this, reduced a fortreſs upon *Trinquemala*-bay; which he ſoon loſt to the *Dutch*; but he took the important ſettlement of St. *Thomas*, on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and then returned to *Europe*; but Mr. *Carron* was drowned in ſight of the port of *Liſbon*. The *Dutch*, after liberally rewarding commodore *Van Goens*, who had retaken *Trinquemala* fort, applied to the king of *Golconda*, by whoſe aſſiſtance they took St. *Thomas* from the *French*, after a long and obſtinate defence. The garriſon obtained an honourable capitulation, and to its commandant was owing the foundation of *Pondicherry*. We cannot here enter into a detail of the politics, and particular management of the *Dutch Eaſt India* company, when partly by force, and partly by craft, they became maſters of all the commerce

They are oppoſed by the *French* in *Ceylon*.

commerce of the kingdom of *Bantam*, againſt the natural diſpoſitions of the people; neither ſhall we attempt to recount all the bickerings and diſputes between them and the *Engliſh Eaſt India* company, till the breaking out of the general war in *Europe*, towards the cloſe of the laſt century.

Origin of the *French* ſettlement of *Pondicherry*.

1693.

1698.

A medal.

1704.

The proſperous ſtate of the *French* eſtabliſhment at *Pondicherry* then gave the *Dutch* uneaſineſs, and they beſieged it in 1693, with one of the greateſt armaments, that, till then, had been fitted out by any *European* nation in the *Eaſt Indies*. Mr. *Martin*, the *French* governor, being obliged to ſurrender the place, the *Dutch* expended conſiderable ſums on its fortifications, for which they were allowed a conſideration, when it was reſtored to the *French* by the peace of *Nimeguen*. In 1698, the *Dutch Eaſt India* company bought, at a very great expence, a renewal of their charter, to the year 1740. On this occaſion, the company ordered a very fine medal to be ſtruck, with the device, *In altera ſecula pergo*, "I proceed to "future ages." This great affair being ſettled, in 1704, the *Dutch* were engaged in a war in ſupport of a candidate for the crown of *Java*, which continued for ſome years, when it was terminated by a patched-up peace; but it broke out again by intervals, and the *Dutch* perceived that the *Javaneſe*, by being often-beat, had acquired a conſiderable knowledge of their diſcipline.

1722. Conſpiracy againſt them in *Java*.

In the year 1722, the *Javaneſe* entered into a conſpiracy, for exterminating the *Dutch* empire in the *Eaſt Indies*. Some of the inhabitants of *Batavia*, but of no conſiderable rank, were among the conſpirators, and one *Peter Erberfeldt*, a *Batavian*, was to be at their head. The manner in which the conſpiracy was diſcovered is not clear, but it probably took air from more quarters than one, through the vaſt numbers of thoſe concerned in it, who were of different nations, complexions and intereſts. It is ſaid, that their ſcheme was to have murdered all who were not of their party, with the governor-general, the council, and the magiſtrates of *Batavia*, and then *Erberfeldt* was to have been declared king. The heads of the conſpirators were privately diſcovered, and ſeized, at the time when their plot was on the point of execution, and put to the moſt excruciating deaths; though ſome have thought that the plot itſelf was an invention of the *Batavian* government, to ſtrike terror into the natives, and to give them a colour for extending their oppreſſions.

Their difficulties in renewing their charter.

1740.

The new channels of commerce which, about this time, were opened by the *Europeans* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the eſtabliſhment of the *Imperial* company of *Oſtend*, mentioned in other parts of this work, gave vaſt diſquiet to the directors of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company, who found great difficulties in obtaining a renewal of their charter but for a ſingle year, upon its expiration in 1740, when the ſettlement in *Batavia* exhibited a moſt dreadful ſcene of conſpiracy, which

ſeems

ſeems to have grown out of that extinguiſhed by the death of *Erberfeldt* and his accomplices. The inquiſitorial manner in which the governors and council at *Batavia* manage all their affairs, ſometimes to the prejudice of their principals, obliges us to take up with the accounts of this conſpiracy as tranſmitted from thence, and publiſhed in *Holland*.

Great conſpiracy againſt them in *Batavia*.

The *Chineſe*, a frugal induſtrious ſet of mortals, and the moſt patient perhaps of any in the world, were, at this time, ſettled at *Java* and at *Batavia*, to the number of about 90,000 men. They had, by their commerce, acquired immenſe riches, and being compoſed of the meaneſt of their countrymen, they had from time to time given vaſt ſums to the government of *Batavia* for the toleration of their religion, which, in effect, was no better than rank idolatry. As they lived in great friendſhip with the *Javaneſe*, whom they conſidered as their brethren, it is ſaid, but with the higheſt improbability, that they united under a common leader in a conſpiracy to murder all the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, and that they were to attack that city both from without and within at the ſame inſtant. For this purpoſe, many of the *Chineſe* reſorted to the country at the time of one of their high feſtivals, in which they indulged themſelves in an unuſual degree of jollity. It was no wonder if, during ſuch a ſeaſon, ſome irregularities were committed, which induced the *Dutch* government to ſend out ſome detachments to ſuppreſs the rioters, in doing which, it was pretended that ſome of the priſoners diſcovered the whole of the conſpiracy. Be that as it will, it is certain that the *Dutch*, in all reſpects, acted as if a real conſpiracy had been formed. They doubled their guards, ſhut the gates of the city, and ordered that no *Chineſe* ſhould ſtir out of his houſe, or have any light within it, on pain of death. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that all this could be done ſo ſecretly as not to come to the ears of the *Chineſe* in the country, who very probably thought their properties, friends, and families within the city, in danger; and for that reaſon they united together to attack it, which they did in the moſt tumultuous manner, and though their numbers were computed to be 50,000 men, were repulſed by the *Dutch*, who had not in the place above 3,000 regular troops. This attempt to enter the city was, by the *Dutch* government, conſtrued into a ſignal for an inſurrection of the *Chineſe* within the town, though it appears even from the *Dutch* accounts, that they continued quietly in their own houſes. Notwithſtanding this, an order was publiſhed by the *Dutch* council for breaking up the houſes of the *Chineſe*, and putting all their men to the ſword, while their women and children were to be conveyed to their hoſpital. This barbarous order was ſo punctually executed, that in a ſhort time the people on the ſtreets walked over their ſhoes in blood, and their canals were choaked with dead bodies. It was no wonder if this dreadful ſcene, and the putting all the priſoners to death in cold blood, rendered the ſurviving *Chi-*

Their inhuman conduct there.

*neſe*

*neſe* within the wall deſperate, and that they barricaded their houſes and fired the city in ſeveral places, by which great part of it was reduced to aſhes. Such of them who endeavoured to eſcape the flames were inſtantly put to death by the *Dutch*, for it does not appear that the unhappy people had among them any weapons, either of offence or defence; and, according to the *Dutch* accounts, 12,000 *Chineſe* were maſſacred in one night. The ſame infernal ſpirit raged without the city, where all the *Chineſe* the *Dutch* could find, were likewiſe put to death, excepting a few, who were reſerved that confeſſions might be extorted from them by the force of tortures.

Conſequences of the ſame.

During this terrible maſſacre, the effects of the *Chineſe*, who were in the city, fell to the ſhare of every rapacious *Dutchman* who had been active in the ſcene of blood, and ſoon after the governor-general publiſhed a reward of 200 crowns for killing any *Chineſe*, and 500 for bringing him in alive, if they did not ſurrender before the 22d of *November*. Nothing can give the reader a ſtronger idea of the ſimilarity between the *Dutch* and the *Chineſe*, than what happened on this occaſion. All who ſurvived of the latter ſurrendered themſelves before the time appointed, and were reſtored to their former occupations. They were joined by others of their countrymen, who were received with open arms by the *Dutch*, ſo that in a ſhort time the *Chineſe* were as numerous as ever in *Batavia*, and all remembrance of their maſſacre ſeemed to be buried in their minds. Thus, ſo prevalent is the love of gain, that the one nation could readmit the other after the terrible charges brought againſt it; and that the other ſhould reſume their friendſhip and connections with a people who had given them ſuch recent marks of their reſentment and cruelty. When the account of this maſſacre arrived in *Europe*, the *Dutch* directors of the *Eaſt-India* company made the beſt apology they could for the conduct of their ſervants at *Batavia*; but the *States General* being ſenſible of their villainy, declared *Guſtavus William D'Imhoff* their governor-general of that ſettlement, and ordered that the former governor-general, who was on his return to *Europe* with immenſe wealth, ſhould be carried back, and tried for his conduct in the government. Two of his chief counſellors, and the fiſcal or attorney-general, were deprived of their employments and impriſoned. We are not, however, informed that the late governor-general ever was tried, for he died in his confinement. The directors of the company employed an agent to explain and to apologize for the maſſacre at the court of *Peking*, which expreſſed ſo much indifference as to the whole matter, that the good correſpondence between the *Dutch* and the *Chineſe* never was interrupted.

*Imhoff*, the new governor-general, had been governor of *Ceylon*, where he acquitted himſelf with great prudence, and his conduct at *Batavia* anſwered all the ideas his countrymen had

had conceived of his abilities. He rebuilt the city, reſtored a good correſpondence with the natives, and died with great reputation in 1750. Since his death, the affairs of the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies* ſeem to be declining, as appears from the relation we have already given of their ſucceſs againſt the *Engliſh* ſettlements in *Bengal*, and the cataſtrophe of their affairs upon the iſland of *Ceylon*. We ſhall cloſe this volume by giving our reader ſome idea of the conſtitution of the *Dutch* ſettlements at *Batavia*, and in other parts of the *Eaſt Indies*.

Conduct of *Imhoff* their new governor there.

*Batavia* contains two ſupreme councils, one called the council of the *Indies*, and the other the council of juſtice; the former for the adminiſtration of commercial affairs and matters of government, and the latter for the exerciſe of juſtice and affairs of equity. The council of the *Indies* has the governor-general for its preſident, and is commonly compoſed of about twenty members. It has in its gift ſeven very rich governments, and aſſembles twice a week, but oftener upon extraordinary occaſions. Their authority is very extenſive over other governments, and even over a great part of *Java*. The council of juſtice is compoſed of eight counſellors and a preſident, who is commonly taken from the counſellors of the *Indies*, and is provided with a fiſcal, ſecretary, and other officers. They divide their juriſdiction into two parts, with a fiſcal for each; the one has under his cognizance the inland, and the other, the maritime affairs. Beſides thoſe ſupreme courts, we are told of another which has been erected, conſiſting of nine aldermen, a preſident, vice-preſident, the bailif of *Batavia*, and the commiſſary of the neighbouring country. This court is ſaid to have the direction of the finances, and a power to controul even the governor-general, if the members ſhould think that he abuſes his power. Several other inferior courts are likewiſe inſtituted, but appeals lie from them to the higher. The truth is, the conſtitution of *Batavia* ſeems in a great meaſure to have ariſen out of temporary incidents, and the jealouſy which the directors of the company in *Europe* have of their *Aſiatic* ſervants.

Account of the conſtitution of *Batavia*.

The office of governor-general is a ſtate of ſplendid ſlavery. He is in ſome caſes deſpotic, and has the diſpoſal of all the company's effects in *Batavia*. His power is ſo great, that the *States General* reſerve to themſelves the diſpoſal of his place; but, for the moſt part, confirm the council of the *Indies*, who, in caſe of a demiſe, chuſe his ſucceſſor. The revenue allowed him by the company is 1,300 rix-dollars a month, beſides paying the appointments of his ſervants and officers. This, however, we are told, compoſes but a ſmall part of their income, which, by its perquiſites, is immenſe, ſo that they commonly die very rich. The director-general is the ſecond officer in the company's ſervice at *Batavia*; he acts as their factor, and in the nature of a ſupercargo, by tranſacting the bargains and ſales, and giving directions in all their commercial

Appointments of the governor-general.

The director-general,

and major general.

cial affairs. Next to him is the major, who has the command of the troops in time of peace, but in time of war he acts as major-general, and the command of his officers under him are proportionably enlarged. Of late, however, the *States* have thought proper to give the title of lieutenant-generals to their governor of *Batavia*. The regular troops in the company's ſervice abroad, conſiſt of about 12,000 men, and it is ſaid, that with the militia they can bring 100,000 men into the field. We are not to underſtand that thoſe are all *Dutch*, but the *States* order the militia to be ſtrictly kept up among the *Indians* in their ſubjection, as well as the *Dutch*; and this is one of the principal means of their proſperity in *Aſia*.

Naval and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments.

The naval force of the company in the *Indies* is ſaid, by themſelves, to conſiſt of 180 ſhips, from 30 to 60 guns; but perhaps this account is exaggerated, eſpecially as they tell us, that they can, upon an emergency, fit out 40 larger ſhips at *Batavia*. The whole is under a commodore, and manned by about 13,000 ſeamen. The eccleſiaſtical government at *Batavia*, as in *Holland*, is preſbyterian, and conſiſts of eleven perſons, three of whom preach in the *Portugueze*, and one in the *Malayan* language. Theſe are, however, checked by a ſuperintendant, appointed by the civil government, and they have under them a kind of ſeminary of clergymen, who ſerve as miſſionaries to their other poſſeſſions. It is highly remarkable, that though the *Dutch* abroad tolerate *Mahometans*, idolaters, and even thoſe who profeſſedly worſhip the devil, yet they tolerate no ſect of chriſtians but the *Calviniſts* or preſbyterians, and even have refuſed a church in *Batavia* to the *Lutherans*.

*The* END *of the* NINTH VOLUME.